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No. XXXVII.

ART. I. *Report of J. Lancaster's Progress from the Year* 1798, *with the Report of the Finance Committee for the Year* 1810: *To which is prefixed, an Address of the Committee for Promoting the Royal Lancasterian System for the Education of the Poor.* 8vo. pp. 36. London. Printed by J. Lancaster at the Royal Free School Press in Southwark. 1811.

An Account of the Progress of Joseph Lancaster's Plan for the Education of Poor Children, and the Training of Masters for Country Schools; with Lists of Subscribers. 8vo. Printed by J. Lancaster at the Royal Free School Press. 1810.

A Comparative View of the two new Systems of Education for the Infant Poor; in a Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Officialty of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, at Berwick-upon-Tweed, on Tuesday, April 23d; and at Durham, on Thursday, May 12th, 1811. By the Rev. R. G. Bowyer, LL. B., Prebendary of Durham, and Official. 8vo. pp. 25. London. Rivingtons. 1811.

The National Religion the foundation of National Education; a Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of St Paul, London, on Thursday, June 13th, 1811, *being the time of the Yearly Meeting of the Children educated in the Charity Schools in and about the Cities of London and Westminster: To which is added, a Collection of Notes, containing Proofs and Illustrations.* By Herbert Marsh, D. D. F. R. S. Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. Preached and printed at the request of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 4th Edition. 8vo. pp. 34. London. Rivingtons. 1811.

WE laid before our readers, a year ago, a full, and, as far as we either are conscious ourselves, or have ever heard during the controversy, an impartial view of the great question

concerning the Education of the Poor. Feeling, in common with every true friend of his country and of mankind, the unspeakable importance of diffusing the blessings of instruction among the lower orders of the people, our only anxiety was to see the most effectual means employed for this great purpose; and, so far from taking any lively interest in the discussions between Mr Lancaster and Dr Bell, we were disposed to concur in Sir T. Barnard's benevolent wish, that one half of the poor might be educated by the one plan, and the remainder by the other. It was with infinite reluctance, therefore, that we saw ourselves forced into the controversy carried on by the friends of the two systems; nor should we have descended at all into the arena, had it not become pretty evident, that an effort was making by a religious (we believe it would be more correct to say a political) faction, to cry down Mr Lancaster and his supporters; not because his method was inferior to Dr Bell's—for the heat of controversy has never, we believe, excited any one to this pitch—but because, although acknowledged by all to be both the cheaper and more efficacious of the two, it was invented and propagated by a Sectarian. For an ample account of the two systems, and a statement of the claims to the merit of invention, which *both* the worthy persons in question undoubtedly have, we must refer, once for all, to the article in our Number for October 1810. The reader will there find, in what particulars Mr Lancaster's method is superior to the other; and an estimate, from facts, of the degree in which it possesses that superiority. Indeed, a word may suffice to turn the scale wholly in its favour;—it embraces *every thing* contained in Dr Bell's method, by which the work of *instruction* either is, or is pretended to be, facilitated; and it comprehends, *in addition* to Dr Bell's inventions, (if we are to call them his, for the sake of avoiding a dispute about words, it being abundantly plain that many of them are neither Dr Bell's nor Mr Lancaster's *), a number of inventions which no one has ever denied to Mr Lancaster, calculated, in an eminent degree, both to expedite the work of tuition, and to diminish its expense. We have no other ground for preferring Mr Lancaster's method to Dr Bell's, except

* In addition to what has already been said on this point, we would only refer the reader to the account of the Chevalier Paulet's establishment at Paris, contained in the Literary Repository for April 1788, and republished by Mr Lancaster in 1809. The most important and fundamental of the methods claimed for Dr Bell by his friends, are there detailed minutely, many years before he opened his school.

except only this, that it teaches reading, writing and accounts, better and cheaper. Its enemies cannot deny this; nor do they attempt to deny it; but they say, Mr Lancaster is a dissenter; and he does not, together with the branches of education just mentioned, teach a fourth branch, viz. theology; that is, the doctrines of the Church of England. This is truly, and in a few words, the present state of the question.

Having, in the article referred to, brought down the history of the system, and of the controversy arising out of it, to the time when Mr Lancaster had completed his discoveries, we now resume the subject, in order to make our readers acquainted with the progress which it has made in the country,—the condition in which it is now placed,—the new efforts which are making by its baffled adversaries,—and the means of promoting it, which are within the reach of almost every one who perúses these pages.

It is already known to our readers, that for many years Mr Lancaster laboured alone, and almost unassisted, in the promotion of his great plan for the universal diffusion of education. In 1798, his school in the Borough was opened: by degrees it increased in size, and, with its increase, his methods of saving expense were gradually invented and perfected; until, in 1805, when it had been converted into a free school, it was the means of instructing and training to habits of industry, as well as of knowledge, a thousand poor children at one and the same time. During this period of solitary exertion, the expenses of his undertaking were defrayed partly by the profits of a printing press attached to the school, and the sale of his publications, and partly by the subscriptions of public-spirited individuals, in whom benevolence is instinctive, and the love of their country regulates their care for the welfare of its humblest inhabitants. Among these, we must give the first places to the Duke of Bedford and Lord Sommerville, the two earliest patrons whose kindness it has been the fortune of Mr Lancaster to experience. In 1805, the King began to inquire into his merits, and those of his plan. The result was perfectly satisfactory; and obtained for the new system that liberal and ample support which his Majesty has uniformly bestowed upon it, with the steady consistency so peliarly belonging to his character. The Prince of Wales, and the other branches of the Royal Family, followed the example set by the illustrious head of their house; and the patronage thus secured to the system, increased the funds destined for its maintenance, and secured it, for a while at least, from the interested or ignorant calumnies of bigotry.

While the school under Mr Lancaster's immediate superin-

tendance was thus thriving, and affording, not only the means of instruction to those immediately frequenting it, but the model for similar establishments in other parts of the country, its indefatigable founder was spreading the new system still more effectually through the kingdom, by repeated journeys to the great provincial towns, where he superintended the formation of schools, and by educating in the Borough a number of young men, who might act as masters in these new seminaries. Notwithstanding the utmost skill in economizing the expenditure, and a frugality and self-denial, as to personal expense, perhaps without any example, the sums required for these enlarged undertakings so far exceeded the profits of the printing press, and the donations of the patrons, that a considerable debt was accumulated. Mr Lancaster was on the point of meeting the fate of almost all benevolent projectors, whom ridicule and distrust may have spared in the outset of their career; and the ruin of his plans would in all probability have been involved in his own. It may be proper to state, somewhat more particularly, the origin of his embarrassments.

The sums expended in erecting the necessary buildings, at the institution for training schoolmasters, amounted to above 3500*l.*,—exceeding, by 2876*l.*, the sums subscribed for this purpose. The expenses of boarding the young men during their education for schoolmasters, were about 1200*l.* a year; while the annual fund, begun by the Royal Family for this purpose, was for some time only 600*l.* An attempt had been made, at Maiden Bradley, under the patronage of the Duke of Somerset, to establish an institution for training village schoolmasters; but it unfortunately failed, and produced a loss of 1200*l.* The failure of a person at Camberwell to defray, as he had engaged, the expenses of a school erected there, burthened Mr Lancaster with a further debt of 400*l.*; and by these, and some other outgoings of inferior note, he was indebted to the amount of 6449*l.*, while his whole property was only valued at 3500*l.*

Such was the almost hopeless state of his finances early in 1808, notwithstanding the respectable patronage which he enjoyed, and the rapid progress which his great plan was making. Surrounded as we are by the blind zealots of a religious faction, and the interested politicians who would turn their fury to account, and employ it in the encouragement of ignorance and servility, we feel it necessary to guard, with a scrupulous caution, against every misconception, and to anticipate, at each step, the falsehoods which the enemies of education will not fail to invent. Lest, therefore, they should continue to pervert their hireling press to the abuse of this good man and his works, and

and accuse him of extravagance, of squandering away the funds of his institution, and thus loading it with debt, (nor would such a charge be in anywise more false and shameless than the calumnies with which their writings daily teem against him), we shall present an extract from one of the reports made of the state of his affairs by a *committee of his creditors* themselves; and we do so the more willingly, because this passage offers one of the most affecting pictures any where to be found, of virtuous industry, and honest, enlightened zeal, struggling against the hard necessities of a poverty occasioned by excess of charity and benevolence. It states, that the committee, 'when, in 1808, they 'first examined into his affairs, and the nature of his embarrassments, were exceedingly gratified to find, that his debts 'originated from engagements entered into with different tradesmen for accomplishing the various objects of rendering his system for the education of the poor an institution for national 'benefit. The principal of these were for bricklayer, timber-'merchant, carpenter, typefounder, stationer, furniture, and 'other necessaries for such an establishment. They found, that 'although there were at that time in the family twenty-four persons to be boarded, there was scarcely a debt owing to any 'butcher; for the family, during a considerable time, had only enjoyed the taste of butcher's meat when an occasional donation at the school furnished them with the means of purchasing a small quantity. The family had subsisted chiefly on 'bread and milk; and, to the honour of a Baker in the neighbourhood, to whom there was a considerable debt owing, it 'must be mentioned, that when a degree of surprise was manifested at having given so large a credit, he replied—"The 'good which Mr Lancaster has done to the poor of this neighbourhood is such, that, as long as I have a loaf left, I will 'give the half of it, to enable him to continue such beneficial 'exertions."

We believe that there are few readers of this touching passage who will not regret that the name of the Baker has been concealed from them. The rest of Mr Lancaster's creditors, however, (and we say it without any insinuation of blame) were not of the same description; and he could no longer hope to enjoy his personal freedom. Writs were out against him in different counties; and, not to give our readers the pain of going through such afflicting details, his own fate and that of his system was at hand, when, most fortunately for the community, the state of his affairs attracted the notice of a few private individuals, most of them in humble stations, but endowed with an enlightened zeal and generosity which would adorn a throne.

At the head of this most honourable list, we must place Mr Joseph Fox,—a man by no means in affluent circumstances, but earning a comfortable income by the labours of his profession. Impressed with a strong belief in the excellence of the new system, and foreseeing the incalculable benefits which must result from its universal diffusion, he was resolved, at the risk of involving his own affairs, to stay, if possible, the ruin which seemed impending over Mr Lancaster's. Upon inquiring into the state of his debts, and finding that the sum of *three thousand six hundred* pounds would be required in the first instance to relieve the concern, this generous and courageous man instantly gave bills to that amount; and it has fallen to the lot of him, who now pays this feeble homage to such rare virtue, to see those very bills preserved, with the proofs of their punctual payment, and, as a frugal mark of respect, bound together in a small volume, of eloquence far surpassing the eloges of academicians, or the chronicles of kings and conquerors. Together with Mr Fox, five other worthy and enlightened men joined in relieving Mr Lancaster from his difficulties. These were, Mr Jackson, * member of Parliament for Dover, Mr William Allen, Mr Corston, Mr Sturge, and Mr Foster. They examined the whole state of Mr Lancaster's affairs—undertook the entire management of his pecuniary concerns—advanced, partly by way of gift, partly by loan, considerable sums of money, repaying, in this way, some of the large advance originally made by Mr Fox—obtained, by soliciting their friends, a loan of no less than 4000*l.* for the use of the Institution—and thus put the new system upon the same footing on which it stood before the commencement of Mr Lancaster's difficulties. To particularize the time and labour bestowed by these six individuals, and especially by Mr Fox and Mr Allen, in promoting this great scheme of beneficence, would require an enumeration far too long for the bounds of this present article. Since the beginning of 1808, it is perhaps no exaggeration to say, that each of them (certainly each of the two whom we have particularly mentioned), has in this good work doubled whatever previously formed the business of his active life. The money which these individuals

* In the delightful task of bestowing unqualified praise, we would fain avoid expressing ourselves more warmly of one individual than another, where all are so eminently deserving; but the various employments of Mr Jackson, both in his public and private character, as a merchant, a senator, and an East India Director, in all which capacities he is equally respectable, make his exertions for Mr Lancaster peculiarly meritorious.

duals have advanced during that period, is more easily estimated; but the whole amount of it does not appear in any part of the Report now before us. We only learn that, besides other sums, exclusive of their several contributions to the 4000*l.* loan, and exclusive also of their annual subscriptions, these six gentlemen have already advanced nearly six thousand pounds, in very unequal proportions.

As soon as these extraordinary efforts had removed the obstructions to Mr Lancaster's exertions, he resumed his unwearied course of labour, and, if possible, redoubled his activity and zeal. The advantages of his journies and lectures in the provinces, had been found to warrant an extension of this plan; and it was facilitated by the supply which the Borough school now afforded, both of young persons, who could fill his place during his absence, and of teachers for such seminaries as might be established in consequence of his provincial tours. During the last four years, accordingly, a considerable portion of his time has been devoted to those circuits; and with what effect, the papers before us abundantly prove. They contain the returns for the years 1807, 1808, 1809 and 1810,—including the year before the trustees began to manage his concerns,—but stopping short at the commencement of the present year, when a further change, as we shall immediately see, took place in the establishment. In the three years ending 1809, Mr Lancaster performed *twelve* journies, travelling 3062 miles. In the course of these, he delivered *seventy-four* lectures, which were attended by 25,650 persons. No regular account of the sums collected at the close of the lectures appears to have been kept, except for the last of these years; and it amounted to 600*l.* The subscriptions afterwards raised for promoting the plan in each place where he had then preached the doctrine of light to the poor, amounted to 11,850*l.* No less than *forty-five* schools, for the instruction of 11,300 children, were established in different parts of the kingdom, in consequence of these journies and lectures. In each case, Mr Lancaster arranged the plan, both of the meetings for forming the school, and of the school itself—entered into the details of the establishment—and furnishing both the general scheme and the instruction necessary to conduct it. Indeed, the master appointed to carry on each school was previously trained by him, and made acquainted with his method at the Borough seminary. Important as these labours had been, his exertions in 1810 far exceeded them. In that one year, he travelled 3775 miles—delivered sixty-seven lectures to 23,480 persons—raised at the time 1660*l.* and afterwards 5250*l.*—and established no less than *fifty* new

schools, at which 14,200 poor children are now receiving the blessings of education. If we suppose that his progress during the present year is only equal to that of the last, we shall have, for the whole individual exertions of Mr Lancaster during the last five years, in this one department of travelling only, 208 lectures delivered to 72,610 persons;—about 27,000*l.* raised in consequence, 145 schools established, and about 40,000 poor children *constantly* taught;—so that the numbers of those already educated may amount to above eighty thousand, and this independent of the schools taught by Mr Lancaster himself, where above 6000 have been educated under his own eye, independent too of the numerous schools which have been formed in different places where he has never been able to go, upon the model which he has furnished, and with such instructions as he has communicated by his publications and correspondence. If we state the whole number of children who owe to this distinguished person one of the first of blessings, at a *hundred thousand*, we certainly do not exaggerate the effects of his system, cramped as its operation has been by many untoward circumstances, and short as is the period during which it has been in action.

What we have now said refers almost exclusively to England,—to which country, indeed, the practical knowledge of the system was, till very lately, confined. In this end of the island, our excellent establishment of parish schools rendered it less necessary—except, perhaps, in the case of large towns, which are almost inevitably deprived of the benefit of that institution. It is little more than two years, we believe, since the first attempt was made to establish a school on Mr Lancaster's plan in Scotland; and there are already at least fifteen in operation, at which nearly five thousand children, of all sects and communions, receive the elements of literature. The most extensive establishments are in Glasgow, where there are already three schools, each containing from 300 to 800 children; and one is now building at the Lanark cotton mills, to contain no less than 1000. In this city there are three, the largest and most perfect of which is attended by 400 children; and we have learned, with great pleasure, that the clergymen and heritors of several populous parishes have already agreed to organize the established parochial schools upon this admirable system.

With regard to Ireland, our information is less precise and positive,—though it is with the most sincere pleasure that we announce, that Mr Lancaster himself is now employed in that country, by the chief secretary Mr W. W. Pole; and that very extensive and liberal establishments are understood to be in contemplation. We have heard, however, of at least nine or

ten

ten large schools that have been already opened in that kingdom; and the most remarkable thing is, that, though all taught by Protestant masters, they are resorted to indiscriminately by Catholics and Protestants, except in those few cases where some overzealous persons have insisted upon the introduction of the Church Catechism. The testimony which is borne, by some of the Protestant teachers of these seminaries, as to the good disposition of the Catholics, and the obstructions which poverty and bigotry have thrown in the way of this great work of beneficence, appears to us to be extremely touching and important. 'The Roman Catholics,' says one of them, in a letter which we have seen from Omagh, 'are as desirous of a Testament 'or a Bible as the Protestants; indeed, in many cases more 'so; so that the number of books I require is considerable.— 'If I am not to look to London,' he adds, 'for such books, 'I fear I must give up my present exertions. I have no pecu- 'niary aid to buy books; and I cannot afford to do so in addi- 'tion to my other exertions. *Did I belong to a party, I might 'have aid:*—but I do not. I take part with the poor insulted 'Roman Catholics, who possess, in this country, a feeling and 'affection for any kindness shown them, beyond what the his- 'tory of any other people can furnish.' These are the people whom we are told it is impossible to conciliate,—and these are the means of conciliation that have been tried!

We cannot better close this period of our history, than by extracting from the Report a few instances, in Mr Lancaster's own words, of the facility with which his system may be spread, and of the primary necessity of providing a due supply of schoolmasters, that is, of boys sufficiently educated to superintend schools; for it is a distinguishing excellence of this plan, that a lad of ordinary talents cannot become a tolerable proficient in his own learning, without acquiring the skill and habits requisite in a schoolmaster.

'During a severe illness, which, in 1809, confined me to my bed some weeks at Bristol, the master of that school, who had been educated from an early age in my own, attended me in all my painful illness with the most filial affection. A boy only thirteen years of age, kept school for him with so great success, that when my recovery enabled me to return to town, being in a feeble state, I required the master to accompany me, and, during a week's absence, this lad was sole governor of the school. This boy had obtained his knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic, in the Bristol school, in less than eighteen months. On coming in, he was one of the lowest classes; and at the end of twelve months, he excelled every boy in the school, and had become monitor-general. The committee visited the school in the master's absence, and found this excellent lad, to use a schoolboy's expression, "king of the castle."

'It

'It not being judged proper, at *that* time, to enlarge the family in Southwark, I boarded and clothed him in Bristol for twelve months; after which, I received him home to the Borough. In a short time he was placed as master at a school at Southgate, built and supported by my friend John Walker esq., to extend the blessing of education to the poor children in that neighbourhood. My worthy friend speaks in the most pleasing manner of the ability and good conduct of this amiable and excellent boy. In this statement is the pleasing history of a boy, whose talents would have most likely been buried under the rubbish of ignorance, had not the facilities of this system developed them. This, however, is but one proof of many which might be adduced of the good done by it. An ignorant lad comes to school in 1807;—in about two years after, he is able to conduct the Institution in which he obtained his learning. In three years after a little instruction in the Borough Road, he proves himself qualified to conduct a large school, to the satisfaction of his immediate patron, and the delight of all that visit it.

'To bring all the instances I might advance, would fill a volume, instead of a brief Report. I must not, however, omit one lad, James George Penney. About the year 1805, this boy attended the school in Southwark. He was fatherless, and his mother poor. At that time he would often come to school in the morning, and remain there till night without any dinner. This was soon discovered by his feeling schoolfellows, some of whom dried up the tears which hunger occasioned, and supplied his wants by a contribution of bread and meat, which some of them were pleased to call "a parish dinner." This circumstance coming to my knowledge, and knowing him to be an excellent boy, I took him into my house. At first he appeared dull, from habitual depression. The close of the year before last, he was sent into Shropshire, and spent about six months there, in the house of a most liberal and excellent clergyman. The first village school that he organized was for 250 children; and such was the progress made by the scholars, that, in one case, the clergyman was applied to by a man to inform him if such improvement could be made by any thing short of witchcraft. This worthy boy did not leave that part of the nation without organizing schools for near 1000 children, which number is likely to be doubled in the ensuing summer, many persons of influence in that part of the country having been convinced of the great good to be obtained by the universal diffusion of knowledge among the lower orders of society. This lad is now settled at Bath over a school of 300 children; and my accounts from Sir Horace Mann, Baronet, the President, speak highly of the state of the school, and conduct of the master.

'An excellent lad, not fourteen, has just materially aided the organization of the school at Coventry for 400 children. The committee, to express their sense of his services, have voluntarily allowed for his board, &c. at the rate of 60*l.* per annum. This is not quoted as a precedent, but as a proof of the boy's activity and merits. A boy of seventeen keeps a school at Newbury for 200 children;

dren; another at Chichester, about eighteen, will soon have 300. These facts prove, that this system possesses the power of accomplishing considerable good with small means.

'A young man, just turned of twenty, and educated in the Borough Road, conducted a school at Bradley before he was sixteen, and had the thanks of the Duke of Somerset for his excellent conduct and usefulness. After this, he organized schools in Liverpool and several other places, with reputation and credit. He some time ago settled in Birmingham with a school of 400 children, which it is hoped will soon be extended to a thousand. The instances of real and extensive usefulness among my young men and boys are so numerous and interesting, that I purpose to take the first leisure opportunity to publish them as a sort of history of this system.' Report, p. 9–11.

Such of our readers as have honoured the preceding pages with their attention, must have arrived at several conclusions upon which we must entreat them for a moment to rest. We have seen the amount of the debt which had been contracted, before the six gentlemen took Mr Lancaster's affairs into their hands. We have also seen, that those gentlemen took that debt upon themselves, and increased it by a considerable sum, in carrying on the concern for three years ending 1810. It has appeared, that the supplies from all quarters, including profits of printing, donations, and annual subscriptions, fell uniformly short of the regular demands of the establishment. In fact, to carry it on upon the same scale, would have required double the income, without making any provision for the liquidation of the debt. But we have also seen, that the chief expense, the training of schoolmasters, is of all others the most essential to the progress of the system; and that the Borough school is now so completely arrayed, as to furnish the easy means of educating all the poor children in the United Kingdoms, requiring only such supplies of money as may suffice to maintain the proper number of youths, while they are learning to act as schoolmasters wherever they may be wanted. Lastly, we have seen, that the six gentlemen so often mentioned, beside their unwearied and anxious labours, have advanced large sums of money, part of which indeed they always intended as a free gift; but the rest of the burden, it seems natural for the other friends of the cause to desire may be shared by them.

A knowledge of the facts already stated, had suggested these considerations to several wellwishers of Mr Lancaster's plan, about the beginning of last winter; and it appeared manifest to them, that steps should without delay be taken, for placing his affairs in a more regular train of management, and giving to his system all the efficacy of which it was susceptible. Motives of delicacy might prevent the six private friends from coming forward

forward with a statement of their own proceedings; for that might have looked like a display of their claims to the lasting gratitude of their country; and a proposition, that the rest of the community should unite in supporting the system, might, if proceeding from them, be liable to misconstruction. It was therefore necessary that others should exert themselves, in order to prevent the encouragement of Mr Lancaster's plan from being confined to the very small circle of his private friends; and to give the country at large an opportunity of joining them in their enlightened and disinterested efforts for the benefit of mankind. After examining privately the state of the concern, and obtaining the full approbation, both of Mr Lancaster, and the principal branches of the Royal Family, and Nobility, who had shown themselves his steady supporters, they called a meeting about the middle of last December, which was respectably attended; and a number of resolutions were unanimously agreed to, the substance only of which it is necessary to state, as forming the basis of the establishment which is now carrying on the new system of education.

It was the universal opinion, both of the gentlemen present, and of a vastly greater number who had given them authority to act in their names, that an *Institution* should be formed for the encouragement and extension of education on Mr Lancaster's plan;—that it should be open to all persons, of every rank and description in the community,—of every political or religious sect or denomination. Such, in general, were the views of this meeting. But it appeared evident, from the previous history of the system, that a more specific mode of promoting it, and consequently a more definite object for the proposed Institution, might easily be pointed out. All that seemed wanting was, that a sufficient fund should be provided for liquidating the debt already contracted, and a sufficient annual income raised for enlarging the seminary in the Borough, so as to afford the means of training whatever number of schoolmasters the provincial establishments might require. The present annual income was stated at about a thousand pounds. It was desirable that this should be raised, by yearly subscriptions, to at least three thousand. The debt of the concern, amounting to about 5000*l.*, might be liquidated by occasional payments out of the donations received from time to time. It was plain, that the regular management of Mr Lancaster's affairs, would best be left in the hands of the six gentlemen already mentioned, who had been constituted his trustees, and possessed the entire confidence both of himself and the friends to his plan. A committee

tee of forty-seven respectable Noblemen and Gentlemen were chosen, to superintend the general concerns of the Institution, and to receive, at stated meetings, the Reports of the trustees. The first and steady friends of the system, the Duke of Bedford and Lord Somerville, were nominated Presidents. And it was agreed, that as soon as the lamentable malady under which the Sovereign then suffered was removed, his Majesty should be entreated to place himself at the head of its patrons. It was finally understood, that a general meeting should be held, as soon as public affairs appeared somewhat more settled. *

The committee being thus constituted, held several meetings for the despatch of business; but delayed calling together the friends of the Institution, in the hopes that, by waiting for some time, they might enjoy the gratification of commencing under the immediate auspices of their Royal Patron. The unhappy turn which his Majesty's disease took, is too well known; and it was not deemed expedient to defer the meeting any longer, as the termination of the Session now approached. Accordingly, it was held on the 11th of May, at the Freemasons' Tavern, by public advertisement; and was attended by a large concourse of the most eminent and respectable persons, both in public and private life. The Duke of Bedford was in the chair, and was supported by their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Kent and Sussex. The Prince Regent was prevented from attending by etiquette; but his worthy and learned Chancellor, Mr Adam, was sent by his Royal Highness to communicate to the meeting a gracious message, expressive of his warm approbation and good wishes towards the Institution;—his unalterable resolution to protect and support it by every means in his power;—and his desire that they would accept a considerable sum of money, by way of donation, and enter his name as a yearly subscriber to a large amount. The Duke of Bedford opened the business of the meeting in a most able and impressive speech; of which we shall not attempt to convey any other outline than by saying, that it fulfilled the expectations of those who knew his Grace; and excited the liveliest admiration among such as believed the whole eloquence and sense of the country were to be looked for among the regular conductors of parliamentary contests. A number of resolutions were adopted by this meeting, with which we shall not venture to load our text; though their

* The Institution suffered serious obstructions and delays, from the discussions respecting the arrangement of the Regency, at this period,—added to the temporary loss of the Sovereign, who had always proved so warm a friend to its objects.

their importance is such as to induce us to annex them below; * and earnestly to recommend the whole of this interesting document

* At a very numerous and highly respectable Meeting of the Subscribers and Friends of the Royal Lancasterian System for the Education of the Poor, held at the Freemasons' Tavern, Saturday, May 11th, 1811,

'His Grace the Duke of Bedford in the Chair.

'On the Motion of his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, and seconded by his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex,

'Resolved Unanimously, 1st, That from a consideration of the salutary effects of Knowledge upon the human mind, the habits of order which education creates, and the personal acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures which it produces; this Meeting anticipates, from the general Education of the Poor, the happiest results to society, by the diminution of crimes, and in the promotion of the usefulness of the great body of the people.

'On the Motion of his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, seconded by his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex,

'Resolved, 2d, That the System of Education invented by Mr Joseph Lancaster, enables one master to teach reading, writing and arithmetic to any number of children by the agency of his scholars alone; at the same time that the most perfect state of discipline is preserved; to which must be added, the reduction of the price of instruction, according to the number educated, to 10s., 7s., and even 3s. 6d. per annum for each child; rendering it, in the whole, an invention worthy of the most distinguished approbation and universal adoption.

'On the Motion of the Marquis of Lansdowne, and seconded by William Adam esq. M. P.,

'Resolved, 3d, That it is with the most lively satisfaction this Meeting contemplates the sanction and support which the Lancasterian System, for the Education of the Poor, has received from their Majesties, and every branch of the Royal Family; and his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent is most respectfully solicited to represent to the whole of the Royal Family, the high sense which this Meeting entertains of a patronage no less important to the prosperity of the undertaking, than indicative of the affection of the House of Brunswick for the truest interests of the people.

'On the Motion of the Marquis of Lansdowne, and seconded by Lord Keith,

'Resolved, 4th, That Mr Adam be requested by this Meeting, humbly and respectfully to express to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, the sense which they entertain of the gracious communication his Royal Highness has been pleased to make to them, and their gratitude for his continued countenance and support to the Lancasterian System of Education.

'On

ment to the perusal of our readers. With a view to the unhappy controversy, of which we shall be compelled to take notice in the sequel, we would request their particular attention to the 10th and 11th of these resolutions.

For

'On the Motion of the Marquis of Lansdowne, seconded by Lord Keith,

'Resolved, 5th, That the respectful thanks of this Meeting be presented to his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, whose friendship to soldiers' children has been shown in that princely liberality with which his Royal Highness has established a school in the Royals, as Colonel of that regiment, and set an example which, it is hoped, will be universally followed by Military Commanders, and thereby promote the welfare, and do honour to the character of the British army.

'That the thanks of this Meeting be presented to Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod, and the Officers of the 4th battalion of the Royals, for the zeal and benevolence with which they have superintended a Royal Lancasterian School in that Regiment.

'That his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent be respectfully requested to communicate the same.

'On the Motion of the Duke of Kent, and seconded by the Duke of Sussex,

'Resolved, 6th, That the respectful thanks of this Meeting be presented to his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, for the zeal he has manifested in promoting the Lancasterian System of Education, and particularly for placing a number of the youth of his regiment under this excellent mode of instruction.

'On the Motion of the Duke of Kent, seconded by the Duke of Sussex,

'Resolved, 7th, That the disinterestedness of Mr Lancaster, in inventing and carrying into effect the Royal Lancasterian System of Education, merits the approbation and support of the Empire; and that the thanks of this Meeting be presented to him for the same.

'On the Motion of his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, seconded by his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex,

Resolved, 8th, That by a Report presented to this Meeting, it appears that, during the last four years, Mr Lancaster has taken numerous journeys to diffuse a knowledge of his plan in the country; that he has, at considerable personal expense, travelled near 7000 miles, lectured 140 times to different audiences, consisting of near 50,000 persons, in which he has given such an *impetus* to public benevolence, that more than 25,000 children have been provided with instruction, and many thousand pounds have been raised for building and fitting up schoolrooms, and supporting schools; for all which beneficial exertions, he ought to be considered a public be-

For the purpose of giving still greater publicity to the institution, a public dinner of its friends was soon after held, at which the Duke of Kent presided, and was supported by the Dukes of Sussex and Gloucester. At this meeting the Prince Regent's

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nefactor, and is entitled to the thanks and support of the nation in general.

'On the motion of Wm. Smith esq. M. P.

'Resolved, 9th, That the thanks of this Meeting are hereby given to the Mayors, Magistrates, Clergy, and Gentry, of those Cities and Towns in England and Scotland, who have contributed to the extension of the Royal British System of Education, by granting to Mr Lancaster the use of their Town Guild, or County Halls, for the purpose of detailing the particulars of his plan; and that the Magistrates of Stirling be particularly distinguished, who permitted their Guild Hall to be used as a temporary school-room for the military quartered there.

'On the motion of Francis Horner esq. M. P.

'Resolved, 10th, That the moral effects of the Royal British System of Education are apparent, from the important fact, that of full 7000 children who have been instructed at the Royal Free School, Borough Road, no instance has been known of any one of these having been charged with any criminal offence in any court of justice.

'On the motion of E. W. Bootle esq. M. P.

'Resolved, 11th, That the fact publicly stated by Mr Lancaster, that of the 7000 children educated at the Borough Road by him, no one of them has been made a proselyte to his peculiar religious opinions, affords a gratifying proof, that every religious denomination may cordially unite in the education of the poor, upon the broad and liberal basis of this Institution.

'On the motion of the Hon. James Abercromby, M. P.

'Resolved, 12th, That the energies of the Royal British or Lancasterian System, in developing the talents, and eliciting the faculties of youth, for their own and their country's good, have been remarkably displayed in several boys of not more than 13 or 14 years of age, having superintended the Borough Road and other schools, with as much facility as the master himself.

'On the motion of Henry Brougham esq. M. P.

'Resolved, 13th, That in order to extend the benefits of the Royal British System of Education to all parts of the empire, and to render it, in the largest sense, a national good, it is requisite that a considerable number of youth, of both sexes, be trained in the practice of the Institution, for the purpose of undertaking the charge of schools.

'On the motion of Henry Brougham esq. M. P.

'Resolved, 14th, That as the Annual Subscriptions to the Insti-

Regent's Chancellor also attended, to represent his Royal Highness, who was pleased to transmit, by means of this highly respected officer, another message, and to add largely to his former contributions to its funds. If any thing could compensate the melancholy

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tution are at present by no means adequate to defray the charges of Board, Lodging, and Clothing, of a sufficient number of Youths, (expenses which, in the training of them to the period of their fitness to take the charge of schools, are unavoidable), the friends to this cause are solicited to become Annual Subscribers, of sums from One to Ten Guineas.

'On the motion of his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, and seconded by his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex,

'Resolved, 15th, That from a Report presented to this Meeting, it appears, that the Donations and Subscriptions received by Mr Lancaster, prior to the year 1808, had fallen short of the actual charges for the erection of suitable buildings, and the maintenance of intended Schoolmasters, and that a considerable debt had been incurred, for which the Gentlemen, since appointed Mr Lancaster's Trustees, actuated by an earnest desire to prevent the failure of so important a work, and relying on the future support of a liberal and beneficent Public, not only rendered themselves responsible, but took measures for enlarging the operation of the System.

'On the motion of the Duke of Kent, and seconded by the Duke of Sussex,

'Resolved, 16th, That from a consideration of the great utility of the object, and the facility with which the benefits of the Institution may be extended, not only to all parts of the British Empire, but to the whole civilized world, the donations of the Public are solicited to relieve it from the burthen of a debt which amounts to about 5000*l.*,—a sum which it is hoped will not be considered as large, when set against the gratuitous education of near 7000 children in the Metropolis; the board, clothing, and training near 100 qualified Teachers, and the many thousands now educating through Mr Lancaster's exertions in the country; to which also must be added, the full establishment of a system which may be made effective to the instruction of hundreds of thousands, and thereby contribute to the national prosperity.

'On the motion of the Duke of Sussex, and seconded by the Duke of Kent,

'Resolved, 17th, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to those Noblemen and Gentlemen who have undertaken to act as a Committee in aid of the Finances of this Institution.

'Resolved, That these Resolutions be published.

(Signed) BEDFORD.

'His Grace the Duke of Bedford having left the Chair, it was taken by his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent.

melancholy loss which it had sustained of the Sovereign's steady, warm, and unceasing patronage, this exemplary conduct of his Successor was well calculated to serve the purpose. Thus supported, the success of the establishment was no longer a matter of doubt: every day added largely to its numbers; nor have we any fear that, before the next Report is presented to the public, the funds required for supplying teachers to all parts of the country will be provided; and the numbers of provincial schools increased by the removal of the only material obstacle which has hitherto stood in their way.

The documents now before us do not contain all the particulars which the reader who interests himself in this important subject will naturally be anxious to learn. Perhaps a copy of the Rules of the Institution, which are few and simple, as its objects are plain and well defined, might with advantage have been inserted in the Report, or subjoined to the Resolutions. We should also have liked to see a more full list of the donations and annual subscriptions, as nothing more directly tends to facilitate contributions, than the seeing what others in the like circumstances with ourselves have given. The annual subscriptions are, by one of the resolutions, limited to ten guineas, and not less than one; but it is convenient for each individual to know who pays one, who five, and who ten, yearly. For the same reason, we should like to see by whom the different donations have been given. The Report only mentions some of the donors of large sums. We cannot resist the temptation of adorning our pages with some of these names:—Mr Maitland, member for Chippenham; Mr Henry Sterry; and Messrs Richard, Joseph, and Hudson Gurney (we believe of Norwich), have each subscribed one hundred pounds. Mr Rogers, the celebrated poet, (but still more esteemed, by those who know him, for his general benevolence, and his steady attachment to liberty and all the best interests of mankind), offered either a gift of one hundred, or a loan

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'On the motion of his Royal Higness the Duke of Sussex,

'Resolved, That the thanks of this Meeting be most respectfully presented to his Grace the Duke of Bedford, and to the Right Hon. Lord Somerville, for the generous manner in which they have patronized the Lancasterian System of Education, from its first invention to the present time.

'Resolved, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to his Grace the Duke of Bedford, for his kindness in taking the Chair on the present occasion, and for the able manner in which he has performed the duties of the office.

(Signed) EDWARD, D. of K. Chairman.

loan of two; and the latter was accepted. Mr John Walker, of Southgate, did the same; and about thirty other individuals lent one hundred pounds each. In this number we meet with the names of Mr Henry Thornton, Sir George Mackenzie, Mr Astley Cooper, and many others well known to their country. It would gratify us extremely, if we could add the names of two generous benefactors, who transmitted, anonymously, the sums of two hundred pounds and five hundred guineas. This last munificent donation, like one to the same amount which we had occasion to record in our History of the African Institution,* was stated to come from 'a Member of the Society of Friends.' In all likelihood, it proceeded from the same quarter. It is, however, of more moderate sums that the bulk of the contributions must be composed; and respecting, as we do, the mite which falls from the hand of generous poverty, and even the pittance which is wrung from avarice by the force of high principle, or the temporary ascendancy of kinder feelings, we would have a column of units, as well as of hundreds, in this honourable and interesting account. It is also material that places should be indicated, in the country, as well as in London, where subscriptions may be received; for, although the proper way to promote this system, is to form committees, and carry on schools in each neighbourhood (receiving from the Institution the proper plans and teachers), and consequently persons residing at a distance will for the most part bestow their contributions in this way to the several local funds, yet a few may every where be found, disposed to remain unconnected with any such funds, while some may be desirous of contributing in both ways.†

We cannot dismiss this very pleasing part of our task, without noticing some other facts, illustrative of the progress of the system, which the papers now before us narrate. The following circumstances are highly honourable to the illustrious person, of whom they are related; and we anxiously hope that his example may find imitators among the other commanders of our forces. The Commander-in-chief has certainly done his utmost to encourage it, in the orders to which we had the satisfaction of referring in our last Number.‡

* See our Review of the three first Reports, in the 30th Number.

† As far as relates to this part of the country, we beg leave to offer the medium of the very respectable Publishers of the Edinburgh Review, who will receive subscriptions for the Institution. In London, the bankers are, Messrs Kensington, Lombard-street; Coutts, Strand; and Hoares, Fleet-street.

‡ See Review of Fifth African Report, No. XXXVI.

'His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent has set a most important example, by introducing the Lancasterian system into the army; having attached a school to his own regiment. The school consists of the children of the privates, and amounts to 220. A young man, a serjeant in the regiment, was trained for the schoolmaster, at the Borough-Road; and the school was instituted at Malden, in Essex, where the regiment was then quartered. Great credit is due to Lieutenant-colonel M'Leod and the other officers, who cooperated with their Royal Commander in his benevolent design. The regiment lately removed its quarters to Dunbar, where the establishment was carried on. Mr Lancaster, on his journey to Scotland, found it in an excellent state of order. By permission of the Duke, a number of these boys went to Edinburgh, to illustrate the system in the lecture delivered there by Mr Lancaster. The regiment is now quartered at Stirling; and the school, at the request of the Magistrates, is kept in the Guildhall of Stirling Castle; many of the town's children participating in its benefits. The Committee have great pleasure in adding, that the commanders of several military depots, and also of militia regiments, have applied to Mr L. for assistance in forming schools. In last March, Mr L. opened a school at Windsor, established by Lieutenant-colonel Newdigate, for the children of the privates of the King's own regiment of Staffordshire militia; and it is hoped that these examples will speedily be followed by all commanders. On joining the Duke of Kent's regiment, if a recruit is found incapable of reading, he is sent to the school; and, as a powerful stimulus to exertion, those who make a good proficiency in learning are put down as duplicate non-commissioned officers.' Report, p. 19, 20.

Steps have been taken for diffusing the inestimable benefits of this system in foreign countries. The Americans have eagerly adopted it; and schools have been established upon its principles in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and other places. A respectable society, formed at George-Town, Maryland, for promoting the education of the poor, has recently applied to Mr Lancaster for a suitable schoolmaster. General Miranda, before leaving England, visited the Borough School, accompanied by the deputies from the Caraccas; and they formed the resolution of sending over, upon their arrival, two young men, who might be instructed in the principles of the system. In the island of Antigua, a benevolent individual, whose name we regret to find suppressed, has founded schools upon this plan, for the education of above nine hundred persons. The Committee of the Institution has very properly assisted him with all the requisite lessons, and other apparatus for the complete outfit of two schools. The leading members of the Institution are, as we have already mentioned, among the most active abolitionists and friends to the improvement of the great African continent. It was clear, therefore, that they

they would attempt the introduction of the system into those dark and oppressed regions. With this view, when a young African, who had been brought from the West Indies to England, and had consequently acquired his liberty, was presented to them, and found to possess good abilities and dispositions, he was admitted into the establishment in the Borough, and trained for a schoolmaster. His talents and perseverance raised the most sanguine expectations of the success of this humane and well-devised experiment: but unhappily the poor young man died in August, 1810, of a pulmonary complaint. Not discouraged by this melancholy event, the Committee have adopted further measures, with the same benevolent views. They have taken care that the missionaries Wilhelm and Klein, who are about to visit Africa under the patronage of the very praiseworthy Society for Missionaries to Africa and the East, should receive ample instructions, by a daily attendance at the Borough School, for nearly two months. They have also made a proposal to the African Institution (as we formerly mentioned),* to educate and qualify as schoolmasters, two African youths, of good promise, to be selected by the directors of that admirable society. The offer was gratefully accepted; and the Committee express their hopes that 'much good will be done to the children of the natives of Africa; who, it is understood, are exceedingly desirous to be instructed in what they term, *the white man's book.*' *Nescia mens hominum!* Little do the poor Africans know the perilous gift they are wishing for; and little do their friends consider how baneful a service they are about to render those helpless objects of their solicitude! Professor Marsh, Mr Wordsworth, and some dozens of political churchmen, have discovered—or have restored the lost invention of the Romish priesthood—that the '*white man's book*' is not to be entrusted with safety to any but the already enlightened few; and that it were better for nations to remain in outer darkness, than be illuminated with the dangerous and uncertain lights which beam from the very sources of Inspiration!

We have now related whatever appeared to us most important in the history of this important system; and we have performed the grateful task of detailing, not indeed the whole of its triumphs, but such passages as may serve for samples of the great and increasing success which has every where attended it. Those who recollect the ferment which it at first excited among certain classes of feeble bigots and clerical jobbers, will easily believe that the events we have been dwelling upon could

* See Review of the Fifth Report, No. XXXVI.

not but revive all the foolish alarms of the one, and the impotent spleen of the other. The far less agreeable office now remains to be discharged, of tracing such attempts to counteract it, as those persons have been making with sufficient openness to meet the eye; for a great part of their machinations has been of a nature to shun the light. This we shall do as briefly as possible; and, where the adversaries of the system have been so ill advised as to betake themselves to argument, we shall probably require all the indulgence of our readers, when we detain them with an exposition, or an answer.

It fell to our lot, upon a former occasion, to record the efforts so strenuously and fruitlessly made by the leaders of this opposition, the late Mrs Trimmer, and Mr Archdeacon Daubeny. The press and the pulpit in vain sounded the alarm with which those reverend personages were willing to inspire the Church and the State. The patronage of the King was a tower of strength; Mr Lancaster was not overwhelmed by a cry; and time was given to the good sense of the country, which speedily, and with authority, extinguished the rising flame. Attempts of a different kind were therefore necessary; and it was proposed to *wean* the Sovereign from his unfortunate predilection in favour of those who wished to diffuse, on the cheapest terms, the most useful kinds of knowledge among his poorer subjects. Persons were not wanting, nor those in the lowest ranks of the church, who volunteered their services on this occasion. But those reverend (we believe we might use the superlative) and enlightened characters mistook the man they had to deal with. They imagined that alarm was the proper engine. To work upon the fears of him who never knew what fear was, seemed to them, in the fulness of their zeal, and out of that abundant knowledge of human nature which their courtly lives had given them, the best mode of accomplishing their object. They remembered the excellent use which had been made of the *No Popery* cry; and vainly imagining that the King had been the dupe of that delusion—that his royal mind had in good earnest been alarmed for the safety of the Church—they concluded that it was peculiarly accessible to alarms of this description; and they took every means to magnify the dangers which must result from his Majesty continuing to patronise a sectary, who taught reading, and put the Bible itself into childrens' hands, without the safeguards of proper gloss and commentary, and a regular assortment of articles. We are credibly informed, that the utmost effect of these artifices was, to provoke the steady contempt of the exalted Personage in question; and that he never could, by any efforts,

forts, be induced to get over the first difficulty which met him in the finespun Jesuitical reasonings of those ghostly counsellors, —"*The evils of being able to read;*"—"*the dangers of reading the Bible.*" The tempters soon perceived that they had made another mistake; and, once more, they shifted their ground. They found, that a prelate of immense revenues, and of munificence becoming the wealth whereof he is trustee for the Church, had, about this very time, by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, begun to patronize Dr Bell, and had founded a school upon his plan. Here, then, was a fair field for their arts. If the poor *must* be educated, let them be educated by clergymen of the Establishment. If any thing so unworthy of his station, as patronizing the teachers of ragged beggarlings, *must* occupy the mind of the Sovereign, let him bestow those favours exclusively on members of the Church. What though Dr Bell's plan is more limited in its efficacy, infinitely inferior in economy, crude and imperfect in many of the most essential parts, still it comes off a right stock, and is wholly in regular, episcopalian hands. Grant that, imperfect as it is, we can scarcely meet with it but on paper; and should find no small difficulty in discovering half a dozen persons, in any part of the island, who had ever seen one of his school rooms;—still the fact is undisputed, that Dr Bell is a churchman, and, though a Scotchman, has received regular episcopal ordination: Whom, therefore, but Dr Bell should a religious monarch, the head of the church, honour with his countenance? Once more the serpent was found more malignant than dangerous: there was the venom and the eye, but there was the rattle too; and he retired to meditate how he might charm more wisely.

The effrontery of the next attempt is more to be admired than its cunning. Finding how vain were all their efforts to work upon the Sovereign, those pious persons, or their coadjutors, bethought them of inflicting upon Mr Lancaster, by the established weapon of falsehood, the very injuries which would have resulted from the Royal patronage being actually withdrawn. They did not scruple to propagate in all quarters the report, that the King had at last opened his eyes to the dangers of the Church, and the merits of Dr Bell, and had given up Mr Lancaster and his system. A lie, however daring, is nothing, without its complement of circumstances. Among other proofs of the charge which had taken place, it was industriously circulated that his Majesty had withdrawn his annual subscription from the fund: And these reports were generously propagated by the holy and loyal characters alluded to, at the moment when indisposition had made such ravages in the royal mind, as to render a con-

tradiction extremely difficult, and, in some measure, to secure them from the dangers consequent upon a detection. The effects of this base contrivance were extremely encouraging to its authors. At last, they had succeeded in reaching the foundations of Mr Lancaster's plan. The subscriptions began to fall off in the most alarming manner; and the scheme might have been utterly ruined, had not an authoritative contradiction to the story been obtained from the Royal Family; which, added to the increased zeal of the Prince Regent for its success, once more entirely frustrated the inventions of its enemies. In one of the papers now before us, Mr Lancaster feelingly describes the immediate effects of this vile artifice; and asserts that, to this present day, so industriously was it diffused, accounts of its appearance in remote parts continue to reach him.

Thus foiled in every quarter (for we may safely presume that the junto have used no small portion of their accustomed activity and address upon the Prince Regent also) they appear to have thought an interval of repose their best policy; and resolved to wait for events, as politicians say when things wear an unsatisfactory aspect—or to leave things to Providence, as Bubb Doddington used to do when he had failed in some pitiful intrigue—they remained inactive during the first months of the Regency. The probable recovery of the King, and their absolute certainty that returning health would exhibit to them once more the hated spectacle of his steadiness to an honest purpose, prevented them from taking any steps towards exciting an alarm, which they well knew the Monarch would discourage. What they can have seen in the Prince, to induce a contrary expectation with respect to his conduct, we are at a loss to fancy. In warmth of attachment to the new system, the son has even gone beyond the father; and we will venture to predict, that, with his crown, he inherits such a portion of that most royal virtue, steadiness towards his friends, as will bring to a still greater shame than they have even yet experienced, the artful intriguers whose conduct we are unwillingly obliged to contemplate. But whether it is, that the season of political change and uncertainty is reckoned favourable to church cabals; or that some enemies of the Prince have so far traduced his character, as to inspire those designing men with hopes; or that they are desperate, and resolved to take their chance, aware that they cannot fall lower:—certain it is, that the cry of danger to the Church has once more been raised, and in a far louder note, and in much more important quarters, than during any former part of the controversy.

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The Daubenies, Trimmers, and Spries, with the strange mystical personage who lectures against education at our Institutions, being now found quite unequal to the office of raising this alarm, recourse has been had to the greater engines of the Church :—And first appears Mr Professor Marsh—a person adorned with various and weighty titles, and occupying the Divinity Chair in one of the Universities—celebrated too, we have no doubt, for his attainments in science, which have placed him in the Royal Society—distinguished, it may be presumed, among his reverend brethren, for a peculiar devotion to the duties of the clerical character and the service of the Church, whose dangers seem uppermost in his thoughts,—but, unquestionably, a good deal better known to the world as the author of a bulky ministerial pamphlet in defence of the war, than in any of his other capacities. This very circumstance, however, of his political services,—the noted fact of his being a favoured writer in the interests of the court, and, consequently, of his belonging to the class of safe and flourishing politicians,—pointed him out as the proper person to begin this new charge. A sort of dignitary of the Church—one designated for its most snug, if not most splendid gifts—a Prebendary, if not a Bishop elect—would not only lead the cry with authority, but would show the way to others, inducing them to fill up the concert, by setting before them the edifying example of a flourishing man devoted to this work. When Mr Professor Marsh walks in this way, it is safe to follow—is a thought that has probably passed already in the mind of many a score in our universities and parsonages.

From this quarter, therefore, hath proceeded one sermon, preached of course in St Paul's, and sundry letters, forming a little volume—besides whatever he may have contributed, in private, to the columns of the Treasury Journals. For, these respectable and enlightened publications no sooner heard that a new cry of the Church in danger was abroad, than, probably without waiting for instructions, they took it to be clear that it was in favour of their employers, and must needs turn to some account. To the sermon, however, we now confine our attention,—observing only, that it contains whatever the other dealers in clamour have got up for the present occasion ; and that the best and most moderate of these, is certainly Mr Bowyer. We must now beg our readers not to be alarmed at the notion, that we are going to plunge into a theological controversy, for which we have neither the learning nor the gall !—nor let it be thought that we are disposed to treat irreverently any thing which comes from the ministers of religion in the discharge of their holy office. When the pulpit is kept pure by the teachers of

of the Gospel, and the people only receive from it the blessings of religious instruction, we behold them with reverence, and approach with dread the combined sanctities of the place, the persons and the doctrines. But when it is perverted to common secular purposes, (a prostitution become almost habitual since the French revolution);—when we find it made a mere rostrum from whence the vulgar effusions of political faction may be distributed, under the disguise of Christian homilies, and the multitude cajoled with the jobs of a party, by its emissaries in the pious garb of spiritual pastors;—then we view the ground as no longer holy; the gods are evoked; the priests are gone; and there remains only an ordinary political theatre, filled with the noisy passions of the forum,—but more ignoble, from the falseness of the arts with which it is thinly covered over.

The sermon of Professor Marsh is intended as a recommendation of Dr Bell's plan in preference to Mr Lancaster's, on this single ground, that Dr Bell is a churchman, and Mr Lancaster a sectary. This consideration comprises the *whole* of the superiority which he claims for that reverend person. He enters into no comparative statement of the efficacy or economy of the two systems, in teaching children the different branches of education. He does not pretend that Mr Lancaster's is incompatible with every additional article taught by Dr Bell's. He cannot affect to think, that schools might not be arranged on Mr Lancaster's, where the Creed, as well as the Bible, should be taught. He cannot hold out Dr Bell's plan as having any sort of superiority in teaching the Liturgy, any more than he can maintain that it has a monopoly of prayer-books. His whole objections, therefore, are really extrinsic to the two systems and their merits;—they rest simply on the admitted fact, that the author of the one is a Quaker, and the author of the other a person in holy orders. We have said, that schools might be established in every parish on Mr Lancaster's plan;—we may add, established by the Committee of the New Institution; and that, in every such school, the Liturgy of the Church of England may be taught. But, suppose the question respected Mr Lancaster's own school, in which, as a dissenter, he cannot teach the Liturgy:—It is not pretended that he teaches any thing else;—he gives his boys no creed of his own: How, then, do his pupils receive injury in their spiritual concerns? Such of them as belong to Episcopalian families learn to read their prayer-book; such as belong to dissenting parents learn to read their hymn-book; while all of them learn Christianity by reading constantly their Bible. This is true, unless Professor Marsh shall be able to prove, that a child taught to read all the words in

in the English language, is incapable of reading the Liturgy without separate and additional instructions; and unless he can show, that the actual daily perusal of the Scriptures disqualifies children for learning the doctrines of the English Church.

But we must look somewhat more minutely into the Professor's *Sermon*, and see whether he has ever taken the trouble to understand the subject upon which he is *preaching*, and whether he does not, after the manner of superficial and hasty talkers, furnish, himself, the answers to his own objections. We shall take leave to extract the passage which forms the groundwork, as it does the beginning, of his discourse; and we presume to say, that it affords a very complete refutation of the doctrines maintained by him.

'Our Reformers deemed it expedient, at the *first* Christian office of which we partake, the Office of Baptism, to introduce an *Exhortation* to the godfathers and godmothers of the baptized infant, not only reminding them of the "solemn vow, promise, and profession," which they had made in his name, but requiring, at their hands, that the child be instructed in those things, "so soon as he shall be *able* to learn" them. It is required at their hands, that he learn, not only the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, but the CREED, "and all *other* things which a Christian ought to *know and believe* to his soul's health." They are then admonished "to take care that this child be brought to the Bishop, to be confirmed by him, so soon as he can say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue, and be further instructed in the CHURCH CATECHISM set forth for *that purpose.*" Immediately after the forms of Baptism, this catechism is inserted as a part of the liturgy; and is there termed, "An instruction to be learnt of *every* person before he be brought to be confirmed by the bishop." In the rubrics annexed to it, the curate of every parish is enjoined to instruct and examine openly in the church, on Sundays and holidays, "so many children of his parish, sent unto him, as he shall think convenient, in some parts of this catechism." Parents are enjoined to send their children, and masters even their servants and apprentices (if they have not learnt their catechism) "obediently to hear and be ordered by the curate, until such time as they have learnt all that is here *appointed* for them to learn."

'From this short statement it appears, that our Reformers themselves laid at least the *foundation* for a system of religious education, to be conducted under the superintendance of the *parochial clergy*. And to afford additional security that this religious education be conducted according to the doctrines of the Church of England; it was enacted, by the seventy-seventh canon, that every schoolmaster should not only be licensed by the bishop of the Diocese, but previously subscribe to the Liturgy and Articles. And this canon was confirmed by the act of uniformity; which requires every schoolmaster,

master, both to obtain a license from the bishop, and to declare that he will "conform to the liturgy of the Church of England, as now *by law established.*" Lastly, by the seventy-ninth canon, all schoolmasters are enjoined, not only to use the *catechism*, but to bring their scholars to their parish CHURCH.

'The plan therefore of conducting a *Church of England* education is very clearly prescribed, and prescribed also by authority. Now the liturgy, the chief of this authority, is confirmed by the law of the land: it is the repository of the religion "by law established:" and the religion *by law established*, must always be regarded as the *national* religion. But in *every* country the national *education* must be conducted on the principles of the national *religion*. For a violation of this rule would involve, not only an absurdity, but a principle of self-destruction: it would *counteract* by authority what it *enjoins* by authority.' p. 4—5.

The Professor afterwards admits, that the Toleration acts allow Dissenters to teach without restraint, and even to teach their own religious opinions; but he adds, that "no such acts apply to the members of the Establishment. Indeed," says he, "it would be preposterous in men to plead an act of toleration, who have solemnly bound themselves to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England."

Now, can any thing be more obvious than the sense of the passages quoted by the reverend author in the above extract? What does the *teaching* and *instruction* there enjoined mean, but the religious teaching and instruction by the clergy of the Establishment? Indeed, the clerical instructors are named expressly. The godfathers and godmothers promise that the child shall learn the liturgy as soon as he is able: Does Mr Lancaster prevent this? On the contrary, he renders the child able to learn it, by enabling him to read it, and making him read the Bible, on which it is, as we are taught to believe, wholly founded. The child is then to be taught the Church catechism: Will he be the less likely to learn it, because Mr Lancaster has enabled him to read it? But the Rubric shows how he is to be taught:—Not by the schoolmaster—not at the place where reading and writing are taught—but by the curate in the church which he serves—and upon Sundays and holidays. It requires the genius of a very polemic to make the transition which carries the reverend author from this point to his next. Immediately after quoting the passages which enjoin curates to teach the catechism, and parents to send their children for this purpose, he says, that from hence it appears that our reformers laid the foundation of a religious education, to be conducted under the superintendance of the parochial clergy. Now, the very re-

verse of this is the case, if by *religious education* be meant instruction in reading, combined with instruction in the catechism; and if this be not the meaning of the phrase, no possible inference can be drawn from hence to bear on the present question: for we, as well as the professor, maintain that religious education in this sense, viz. religious instruction independent of teaching to read, belongs to the clergy; and that they have no more to do with teaching to read, than with teaching any of the ordinary mechanical arts—the art of painting, for instance, which may be used in adorning an altar. The argument from the Canons and Act of Uniformity, is entirely refuted by the admission respecting the Acts of Toleration. Previous to those acts, no doubt, education of every kind was, at least by the letter of the law, subject to the superintendance of the clergy. But, now that Dissenters may teach schools as freely as Churchmen, who shall say that the law discourages seminaries where the liturgy and catechism are not taught? Who shall tell us that the law gives any preference whatever to schools licensed by a bishop? The acts of toleration, says our author, apply, not to Church of England persons, but to dissenters. Can controversy really have so far blinded this acute author, as to prevent him seeing, in this remark, either a mistatement, or a piece of nonsense? If he intends to say, that the act of toleration does not permit members of the Church to support schools, the teachers of which are not licensed, the assertion is untrue. No law ever did exist to prohibit this. The act of Uniformity, only prohibited schools from being taught, except by licensed persons; and, the act of Toleration allowing unlicensed teachers, all men, whether members of the Church, or dissenters, may support them in whatever way they please. If he intends to say, that the toleration acts for exempting dissenters from certain restrictions, do not exempt teachers belonging to the Church, from the provisions respecting licenses, the proposition is no doubt true; but it is also self-evident, and wholly useless in the present dispute.

Where, then, can the learned and reverend Professor find any authority for his doctrine, that the law and constitution of these realms give a preference to one mode of education—that is, one mode of teaching reading and writing—before another? A doctrine, be it observed, which he himself is so fearful of stating broadly and tangibly, that we in vain search his pages for any distinct enunciation of it; although his arguments plainly imply it, or they have no meaning at all. Let him be informed, once for all, that there is in this country no national education—that the law of the land is utterly indifferent to the

subject

subject—that (whether happily or not, we have no present wish to inquire) every man is left to educate his children as he pleases; and that the public funds afford as little assistance to the poor in attaining this object, as the laws impose restrictions upon the mode of pursuing it.

The reverend author condescends to quote the example of Scotland, when discoursing of what he terms '*parochial education*'—a phrase absolutely foreign, and even unintelligible in England. 'The good effects (he says) of this system, in 'Scotland, on the religion there established, is (*are*) known to 'every man who is acquainted with that part of our island.' Any man, however, but moderately acquainted with '*our island*,' must know, that in Scotland there is an established national system of education, supported by the same funds which maintain the Church, and arranged on a similar plan. A preacher, who undertakes to lecture on this subject from the chair of St Paul's, might really have been presumed to know that every parish in Scotland has a school, as well as a kirk—that the supplies for its support are payable, *by law*, from the lands in the parish, as certainly as the stipend of the clergyman—and that the ecclesiastical courts hold themselves entitled to superintend the conduct of the schoolmasters, both public and private, exactly as they exercise their rigorous discipline over the lives of persons having the cure of souls. It is true, that there exist great doubts upon the matter of right, respecting this superintendance. It is equally true that, the Scotish church having no liturgy—no form either of prayer or of worship—no peculiarity, in short, except an absence of all peculiar ceremonials—he who speaks in big terms of the conformity required of teachers, and the advantages resulting to the national religion in Scotland, from the adoption of its tenets by the parochial schools, uses a language whereof he knows not the import, and mouths large and sounding sentences, which in truth mean nothing.

But we need not go further than to state the essential difference between the two countries in the matter of education. The law, the canons, the liturgy, the rubrics, the ecclesiastical practice, in England, leave what is commonly called *education* wholly unnoticed and unprovided for; leave reading, writing, and accounts, to be taught by what persons soever shall choose to teach those branches of knowledge; while they leave religion to be taught by a richly endowed and powerfully supported clergy: While the constitution of Scotland, on the other hand, has established an education as well as a religion; endowed a school as well as a church; and beneficed a body of schoolmasters as well as of priests. What should we say—what would the author of the war pamphlets of 1794 say (for sure

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he must have the safe and loyal feelings on this point), were the American Government, which knows no established religion, and pays for none, to insist, all of a sudden, on superintending the spiritual concerns of the people, and dictating what churches should be frequented, and what deserted or run down? What then shall we say, who know full well that the Government and the land of England pay not a penny for the education of the people—when we find the minions of the Church, which contributes full as little—arrogating to their order a right, which, all the while, they dare not explicitly define, of interfering with the general education of youth throughout the realm? Have we not a right to say, at the least, this—Found a system of national instruction—adopt some plan for facilitating the path of knowledge to the poor—entertain with candour such measures as Mr Whitbread (for example) proposed to you—avoid branding with the name of levellers and atheists, such as recommend schemes for putting ignorance to flight; and then you will acquire some right, not, indeed, to control the whole system of education, or to prescribe the mode and manner in which all children shall be taught, but to be heard upon the subject with respect, and to superintend the system of education patronized and supported by yourselves. Imitate, if you will, the example of Scotland, by endowing a free school in every parish, and we will hear you with less impatience affect the office of regulators of education, and at any rate allow you to manage the establishments which you have formed. The most important thing, however, with regard to this example of Scotland, is, that our presbyterian clergy, who have thus a sort of legal right to interfere with all teachers of youth, and who certainly do not yield to the clergy of any other communion, in a sincere and enlightened zeal for their own peculiar doctrines, have never, in point of fact, thought it necessary to interfere, in any degree, with any of the additional schools which the friends of Mr Lancaster have established in this kingdom. Though divided into parties, and contending perpetually, upon points of discipline, in their presbyteries and synods, no one has yet ventured to allege, that an improved method of teaching reading and writing is dangerous to the national establishment; or that it becomes them to discourage such an improvement, because it was invented or brought to perfection by a Dissenter. On the contrary, the established clergymen, throughout Scotland, have been the warmest friends and the most efficient patrons of this most valuable institution.

The reverend Professor, through his whole discourse, bestows great pains—sometimes in plain statements, which he would have

have mistaken for facts—sometimes in declamatory and wordy invective, which he wishes to pass for argument—not unfrequently in the way of insinuation, to have it believed that the system of Mr Lancaster is, both in its design and its tendency, hostile to the Establishment. The same line of attack is followed by Dr Bowyer, and all the other assailants of the new plan. With respect to the *design*, a very few words will suffice. Take this specimen of the fairness of these watchmen of the Church. Mr Lancaster had said, 'I long to see men who profess Christianity contend, not for *creeds* of faith—words and names—but in the practice of every heavenly virtue.' Mr Pope had uttered the same sentiment a century ago, without wishing the downfal either of the Romish or English Churches; and every pulpit in Protestant Europe, we dare to say, has promulgated the self-same thought every year since the days of Luther. What is Professor Marsh's inference from this passage—the construction which, in his charity, he puts upon it? 'Mr Lancaster, therefore (says he), must *long* to see the Church of England abandon her *creed and her name.*' (p. 13.) Some one having mentioned the institution of a school, 'in which bigotry and intolerance should have no share'—meaning, most obviously, a school which should be open to the poor of all religious persuasions—the Professor straightway complains, that '*already* the doctrines of the Church are called bigotry, and its constitution intolerance.' (p. 15.) He takes it for granted, that the dissenters at all times are labouring to effect the downfal of the Church; and cannot imagine that either Mr Lancaster, or those who support him, should have any other views. He forgets, that their views are wholly confined to teaching the first elements of knowledge—elements equally necessary to the churchman and the dissenter, and altogether independent of the forms of faith which they enable the infant mind to imbibe. Great as this misrepresentation is, we find Dr Bowyer, in one passage, exceeds it; and we regret to find it, for it stands single, in a discourse otherwise fair and liberal. 'It seems (he says), whatever may be the religious persuasion of the master, we are to suffer the children of parents belonging to all *sects* (for our Establishment is only treated as one of them) to be admitted promiscuously, and each child to be taught in one and the same school the peculiar catechism, or formulary, of his own sect; so that our children will have the edification of hearing the Unitarians deny the Divinity of their Redeemer, rail at the doctrine of the Trinity, and reject the atonement of the Mediator; another sect treat the holy Sacraments with scorn, as mere matters of human institution; a third division set forth the natural equality of mankind, and undermine

undermine the foundations of all government; all concurring in the right of private interpretation of the Scriptures, &c.' (p. 17.) To all which we can make but one answer,—That it is perfectly false; and we challenge this reverend gentleman to produce a single school, either on Lancaster's plan, or indeed on any other, in which such doctrines are taught, and such demeanour held. In truth, if he can find such an instance, he may go before the civil magistrate, by indictment or information; for he has enumerated a list of temporal offences. Surely, surely, he must have *known*, while composing this invective, that in the Lancasterian *schools* Christianity alone is taught, from the Bible; and that as no particular Catechism is preferred (which is the very charge brought against the system), so it is impossible that any should be attacked.

But the *tendency* of this neutrality is severely handled; and this is one of the chief topics of these reverend alarmists. The proposition is broadly stated, that if the children of the poor do not learn *religion* at school, they will not learn it at all. 'The parents of children, who are objects of public charity, are for the most part *incapable* of teaching religion to their children. And, if they send their children to a *Sunday school* according to their own persuasion, the *peculiar* doctrines, which the children will hear *one* day in the week, can hardly make a lasting impression, when they are continually hearing of *generalized* Christianity during *six* days in the week. Where children go *daily* to school, the religion, which they are afterwards to profess, should be an object of *daily* attention. They must *learn* their religion as they learn other things; and they will have much or little, according as their *education* supplies them. To assert, that our religion is not dependent on our education, is to contradict the experience of all ages and nations.' (p. 12, 13.) Here is a sly assumption, lurking under a single word, '*religion.*' Does not Mr Lancaster teach *religion?* The truth is, that he teaches scarcely any thing but the Holy Scriptures: but the Professor gained a good deal, he was well aware, if he could confound the not teaching one particular creed, or form of belief, with the not teaching any religion at all. He then makes another stride; and asserts, but without even the pretence of an argument, that if children are not taught the National Catechism, they not only will grow up ignorant of the Church's doctrines, but inimical to its establishment; and then, as if he had proved this strange position, he enumerates the great powers of the new system, and the vast numbers which it is capable of educating—inferring from thence, that it is dangerous to the Church, in proportion to its powers—and that consequently this plan, being 'accompa-

'nied with such religious instruction as is calculated to create *in-*
'*difference, and even dislike*, to the established Church—the most
'powerful engine that ever was devised against it, is now at work
'for its destruction.'

Upon reading this statement, and marking especially the very high tone in which it is conveyed, one is really tempted to conceive, that there are already provided by the Church the means of religious education, according to the Professor's notion of it; that all the poor of these realms may receive from the clergy of the Establishment the knowledge of its peculiar tenets, which, it seems, can only be obtained in early infancy, and which, if not imbibed with the alphabet, will never be received at all;—in short, that Mr Lancaster's system is in danger of disturbing one already completely established, and of substituting, for vast numbers of free schools where the poor are now trained in knowledge and religion, seminaries where temporal knowledge may be dispensed, but the interests of the soul are neglected. Yet it does so happen, that the National church hath done nothing towards the education of youth, except what we have already cited from the sermon of Dr Marsh himself;—that, leaving the ordinary branches of instruction wholly untouched, she has only required, and most properly required, from her ministers, a careful regard to the religious education of youth;—that, consequently, Lancaster's schools, far from being a substitute for her institutions, or in anywise derogatory to her ordinances, form an appropriate and even an essential part of them; and that we who say—let the poor be taught reading in whatever way is most effectual, and let the clergy, upon this stock, and by the means which it affords them, engraft religious instruction—speak the very language of the Church of England, and conform to her spirit. Mr Lancaster goes, however, a step further than this; for he teaches, not merely reading, but Christianity; and says, let the clergy of the various persuasions to which you and your parents may severally belong, continue the good work which I have begun, and build up their creeds upon that foundation which I have laid deep in your minds, by imbuing you with the word of God as delivered in his Scriptures. For it is in vain to disguise this matter, and, under a multitude of words, and by solemn sentences or frothy and turbulent declamation, to cover the real substance of the question. We return always to the plain statement which has so often been made, but which, in truth, comprises the whole gist of the controversy. The new system teaches reading, writing and accounts; and it enables its pupils to learn every thing which books can afterwards teach them. On its enemies lyes

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the burthen of proving that there is any necessary connexion between the catechism of the church and the rudiments of the language in which it is written. It is for them to show the dangers of instructing children in that which enables them to learn any catechism; and if they shall point out any reason for uniting the catechism with reading and writing, any more than for uniting the psaltery of David with music, or the groupes and scenes of the holy writings with painting, they will do what, as yet, they have not even once attempted, although it lyes at the very root of their whole argument.

We have touched upon the main propositions which constitute the groundwork of these attacks on the new system; but it remains to say a few words respecting another view of the subject, which at first sight is much less revolting, because it seems to originate in more liberal and just ideas. It is too specious not to be very frequently brought forward by the learned and reverend gentlemen whose sermons are now before us. Let the Dissenters, say they, have schools of their own, constructed on Lancaster's plan, and in which the catechism of the Church is not taught. Let those seminaries be open to all whose principles hinder them from conforming to the Establishment. But let churchmen, and those who adhere to the Establishment, support other schools. Let them refrain from mixing with Dissenters; and, reserving their benefactions for the encouragement of seminaries where the peculiar tenets of the Church may be taught,—let them thus provide for that portion of the poor which belong to the same persuasion with themselves;—let, in short, the Dissenters have schools on Lancaster's plan, and the Churchmen on Dr Bell's. Both may flourish without mutual interruption, and all classes be satisfied. So plausible a view of the question, merits a little further consideration. But we must premise, that were it fully admitted, and resolved to be carried into effect, no argument whatever would arise against the universal adoption of Lancaster's method, and the encouragement of the new Institution; for, as we have already remarked, the Catechism *may* be introduced into it as easily as into the other. Churchmen may send youths to the Borough school, to be initiated in the plan of teaching; or youths may thence be sent to different seminaries, wholly directed by members of the Church; and those youths will be as fully qualified to teach reading and writing, and the national creed along with those branches, as if they had been taught by Dr Bell, at the Bishop of Durham's school. So far the two systems are precisely similar; and the balance is turned wholly in Lancaster's favour, by its greater efficacy, and, above all, its economy—explicitly admitted,

mitted, by the friends of Dr Bell themselves, to be far superior to any thing of which their method can boast. * But we shall take the question on a wider basis, and suppose it to be, whether it is expedient for Dissenters and Church of England men to encourage, severally, schools upon the new plan; so that the former shall establish those only where no Catechism is preferred; and the latter, those only where the Church Catechism is taught?

In the first place, we view this proposal with very considerable suspicion. Why was it never made till now? Why did the friends of the Establishment,—who hold it to be quite clear, that teaching the alphabet without the Catechism is dangerous to the Church,—never think of teaching either Catechism or alphabet? Self-evident as they deem it, that unless the poor be taught religion at school, they will grow up indifferent about the Church, nay hostile to it; how happen they not to have thought of sending them to school at all? Even after the new system had been brought forward, and was spreading in the country, how long were the affected alarmists of bestirring themselves, in order to instruct, by means of it, the poor upon their own principles? Have we any reason to think, that the zeal which all of a sudden seems to have broke out amongst them, will last longer than the jealousy which manifestly excited it? Can we suppose that they would have preached up the education of the poor, on what they call Church of England principles, if they had not seen a great and combined effort making, upon principles which admit of no narrow exclusions, to effect the same object? And yet no man will deny, that the dangers to the Establishment were at the least as great, *upon their own principles*, when the poor were uneducated, as they can be when they are educated without regard to a particular Catechism. These things irresistibly lead us to apprehend that if, unhappily, the present clamour should put an end to Mr Lancaster's progress, or should confine to Dissenters the patronage now so liberally extended to him from all quarters, the alarmists would relapse into their former indifference;—the Church, as a body, would return to the inaction but too natural to wealthy and firmly established institutions;—and we should hear no more of the schools for educating the poor upon the principles of the national creed.

But admitting, for the sake of argument, that this proposition

* See, particularly, Sir T. Bernard's work, formerly noticed, (No. XXXI.). The clerical defenders of Dr Bell's plan, and some others equally ignorant of the subject, pass over this point of economy; forgetting that it is in reality the chief point in the question.

tion of a double system is perfectly sincere; and that such a plan would be attempted with good faith, after it should have served the purpose of the moment;—we hold it to be quite impracticable, at least in the desired extent, from the nature of the thing. The essence of the new method consists in economizing the expense of education, by teaching very large numbers at once. Beautiful and useful as it is, when applied to schools of a certain size, it is wholly inapplicable to small seminaries; at least, it loses all its advantages. One teacher now superintends a school of 1000 or 1200 children. Wherever, therefore, the whole poor children of the district do not exceed this number, it is exactly doubling the expense, to have two schools. And where they do exceed this number, how are they to be divided? We cannot expect that, of 1600 children, 800 will belong always to the church, and 800 to the different sects. In some places, the sectaries may be very few in number, perhaps 10 or 15; but if they were 20 or 30, they are too few,—and *they* therefore can take no benefit whatever from the new system. In all such cases, the Church of England poor may be educated; but the Dissenting poor must go without instruction, or must conform to the Church;—that is, must sin against their consciences,—and (like our first parents) purchase knowledge at the expense of innocence. There are other places, however, where those proportions are reversed,—where the bulk of the poor are not of the Church; and, here, the sectaries may be educated under the new system, but not the others; or, at least, no school can here be established where the Catechism is taught; so that the poor of the Church must either go uneducated, or resort to the Dissenting school. It is true, they may do so with a safe conscience;—and this is the very point in which the plan recommended by us, of excluding all peculiar Catechisms, so greatly excels the other. But, were the community marshalled by their creeds, as our alarmists would have them, it requires no great gift to foresee, that, in a district too full of Dissenters to allow of a Church of England school, the poor of the Establishment would knock in vain at the door of the Nonconformist for the bread of knowledge. And we verily believe, that they whose outcries had persecuted the religious world into such an unchristian state, would be the first to accuse the Dissenters, their victims, of uncharitableness, should they demean themselves in the manner which their treatment had made so natural.

But, after all, and laying out of our view the facts of the case—supposing, for a moment, that the new system (call it by whatever name you please) is capable of being applied in

the double form now recommended—supposing, too, that the principle is carried farther, and that each sect has its separate establishment—let us figure to ourselves a complete adoption of this plan, a regular marshalling of the community, according to their religious creeds, for the purpose of exercising the charities of their common faith, nay, the charities of their common nature—and then let the mind of man fancy, if it can, a more preposterous, a more disgusting sight—we will not say, a sight more repugnant to every precept of the gospel, but one more painful to every sense of propriety, and every right feeling of the heart. What is really the substance of the doctrine maintained by these reverend watchmen of the Church? And by what devices do they seek to uphold her strength? Do they not all lead to such maxims as the following? 'Give no alms, but to 'them of your own sect—pour no oil into the stranger's wounds '—pass by on the other side with the Pharisee and the Levite—'and let the Samaritan, who has no church to support, do as 'him lists. What though our Saviour held out his conduct as 'a pattern to his followers? Times are now changed; and his 'church can only be supported by a direct disobedience to his 'precepts.' This is the very theme of those worst of enemies to the Establishment, who would sustain it on the ruin of the best principles of our nature—in defiance of the most sacred truths of religion. When the question is, of educating the poor—of erecting schools where *all* poor children may learn to read and study their Bibles—of forming an institution which may spread such seminaries over the empire, and put down ignorance and vice among those orders, where ignorance, most prevailing, has planted the chief nursery of crimes—those alarmists step forward, and bid us pause. They warn us, that we endanger their Church, if we join with Dissenters in forwarding the best of good works—tell us, that Churchmen must only associate with Churchmen in promoting such charities, and that the sectaries must be left to associate together. The work shows the motives that lead to it—its manifest effects. All go for nothing, if the sectaries bear a part in such labours of love—the stream is polluted, and must run to mischief. So, when the project is to disseminate the Scriptures among the poor, and among the heathen;—to diffuse the blessings of religion in countries yet sitting in darkness, and over those classes of our own country which have not the means of reading the Bible—forth come the same alarmists, and require that no friend of the Church shall join with sectaries in such an indiscriminate exercise of charity;—that no man, who values the Establishment, shall be accessary to distributing Bibles, unless

with

with the Scriptures there shall be circulated the Articles, the Catechism, the Liturgy, and all those formulas of the Establishment, which no conscientious Dissenter can have any hand in diffusing. * Tests are the delight of these holy bigots; and no work of charity is pleasing, or even tolerable, in their eyes, unless it is strictly confined to the members of their own body, by the imposition of terms which, however great his love of charity may be, no Dissenter can possibly comply with.

We consider this subject, of the patronage fit to be bestowed on the new Institution, so important, as to justify us in making a plain and frank appeal to every person who is doubtful whether he shall encourage it or not—we mean, every one belonging to the Church Establishment—and assailed, on the one hand, by the clamours of political preachers—on the other, by the cries of the ignorant poor. Does any man *really* believe that the attachment of the people of England to her Church, arises from the knowledge of its peculiar doctrines and ceremonials, or the regard for its institutions instilled into their infant minds, at the seminaries where youth are taught the alphabet and the other very first rudiments of learning? If this be so—if the empire of the Church is founded on this base, woe be to her! She is indeed in danger—or rather her existence is next to a miracle. What teacher of children from five to seven years old (and the question relates to none other) ever yet dreamt of explaining to them the points in controversy between the Establishment and the Dissenters—much less inculcated the superior claims of that Establishment, as a political institution, to their veneration? Nay, did any child ever leave school with so much as a notion that such a thing as a Church establishment existed? These matters, we dare to assert, were never yet mooted in such seminaries, any more than real hinds and panthers ever discussed the Nicene fathers. Is it then by teaching the infant the mysteries of the Athanasian creed, and

* The analogy here stated between the two questions of Lancaster's Schools and the Bible Society, is too striking to escape any reader: the same persons have accordingly taken part in each discussion—if discussion we can call it, where all the argument lyes on one side. We purpose soon to call the attention of our readers more fully to the other controversy. In the mean time, we earnestly recommend to them the work of Mr Dealtry, entitled, "A Vindication of the British and Foreign Bible Society;" one of the ablest and most satisfactory controversial pieces that we have ever seen, and only unfortunate in the unequal force with which it has to contend.

the Thirty-nine Articles, that we have hitherto made the man a friend of the Establishment? Can any one, reflecting on his own case, *seriously* believe that this has been the origin of his preference for the Episcopalian Establishment? If it has, then the effect has, we greatly fear, in most instances, long survived all recollection even of the cause. But the fact is sufficient. Every man knows that at childrens' schools the teacher, be he ever so closely connected with the Church, and ever so zealous to inculcate her doctrines, finds his time occupied in making his pupils learn to *read*; and that whatever they learn of catechisms and articles, they learn by mere rote, and as a method of reading and spelling. Happily for the Church, men support her, at first, because the Law and the Government favour her—because their families have lived and died in her bosom—because they have attended her ordinances from their earliest years—before they went to school—during the intervals of school attendance—and wholly independently of their schoolmaster. They afterwards give her a more rational support from their reason, by turning towards the question those faculties which they have been enabled to exercise, that knowledge which they have been enabled to acquire by school education, at a period when their minds were too young for controversy, and when they never heard of its existence.

We shall close these observations with narrating a fact, illustrative of what has been stated respecting the necessity of teaching—without reference to any particular ecclesiastical system, if we would teach at all. It is doubly interesting, because it relates to Ireland and to the Catholic body, and speaks to us with a loud voice on perhaps the most important application of the new method, and one which promises the greatest harvest of public benefit. A Lancasterian school had been established at Waterford—it was open to poor children of all sects—the Scriptures, or extracts from them, were alone taught—and the Roman Catholics sent their children as freely as those of any other persuasion. This beneficent Institution had proceeded for some time, dispensing to no less than *four hundred* poor infants the greatest of earthly comforts, when a *zealous* member of the Established Church unhappily had influence enough to procure the introduction of the Church catechism; and instantly *one half* of the children were taken from the school. Happily the Dublin school, arranged by Lancaster, is preserved on the original plan; and it appears from the Annual Reports, that as nothing but the Scriptures themselves are taught in it, the Catholic and Protestant poor derive from it, in common, the lights of knowledge and of religion.

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For the Church as established in this country—we allude more especially to the Anglican Church, for happily our Scottish institutions have never been fruitful of such disgraceful contentions—but for the Church of England, we cherish the utmost respect. We not only grudge her none of those rights wherewithal she is plentifully endowed—not only wish to see her safe from all disputes as to her title—all attempts to lay her low; but we go farther—and would have her dignities and her honours secure:—'We will have her to exalt her mitred front 'in Courts and Parliaments;' and will view an enemy to the State in every one, who, either by open assault, or by secret treachery, or by the still more dangerous enmity of injudicious and disreputable friendship, would bring her rights or her power either into jeopardy or suspicion. Hence it is, that we view with more than common indignation the men whom we have now been occupied in exposing to the public; because in them we see at once the enemies of the Poor, and of the Church—of Education and of Religion—men who would bring ruin upon the Establishment, by opposing the most enlightened and disinterested attempt that ever yet was made, in any country, for scattering the blessings of knowledge and moral improvement among the more helpless classes of our species.

Art. II. *An Inquiry into the Changes induced on Atmospheric Air, by the Germination of Seeds, the Vegetation of Plants, and the Respiration of Animals.* By Daniel Ellis. 8vo. pp. 246. Edinburgh and London. 1807.

Further Inquiries into the Changes induced on Atmospheric Air, &c. &c. By the same. 8vo. pp. 375. Edinburgh and London. 1811.

In every stage of our inquiries into the properties of surrounding bodies, there is a certain portion of truth, which it is always in our power, by minute and accurate observation, to acquire; and when we have acquired this, our knowledge of the particular subjects investigated may be considered as complete; at least till new instruments or methods of investigation shall bring new phenomena within the sphere of our observation.

But if, on the one hand, it is only by full and correct observation, that we are led to the discovery of permanent truth, so, on the other, it will be found, that error of every kind is invariably referable to observation that is careless and imperfect. Thus it is, that, in the investigation of causes, some phenomena are occasionally overlooked which materially influence a result,

sult, and others admitted as essential to it, with which it is in no respect connected; that analogies and resemblances are sometimes conceived to exist between events, which are in truth extremely dissimilar; and that the wildest flights of fancy are sometimes permitted to occupy the place of those rational and legitimate hypotheses, which, if they are not the immediate anticipations of truth, are at least highly instrumental towards its discovery.

Obvious as these remarks undoubtedly are, we fear that the class of inquirers who are chiefly interested in the work before us, have but too seldom been fully aware of their importance. The science of Physiology—regarding it, in its widest extent, as that which treats of the functions or properties of animals and vegetables—has always attracted a considerable share of attention; and yet there is none which has at all times abounded in so much extravagant theory. Even at the present day, we believe that there is no branch of knowledge more imperfect; nor any which, amidst a great though slowly accumulated mass of curious and important truths, still retains so large a proportion of what is vague, fanciful, and erroneous.

It would not perhaps have been uninteresting, to have endeavoured to point out at length the causes which seem to have subjected this science in particular to such an imputation: but, for the present, we must content ourselves with observing, that we believe they may all be reduced nearly to the following:—That the various departments of the science have hitherto been considered in a manner too unconnected and irregular; and have been too little cultivated by persons capable of devoting an undivided attention to their investigation, and of studying all the functions of life in their actual connexion with each other. It is unfortunate, too, that Physiology has been regarded as the peculiar province of persons connected with the profession of medicine: for the most able and intelligent individuals of this class do not always cherish a partiality for physiological inquiries; or, if they do possess any taste for such pursuits, they are usually prevented from prosecuting them with success, by the labour or multiplicity of their practical duties. The truth indeed is, that, in the vast variety of phenomena exhibited by organized beings, anatomists, physicians, metaphysicians, chemists, opticians, and mechanical philosophers, have all found ample field for occasional investigation. Each have selected, for separate speculation or inquiry, those subjects which were most conformable with their habitual studies or occupations. To their talents and industry Physiology is indebted for a large share of the established truth of which it has to boast; but, at the same time, we are obliged to impute

pute to the partial views of these very men, the greater proportion of the error with which it abounds.

If any thing, however, can contribute to render an imperfect science speedily perfect, it is the publication of inquiries conducted on the plan of those which form the subject of the present article. We scarcely know any work in physiology, where an author has displayed a more extensive knowledge of every fact contributing, in the most remote manner, to elucidate the object of his investigation; in which, he has sought the opinions of others with more diligence, or stated them with more uniform candour; or where he has himself interrogated Nature, by experiments more judicious or more successful.

It is a fact, which has been long sufficiently known, that every thing which lives, whether animal or vegetable, requires, for the continuance of its life, a constant supply of fresh air. The great purpose of Mr Ellis's Inquiry, is to discover why it is that air is necessary to the vital existence of organized bodies. In the present volumes, he has particularly in view, to show the precise nature of the changes which the air suffers, from the action of animals and vegetables upon it; and in what manner those changes are effected. The original 'Inquiry' was published in 1807; but the author has, since that time, not only been led, in obviating the very few objections which have been urged to his doctrines, to the discovery of some new and interesting facts, but has corrected his original views by various additional experiments. The result of the whole we shall endeavour to lay before our readers in as few and as plain words as possible.

In the human body, from the first to the last moments of its existence, we remark, that a certain quantity of air is alternately rushing into and out of the mouth and nostrils. The chest, or thorax, is so constructed, that, merely from the elasticity of its sides, and the pressure of the surrounding parts upon them, it has a tendency to assume a certain permanent capacity or dilatation. Accordingly, after death, when there no longer exists any counteracting cause, this is the capacity which it assumes and retains. We may call it the natural state of the thorax. In the living body, however, it is found that, by the action of the surrounding muscles, a further enlargement of the chest, beyond its natural state, may be produced. As soon as this dilatation commences, it is obvious that a sort of *vacuum* must be formed between the sides of the thorax and the lungs. A current of air, therefore, immediately flows through the windpipe into the air-cells of the lungs, and gradually distends these organs, in proportion as the cavity containing them is increased.

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This constitutes what is denominated Inspiration. The quantity of air which is inhaled, in any single inspiration, is of course determined entirely by the extent to which the chest is dilated. In individuals who are healthy and at rest, inspiration consists merely of a gentle enlargement, produced by a partial contraction of the diaphragm; and such may be termed an Ordinary Inspiration. The quantity of air, which rushes into the lungs during an inspiration of this kind, is very different in different individuals, according to the size of their chests, or the extent to which the diaphragm contracts, in the inspirations of each. It has been variously estimated, in adults of a middle stature, at 13, 17, 20, 35, and 40 cubic inches; affording 25 cubic inches as a mean. But all these calculations have not been founded on equally satisfactory *data*. Dr Menzies's experiments alone, which estimate the average bulk of an ordinary inspiration at about 40 cubic inches, seem to have been performed in an unexceptionable manner; and we place the more confidence in his calculation, that we have found it to correspond with some late experiments of our own. In larger inspirations, the thorax is increased in all directions; and the average bulk of air, at temperature 60° Fahrenheit, which is inhaled by the utmost possible inspiring effort, or by what may be called an extreme inspiration, is probably about 130 cubic inches.

After previous enlargement, the cavity of the thorax may be diminished by the pressure of the abdominal viscera, the elasticity of the parts with which the ribs are connected, and the muscles which pull these bones downwards, exactly to its natutural capacity, or even considerably below it. When the diminution commences, the lungs are compressed; and the air, being thus forced out of their cells, escapes by the trachea and mouth. This constitutes Expiration. In health, and during rest, it consists of a reduction of the thorax to its natural state only; and this seems produced merely by the compression of the relaxed diaphragm, and the elasticity of the cartilages and softer parts affixed to the ribs: consequently, the quantity of air expelled is exactly equal to the quantity previously inhaled. Such may be called an Ordinary Expiration. In all larger expirations, where the chest is compressed below its natural state, the compression is produced and sustained entirely by the action of powerful muscles, drawing down the ribs, and forcing the diaphragm upwards; and, as soon as these muscles cease to act, the thorax returns to its natural state again. We are inclined to think, from experiment, that the quantity of air which, on an average, is expelled by an extreme expiration, after a previous extreme inspiration, is about 260 cubic inches. It is to be remembered,

membered, however, that we cannot, by any muscular effort whatever, reduce the dimensions of the chest so far, as to empty the lungs entirely of their contents. After the most violent expiration, a considerable quantity of air still remains within their cells;—nay, it is found extremely difficult to expel this residual air altogether, even by subjecting the lungs to very great compression, after they have been removed from the body. That, after an extreme expiration, they still retain, on an average, about 40 cubic inches, seems probable, from considering both the structure of the lungs, and the extent to which the thorax seems capable of being diminished by muscular action, as well as the result of an experiment of Mr Davy.

These two processes, of inspiration and expiration, generally alternate with each other, while the body is at rest, about 20 times in a minute. If, therefore, we adopt 40 cubic inches, as the average bulk of air inhaled and exhaled, it will follow, that a full grown person respires 48,000 cubic inches in an hour, or 1,152,000 cubic inches in the course of a day; a quantity equal to about 79 hogsheads.

It has been long ascertained, however, that the air which is emitted by expiration, does not possess the same properties as that which has been inspired. Now, the only gaseous substances which chemists have hitherto found existing, permanently and uniformly, in the atmosphere, are oxygen, nitrogen, and carbonic acid; the relative properties of which may be judged of from the analysis of one cubic inch, which gives nearly $\frac{2}{100}$ of oxygen, and $\frac{78}{100}$ of nitrogen, with a quantity scarcely perceptible of the acid gas. What, then, is the precise nature of the changes which this atmospherical air undergoes, when it is received into the lungs?

That air which has been breathed is loaded with moisture, seems at all times to have been generally known. Upwards of fifty years ago, the celebrated Dr Black demonstrated, that it was also combined with much more carbonic acid; and Dr Priestley proved, in 1776, that it contained much less oxygen than the air inhaled. Yet, at the publication of Mr Ellis's Inquiry, physiologists had not established, either the proportion of these gases existing in it, or the composition and quantity of the vapour with which it is united; nor had they ascertained what relation its nitrogen bore to that of the surrounding atmosphere. It appears, indeed, to have been the prevalent opinion, that a given quantity of atmospheric air, in passing once through the lungs, lost about $\frac{1}{21}$th part of its bulk of nitrogen, about $\frac{1}{10}$th of oxygen, and gained nearly $\frac{1}{13}$th of carbonic acid; 100 cubic inches, for example, losing 1.47 cubic inches of nitrogen, and

9.117 cubic inches of oxygen; while they acquired 7.647 cubic inches of carbonic acid, by a single respiration. This conclusion was deduced chiefly from experiments performed by Mr Davy; in which he found, that when he applied his mouth to a tube connected with a mercurial air-holder containing atmospheric air, and made a single inspiration and expiration from and into this vessel, as much in the manner of ordinary breathing as possible, the contents of the airholder were diminished in bulk, and contained less nitrogen and oxygen, and more carbonic acid,—nearly in the proportions just stated. To the deductions which had been made from such experiments, in as far as they related to the disappearance of nitrogen, Mr Ellis had objected, that they were such as the results obtained did not warrant; since there was no proof, that the chest was reduced exactly to the same capacity after as before the experiments; and we could not therefore infer, that the nitrogen gas which had disappeared from the airholder was not to be found in the lungs. We wish he had extended this obvious and substantial objection, to the inferences which had been drawn from the same experiments regarding the proportions of oxygen and carbonic acid; for it appears in all respects equally applicable to them. If a small quantity of the nitrogen of the inspired air remained in the lungs, merely because the thorax was of larger dimensions after than before the experiment, for the same reason a portion of oxygen, or carbonic acid, which otherwise would have been found in the airholder, might have been retained in these organs.

Two memoirs on this subject, the joint production of Seguin and Lavoisier, were read to the Academy of Sciences of Paris, in 1789 and 1790; and Laplace has preserved the results of those experiments, in prosecution of the same inquiry, with which the philosopher last named was engaged when he was dragged to the guillotine;—experiments which he himself would have communicated to the world in detail, had not the short respite of a few days, which he requested for that purpose alone, been with such unprecedented barbarity denied. It would have been agreeable to us, if we could have attached any value to these investigations of two chemists so celebrated. But that caution which ought to be inseparable from every philosophical pursuit, precludes our placing the least reliance on results of experiments, when they are not detailed with the most circumstantial minuteness. We honour the memory of Lavoisier, and respect the talents of his surviving coadjutor. But their memoirs to which we have alluded, will hereafter be read, chiefly because they are among the last labours of one of the greatest philosophers

philosophers of the eighteenth century. And, indeed, it is impossible to observe the tone of enthusiasm which these essays have in some parts received, from the prevailing spirit of the times in which they were written, without melancholy reflections—without feeling again awakened in us those emotions of deep regret with which the recollection of that period of disappointment must ever be contemplated.

As we never can be assured that the capacity of the lungs is the same after as before the experiment, we cannot decide, with certainty, how far the relative proportions of the gases in the air expired, may not have been influenced by this cause. But it is obvious, that if the diminution which may have been observed in the bulk of air by one inspiration, depended on any natural and constant process in the animal economy, by which air is continually abstracted from the cells of the lungs, the reduction in volume which would take place, in breathing a large quantity of air, would be directly proportional to the number of respirations necessary to transmit the whole of this air through the lungs. Whereas, were it dependent on any such accidental circumstances as we have now alluded to, no such increase ought to be observed: the diminution might even be least, when the quantity of air inspired was largest; and, at all events, we should not expect to find it, in any instance, exceeding 20 cubic inches, or half the bulk of an ordinary inspiration. This point has been determined, in the most satisfactory manner, by the experiments of Messrs Allen and Pepys. About three years ago, they constructed an apparatus, by which from 3000 to nearly 10,000 cubic inches of atmospheric air could be transmitted once through the lungs, by easy respirations, beginning and ending with a forced or extreme expiration: And, of thirteen experiments of this kind which they performed, the greatest deficiency in the expired air appeared in one where 3360 cubic inches had been inspired, in which it amounted to 62 cubic inches; in another, where 3620 cubic inches had been breathed, the diminution was only 4 cubic inches; and, in a third, 9890 cubic inches lost only 18. But, although it is thus established, that there is one cause to which the diminution is not owing, we do not feel ourselves entitled to assert, positively, that, in all these instances, it ought to be ascribed solely to the difference between the extent of the expiration immediately preceding, and of that closing the experiments. It may, hereafter, be shown to be dependent on circumstances entirely different. In the mean time, it may be remarked, that even the greatest deficiency in these experiments was not equal to half the difference between an ordinary and an extreme expiration.

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When, too, a large volume of air is breathed only once, and in the manner practised by Messrs Allen and Pepys, any slight variety in the proportions of the gases composing the small quantity of air which may be retained in the chest, can very little affect the composition of the much greater bulk which has been exhaled. The analysis of this expired air may therefore be regarded as affording a very satisfactory illustration of the changes which air in general undergoes, in its passage through the lungs during natural respiration. Accordingly, Messrs Allen and Pepys have demonstrated, by experiments which seem to be unexceptionable, that, by its transmission through the lungs in ordinary breathing, the air loses about 8 per cent. of oxygen, and acquires an *exactly equal* bulk of carbonic acid, while its nitrogen remains unaltered. They conclude, that 39,534 cubic inches of carbonic acid are emitted daily from the lungs of a full grown person. But we perfectly agree with Mr Ellis in his objections to this calculation, and are inclined to estimate the average quantity at about 92,160 cubic inches.

Not being acquainted with any attempt, since the imperfect trial made by Mr Abernethy, to ascertain the composition of the fluid which is brought off by the expired air in the state of vapour, we lately subjected a small quantity of this fluid to accurate analysis. For this purpose, we made a full grown person, in perfect health, expire through a thin glass tube, about three feet in length and a quarter of an inch in diameter, kept at a low temperature, by the evaporation from a slip of muslin moistened in spirits of wine, which was wrapped round it. In four hours, an ounce measure of a perfectly transparent, colourless, and insipid fluid, of the consistence of water, was collected in drops from the extremity of the tube. This fluid did not produce the least alteration on the colours of litmus or turmeric paper. It suffered no change on the addition of corrosive muriate of mercury, tannin, or nitrate of silver. And when a small glass, containing half an ounce of it, was connected, by filaments of moistened cotton, with other two glasses containing each about two drams of pure water, and these were then attached to the opposite extremities of a galvanic battery, consisting of 24 four-inch double plates of copper and zinc, charged with diluted muriatic acid; at the end of four hours, we could not detect the slightest indication of the presence of albumen in the negative, or any saline substance in the positive glass. Hence we have been led to conclude, that the fluid dissolved in the exhaled air is pure water.

All those animals which suckle their young, constituting the class Mammalia,—for example, the ape, the horse, the dog, the mouse,

mouse, the seal, and the whale; Reptiles, such as the turtle, the lizard, the frog, and the snake,—and the whole class of Birds,—are provided with organs resembling the lungs of man, into which they are constantly, during life, receiving fresh air. Analogy alone, therefore, would lead us to suppose, that these animals produce similar changes on it by their respiration. But this inference is in a manner confirmed, by the appeal which Mr Ellis has made to the experiments of various physiologists on rabbits, guinea pigs, rats, mice, sparrows, vipers, tortoises and lizards; and by some very neat experiments of his own on toads and frogs. In all these it appeared, that the nitrogen of the air respired suffered no change, but that a quantity of oxygen was removed,—and a volume, nearly or exactly equal, of carbonic acid substituted in its place.

The opinion which seems to have prevailed almost universally of late years, is, that, during respiration, a portion of the oxygen or nitrogen of the atmosphere, or a quantity of the compound atmospheric air itself, actually passes out of the lungs into the bloodvessels of these organs, and was combined with, or absorbed by the blood; and respiration has been familiarly spoken of as a process analogous, if not absolutely identical, with that of combustion. This combination being assumed as a fact, a variety of other phenomena, more or less at variance with actual experience, have been supposed to succeed or accompany it. According to one hypothesis, the carbonic acid exhaled *might* have existed ready formed in the blood of the pulmonary arteries; and the blood might have a stronger attraction for oxygen gas than for carbonic acid, and, combining consequently with the oxygen of the air, might part with the carbonic acid, which would as easily pass *from* the vessels into the cells, as the oxygen from the cells *into* the vessels. Another doctrine supposed, that a portion of oxygen being attracted by the blood in the lungs, was combined, during the circulation of that fluid through the other parts of the body, with a portion of carbon, so as to form an oxide of carbon; which, on being brought back to the pulmonary vessels, was there united with an additional quantity of oxygen, assumed the state of carbonic acid, and was discharged. In like manner, it was conceived by some, that the water emitted in the state of vapour might be formed, by the union of a portion of absorbed oxygen with hydrogen existing in the blood, so as to constitute an oxide of hydrogen, which, on passing into the pulmonary arteries, combined with another portion of oxygen, and was then exhaled. And, finally, with respect to the nitrogen, some were of opinion, that while the blood actually attracted a large volume of

this gas out of the cells of the lungs, it combined only with a small portion of it,—the remainder passing back into the cells again; while others thought it more probable, that no more was absorbed by the blood from the cells, than this fluid permanently retained.

This rapid and easy transmission of gases through the sides of the cells and vessels of the lungs, which is the common foundation of all these theories, Mr Ellis maintains, is not only totally devoid of proof, but, if sound philosophy only allows us to conjecture, respecting phenomena unseen, from what we have experienced of similar events actually perceived, that it is not legitimate to entertain it, even as an hypothesis. Dr Lower had indeed observed, that when dark-coloured blood was brought into contact with atmospheric air, it assumed a florid colour; and various other physiologists after Priestley, had proved that this, or any other air containing oxygen, so exposed, lost part of its oxygen, and gained carbonic acid. Lower had also demonstrated, by experiments on quadrupeds, that the change of colour from modena to a scarlet red which the blood underwent in the lungs, depended entirely on the presence of fresh air in their cells: And Priestley found, that when a quantity of dark-coloured blood was tied up closely in a moistened bladder, and hung in the air, the whole lower surface of the blood acquired a coating of a florid red colour, as thick as if no bladder had intervened. From all this, it had been inferred, that, during respiration, either some part of the air passed through the sides of the cells and vessels of the lungs into the blood, or that something was given out by the same course, from the blood to the air, so as to alter the colour of the one, and the composition of the other. But, without denying that, in these instances, the change of colour in the blood depended on the presence of atmospheric air, or of air containing oxygen, Mr Ellis has shown, by the most satisfactory experiments, that, in the case where the bladder intervened, neither did the air afford any portion of its gases to the blood, nor did the blood communicate any matter to the air. Thus, when he put a quantity of black blood into a small bladder, and suspended it in a glass jar containing 13.1 cubic inches of atmospheric air inverted over mercury, he found that the blood soon reddened; that, at the end of two days, the whole of the oxygen of the included air had disappeared—*but that an equal quantity of carbonic acid had been formed.* Hence it is obvious, that as all the oxygen which had disappeared was converted into carbonic acid, none could have penetrated the bladder, or combined with the blood. On the

the other hand, when Mr Ellis suspended, in the same manner, bladders filled with water, or bladders empty, but moistened, in jars of atmospheric air, the oxygen was equally found to be converted into carbonic acid. Since, therefore, it thus appears that a moistened bladder is of itself capable of affording carbon to form carbonic acid with the oxygen of the air, there is no reason for supposing, that the carbon is derived from any other source, where the bladder is filled with blood; and the conclusion seems irresistible, that when dark-coloured blood is reddened by the air, through the sides of a moistened bladder, the air yields no oxygen to the blood, nor acquires from it any carbon; but the carbon of the bladder, by its combination with the oxygen of the air, passes into the state of carbonic acid gas. The doctrine, then, of the entrance of gases into the blood from the air cells of the lungs, can no longer be regarded as receiving the best support from Priestley's experiment. But although the result had been otherwise, and the direct passage of something through the bladder had been unequivocally proved, we should still have been disposed to maintain with our author, that it would not necessarily follow, that any similar transmission of air took place through the sides of the cells and vessels of the lungs. On the contrary, we regard it to be a fact, as well established as any in Physiology, that no part of the body, provided with vessels, however delicate it may be, has ever been observed to permit the smallest quantity of any kind of fluid to permeate through it, as long as the circulation continues in that part; though, as soon as death has taken place, transudation goes on in all textures with the utmost facility. We should not, therefore, be entitled to infer, merely because a dead bladder may seem to allow of the transmission of air, that the cells and vessels of the living lungs are equally permeable to that fluid.

Mr Davy had concluded from experiment, that 71 or 93 cubic inches of nitrous oxide might, in the short period of half a minute, be absorbed by the venous blood, through the moist coats of the pulmonary veins. Our author's observations, alone, would have left very little doubt in our minds, that, in these experiments, though a portion of gas had disappeared from the air-holder, none had passed into the vessels of the lungs. But we have, ourselves, found, by repeated trials with nitrous oxide and atmospheric air, that, when a given quantity of either of these is frequently breathed, the desire, or sympathetic stimulus to inspire, becomes gradually so strong, and the expirations proportionally so short and restrained, that, at last, when the ex-

periment is terminated from fatigue, the lungs may contain, in some instances, even twice as much air as at the commencement. It is obviously from inattention to this circumstance, that Messrs Allen and Pepys, in their late investigations, have been deceived into the conclusion, that, when atmospheric air is breathed in this laborious way, a portion of oxygen is absorbed;—a conclusion which, had not Mr Ellis shown it to be matter of hypothesis and not of fact, we do not hesitate to say, would have led us to doubt the accuracy, even of two of the most eminent chemists in the island.

At the present day, we believe, there are not many who suppose, that any part of the air is conveyed into the blood by the channel of the absorbent vessels: Yet Mr Ellis has thought it necessary to point out how little grounds there are for such an opinion. We are aware, that experiments upon dogs have been referred to in support of it;—in which, air, introduced into the cavities of the pleura or peritonæum, has disappeared in a few days. But we should almost have thought a reference of this nature quite unnecessary, when it is so generally known, that, sometimes, in the human body, in consequence of a very trifling laceration of the lungs from a broken rib, such a quantity of air escapes from the chest into the cellular membrane under the skin, as to blow it up over the whole surface, to the depth of nearly a foot; and yet all this air is gradually removed; so that the body, from having the appearance of a huge bladder fully inflated, in a few days recovers its natural form. Still these phenomena are far from demonstrating, that air, in an elastic state, is taken up by the absorbents of the lungs during respiration.

Having thus shown, that the fundamental principle of all the prevalent hypotheses, respecting the manner in which the air is altered by natural breathing, is inaccurate, Mr Ellis's simple and most satisfactory deduction on this point may be stated in a few words. Air, examined after respiration, is found to differ from the same air before it is breathed, in having lost a portion of oxygen,—gained an equal volume of carbonic acid,—and in being loaded with watery vapour. This additional carbonic acid, then, is either given out directly by the exhalent vessels of the lungs, or it is actually formed within the air cells. Now, it is not directly emitted from the vessels; for in that case it ought to be discovered in the air expired, whatever the composition of the air inspired may have been: But this is not so; for no carbonic acid is exhaled when hydrogen is breathed. It must, therefore, be formed within the cells. If so, the oxygen entering into its composition

composition must be derived from the air inhaled; for it is not generated, unless that air contains oxygen; and the quantity of oxygen which is lost by the inspired air, is exactly equal to that of the carbonic acid emitted. On the other hand, the carbon with which the oxygen combines, must be supplied by the lungs; and Physiology does not permit us to suppose, that this supply is accomplished in any other way, than by an exhalent secretion from the branches of the pulmonary artery, opening on the surface of the air cells. In what state the carbonaceous matter is secreted, whether purely as carbon, or in combination with other substances, is yet uncertain. Here, however, it may be proper to remark, that since we have estimated, that about 92160 cubic inches of carbonic acid are formed, by the direct combination of its constituent principles, within the air cells of the human lungs, in the course of 24 hours, it follows, that as much latent heat is daily set free, within these organs, as would melt 201.03 lib. troy of ice. Lastly, with respect to the water which is found dissolved in the expired air, we may observe, that we cannot regard it as formed by the union of the oxygen inhaled, with hydrogen present in the air cells; for all the oxygen which disappears is employed in forming the carbonic acid. In consistency with physiological principles, therefore, we must suppose, that it is poured out on the surface of the cells, either in the state of pure water, or holding other substances in solution, by an exhalent secretion from the vessels of the lungs.

We cannot leave the consideration of the changes produced on the air by animals provided with lungs, without adverting to another very singular alteration, which Mr Ellis has, with great ingenuity, suggested that it may undergo, from its introduction into these organs. Messrs Allen and Pepys had found, that when they respired pure oxygen, a quantity of nitrogen considerably greater than what could reasonably have been supposed to have existed in the lungs before the experiment, was mingled with the expired air, and that an equal bulk of oxygen gas had disappeared. In like manner, when a guinea-pig was made to breathe pure oxygen, or a mixture of this gas and hydrogen, the expired air contained a volume of nitrogen much more than equal to the cubic contents of the animal's body, and had lost a proportional bulk of oxygen or hydrogen. It was observed, too, that the emission of nitrogen was always greatest in the first expiration; and that its quantity progressively diminished, until, towards the close of the experiment, it was reduced almost to nothing. Far from regarding these phenomena, with

Messrs Allan and Pepys, as proving an evolution of nitrogen from the blood, and a corresponding absorption of oxygen or hydrogen, Mr Ellis infers, with more accuracy, that the nitrogen must have been derived from the residual air in the lungs, and that it has been displaced from the cells by the mere mechanical substitution of the other gases. But if this inference be just, since a much greater volume of nitrogen was emitted, than the lungs could have contained of that gas in an elastic state, we cannot but suppose, as has been argued by our author at great length, that these organs exert, upon inspired air, a property similar to that which chemists have proved pieces of porous charcoal to possess, namely, a power of attracting and *condensing* several times their volume of atmospheric air, oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, and various other gases. Hence, though the lungs do not contain a greater *bulk* of air than has commonly been supposed, yet they may, in fact, contain a greater *weight* of that elastic fluid. Mr Ellis will not be displeased to learn, that this analogy had occurred, many years ago, to one of the most judicious of the French physiologists, M. Hallé. Among a list of questions connected with respiration, which he proposes for resolution, we find the following:

'Dans les altérations qu'éprouve l'air dans la respiration, en 'est-il qu'on doive attribuer plutôt au poumon qu'au sang? 'et indépendamment de l'humidité pulmonaire, la propriété 'singulière qu'ont la plupart des corps spongieux d'absorber 'les gaz et de leur faire perdre l'état élastique, ne peut-elle pas 'entrer pour quelque chose, dans les fonctions que le poumon 'remplit dans la respiration?' *Encyclop. Meth. Medecine*, I. 506.

Land animals of the classes of Insects, Mollusca and Vermes, and Terrestrial Ova, Larvæ and Chrysalids of Insects, operate upon the surrounding air, either by receiving it into cavities, which they can enlarge or diminish at will like lungs; or into tubes, called tracheæ, opening externally by orifices or stigmata; or the power of acting upon it seems possessed by the whole surface of the body. * There can be little doubt, from the numerous experiments which our author has detailed on bees, flies, grasshoppers, slugs, snails, earth-worms, and various larvæ and chrysalids, that all these, like man, remove, by their respiration, a certain quantity of the oxygen of the air, and substitute a

* We have adopted the classification of animals, which will be found proposed under that article in Dr Rees's Cyclopædia, composed,

a corresponding bulk of carbonic acid, leaving the nitrogen unaltered. But it is certain that they produce no carbonic acid, unless when in contact with air containing oxygen. It is most consistent with analogy, therefore, and it is in no respect incompatible with the anatomy or physiology of these animals, to suppose, that, in changing the surrounding air, they merely afford to it, by a process like secretion, a certain quantity of carbonaceous matter, which, uniting with its oxygen, constitutes an equal volume of carbonic acid.

The water of springs, rivers, and of the sea, always contains from $\frac{1}{15}$ to $\frac{1}{10}$ part of its bulk of an air, composed of from $\frac{34}{100}$ to $\frac{36}{100}$ of oxygen, from $\frac{56}{100}$ to $\frac{59}{100}$ of nitrogen, and from $\frac{5}{100}$ to $\frac{10}{100}$ of carbonic acid. Now, all aquatic animals, such, for example, as the whole class of fishes, many insects, mollusca, vermes, and zoophytes, and several aquatic ova of land animals, are constantly producing changes on this air contained in their natural element. Fish act upon it through the medium of organs familiar to every one, called gills; and the animals of the other classes, either by means of organs like the gills of fish, or of tubes like the trachcæ of many terrestrial insects; or by a structure, too minute to be seen, existing on all parts of their surface. With respect to the alteration which they effect, Mr Ellis has quoted a variety of experiments on different kinds of fish, muscles, marine testacea, snails, leeches, zoophytes and tadpoles, in which it was found, that the water in which these animals were placed, lost a part of its oxygen, and received an addition of carbonic acid, while its nitrogen remained unaffected. It was not actually demonstrated, in these instances, that the quantity of carbonic acid produced, exactly equalled the oxygen which had disappeared; but we confidently infer, with our author, that this was the extent of the change. Nor have we less hesitation in concluding, that the carbonic acid was formed, by the combination of carbon separated from the animal by the vital process of exhalation, with the oxygen of the air contained in the water. And here we cannot refrain from quoting the beautiful provision of nature, which Mr Ellis has developed. The experiments of Scheele and others had shown, that water possesses a superior attractive power for

composed, we presume, by Mr Macartney. It seems to us superior to any that has yet been offered to the public. In applying the terms *Land* or *Terrestrial* to animals, we wish them to be understood as designating those which are killed by immersion in water, in opposition to the *Aquatic* class, or such as die merely from being removed out of that fluid.

oxygen; and that, as it attracts this gas, it parts with its carbonic acid; so that the latter never exceeds a certain quantity, in the water either of springs or of rivers. And hence, says Mr Ellis, 'the noxious gases, formed in water by the exercise 'of the animal functions, and by the decomposition of organic 'bodies, are regularly expelled; and thus the air, destined to 'support the living functions of aquatic animals, like that of 'the atmosphere which we breathe, is maintained nearly in an 'uniform state of composition and purity.' § 538.

The experiments of Hooke and Spallanzani, referred to by our author, prove, that the order of zoophytes called Infusoria, such as the animalcules of vegetable infusions, of vinegar, and of stagnant waters, are killed by placing these fluids in a vacuum, or stopping them up closely in a phial. And, in the absence of any direct proof, we may presume, that, like other animals, they exhale carbon, which combines with oxygen existing in the medium in which they live, and forms carbonic acid.

Lastly, we think it extremely probable, that those detached and apparently irritable substances, called Hydatids, so frequently discovered in diseased parts of other animals, and which might with propriety be constituted into an order of zoophytes under the name of Parasitica, act in a similar manner upon oxygen contained in the fluids which surround them.

Thus Mr Ellis has conducted us, by satisfactory experiment, and the most reasonable analogies, to this great inference, that every individual in the animal kingdom is continually exhaling carbon, to form carbonic acid with the oxygen of the atmosphere, or of the air existing in the fluids in which it lives.

We should now willingly have followed our author through the various stages of his interesting inquiries into the Respiration of Vegetables. But as we have already almost transgressed our limits we shall content ourselves with a few such remarks on his researches in this department, as we hope will induce our readers to consult the work for themselves.

In the first place, then, Mr Ellis seems to have abundantly established, both by numerous experiments of his own, and an appeal to those of preceding writers, that all terrestrial plants, whether growing in absolute darkness, in the shade, or exposed to the direct rays of the sun, are constantly removing a quantity of oxygen from the atmosphere, and substituting an exactly equal volume of carbonic acid;—that they produce this change, by emitting from their leaves, flowers, fruits, stems and roots, by a process like animal exhalation, carbonaceous matter, which combines

combines with the oxygen of the surrounding air; and that this function is essentially necessary to their vital existence.

But it is also shown, that the green parts, and the green parts alone, of these plants, when placed in the light, and particularly in the direct rays of the sun, while they are exhaling carbon to form carbonic acid with the surrounding oxygen, are also giving out a portion of pure oxygen;—that this oxygen seems to be derived from the decomposition of carbonic acid existing in the cellular texture of their green parts;—that this acid appears to be decomposed, by the chemical agency of the solar light, which, penetrating into the cells containing it, resolves it into carbon and oxygen, whereof the former is retained, while the latter escapes through the external pores;—and, finally, that this process is not a constant and invariable function necessary to life, but an effect, in a manner additional, or subordinate; for a plant does not die when this formation of oxygen has ceased; and it may be found to occur in a dead plant, as well as in one that is alive.

It was this production of oxygen by the green parts of plants exposed to light, or apparently depending on the decomposition of carbonic acid, which gave rise to the opinion, almost universally maintained since the time of Priestley, that by an admirable provision of nature, vegetables, in all circumstances, were continually employed in purifying the air, which had been deteriorated by the respiration of animals. But it is indeed scarcely possible, as our author has observed, that this opinion could have obtained such general regard, had not physiologists and chemists obviously satisfied themselves with contemplating, at a distance, the beauty of the Final Cause whose existence it implied, instead of carefully examining the facts by which it had been suggested. Mr Ellis seems to have been the first to question their accuracy; and to show, that they were not only, even according to Priestley's own representation, imperfect and contradictory in themselves, but also in direct opposition to the experience of Priestley's cotemporary, the celebrated Scheele. We have pleasure in quoting the sentiments with which our author has closed his exposition of this very popular, and perhaps not unnatural error. They are written with that modesty and candour, which we wish to consider as virtues inseparable from minds truly intelligent; and we value them the more, that, in physiological discussions, they are comparatively rare in their occurrence.

'We have been drawn into these detailed remarks, not from any desire to depreciate Dr Priestley's labours, but from the circumstance of their having first given origin to the opinion, that plants, by their vegetation,

vegetation, at all times purify the air; and from a consideration of the importance which has ever since been attached to them. In the experimental sciences, it is chiefly by the successive detection of each other's errors, that we gradually advance to truth; for rarely, indeed, does it happen, that human sagacity can at once foresee and appreciate all the possible circumstances in an experiment, which may influence and control its result. There is, therefore, no cause to wonder, that this illustrious philosopher did not discover those sources of fallacy, which the more advanced state of science has alone enabled his successors to point out. And the reflection, that our apparently more correct views may, at no distant day, undergo a similar revision, ought not only to teach us becoming diffidence in our own opinions, but may serve to check that rising triumph which little minds are sometimes apt to feel, when they see thus exposed the mistakes of superior men.' § 254.

Were the excellent remarks also contained in the following extract, limited in their reference merely to the subject under discussion, we should not probably have detained our readers by inserting them; but they are of much more extensive application. There is a class of scientific inquirers, of late years rather increasing in number, who seem disposed to measure the power of man by the extent of their own individual exertions; who would damp the noble ardour of philosophical pursuit, and check the progress of discovery, by throwing in our path every obstacle which their ingenuity can construct, out of the crude and feeble materials of vital principles, and final causes, and ultimate facts; and who scarcely scruple to affirm, with a confidence which we are convinced their more enlarged experience will induce them to regard as unreasonable, that they have already attained the utmost boundary to which the human faculties can reach. Against such narrow views, our author's observations contain a just and eloquent appeal.

'But there have been writers,' says he, 'who rested their views of the purification of the atmosphere by vegetation, not so much on observation and experiment, as on what they conceived to be its necessity in the general economy of Nature; and, with more, perhaps, of piety than of prudence, and certainly with a "zeal not according to knowledge," have represented the contrary doctrine as derogatory to the wisdom of Providence, and a calumny against Nature herself. It is indeed true, and it is among the most gratifying truths in the pursuit of science, that every real step which we make in the knowledge of nature, serves to illustrate the skill and wisdom with which all its parts are contrived to advance the general purposes of the whole; but of this whole it should also be recollected, that we, "as yet, see but in part and as through a glass, darkly." Hence imperfect and erroneous views of the order of nature may be often taken, and false conclusions may be grounded on them;

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and if these conclusions be afterwards announced as examples of divine wisdom, and be allowed to borrow the authority of final causes for their support, the history of science abundantly testifies that the vainest conceits of fallible man may, in time, come to be worshipped as the wisest institutions of unerring nature. It behoves us, therefore, to employ no ordinary portion of delicacy and caution in pronouncing, on the general plans and purposes of Providence, from the little and partial views of nature, which, at present, we are permitted to take; lest, in the effervescence of our zeal, we degrade the wisdom we pretend to exalt, and prevent the designs of the goodness we profess to revere. With respect also to the charge of calumniating nature, he surely who, by assiduous observation of the facts which she offers to his contemplation, seeks to discover the laws of their connexion, and proposes his opinion of those laws as the simple result of his inquiries, may be regarded less as a calumniator, than he, who supplies the imperfection and deficiency in his facts, by the suggestions of imagination; and confidently imposes upon Nature, laws and conditions, which she utterly disowns and disdains.' §§ 531, 532.

Since, then, it appears, that plants, as well as animals, are incessantly converting the pure part of the air into carbonic acid, and since it is also very generally known, that, notwithstanding the vast extent of this deteriorating process, the atmosphere still maintains its uniformity of composition, at all times, and in all places; it is natural to ask, where are we to look for the means of its purification? To this most interesting and difficult question, our author thinks that, in the present state of our chemical knowledge, no satisfactory answer can be returned.

Lastly, Mr Ellis in investigating the source of the oxygen emitted by the green parts of plants when exposed to light, has been led to one of the most beautiful theories, that have been suggested in modern physiology: That the various colours which adorn the vegetable kingdom, depend on the varied proportions of alkaline and acid matter mixed with the juices of the coloured parts of plants: That green and yellow, for example, are always produced by an excess of alkali, in the colourable juices of the leaf or flower—and all the shades of red by a predominance of acid; and that, in parts where neither acid nor alkali predominate, the colour is white: Just as, in an experiment familiar to every one, we convert an infusion of green leaves into red, by pouring into it a little vinegar—or an infusion of red flowers into green, by a few drops of potass or ammonia—or destroying the colours of both infusions entirely, by adding the alkali and acid in such proportions, as that they shall exactly neutralize each other. But it is well known, that the presence of light is essentially necessary to the production of colours, in various

plants.

plants. Thus, if a plant, which is naturally of a green colour, be made to grow in total darkness, the leaves and other parts, as they unfold themselves, will appear perfectly white, and remain so. But if we now bring this *etiolated* plant, as it is called, into the light, the blanched foliage, and the young leaves, as they expand from the buds, will soon acquire a yellowish tint, which will gradually deepen into a green; and this colour, after being completely formed, may again be made to disappear, by returning the plant into a dark place. The etiolation, or blanching of the roots of celery, and of the inner parts of cabbages and lettuces, are familiar examples of the same kind. In like manner, if red rose trees are carefully secluded from the light, they will produce flowers almost white; or if a portion of a ripening peach or cherry be covered with a piece of tinfoil, the uncovered parts of the surface will become perfectly red, while the covered portion will exhibit only a pale, or straw-colour.

Now, in all these instances, our author has suggested, that the light contributes to the development of the colour, merely by modifying the proportions of alkali or acid matter in the fluids of the part. For it is found, that the blanched leaves of an etiolated plant abound in carbonic acid, and that they not only contain less alkali than green leaves, but that this alkali exists in a more neutralized state: and hence, according to Mr Ellis, their white colour. But as soon as the plant is brought into the sun, the chemical action of the solar beam begins, as it would seem, to decompose the carbonic acid existing in the white parts; the alkali by degrees comes to predominate; and the colour of the leaves is observed to pass gradually into a full green. Thus, too, a reason may be assigned, why the green parts alone of plants placed in the light have been said to afford oxygen: for, in fact, the emission of oxygen, and the production of the green colour, appear both to depend on the same cause—the decomposition of carbonic acid; so that we cannot so properly affirm that the green parts afford oxygen, as that they become green when that gas is expelled. Again, when, in the fall of the year, vegetation begins to decline, alkaline matter seems less abundantly supplied; while spontaneous decomposition appears actually to increase the quantity of acid in the leaves: and, according to the various proportions of acid which are developed in the leaves of different plants, the foliage exhibits those various shades of brown, or those bright tints of yellow and red, which so beautifully diversify an autumnal scene. On the other hand, it would seem, that, when the sunbeams

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either entirely produce, or only heighten the red colours of flowers or fruits, they produce these effects by some chemical action, which favours the formation of acid in the juices of the coloured part.

These very novel and ingnenious views, so consonant with the usual simplicity of Nature's operations, are unfolded at great length by our author, in two sections, which will probably appear the most generally interesting in his Inquiry. They are accompanied, also, with an able disquisition on the causes of colour in bodies in general; and on the analogy, in chemical operations, between the two kinds of electricity and the two species of invisible rays in the solar beam—the chemical and calorific. Of the former, we have only to remark, that Mr Ellis has both appreciated with judgment, and contributed to confirm, the valuable though much neglected views of Delaval and Bancroft. With respect to the latter, we can scarcely venture to grant to our author, that the analogy in question exists to the extent to which he has endeavoured to trace it. We do not, however, withhold our assent, from conceiving that there is any defect in the reasoning which Mr Ellis has employed—for, indeed, if the *data* he has assumed be granted, we believe the conclusions he has deduced from them are altogether unobjectionable—but because we strongly suspect that most of the observations on the operation of galvanism in chemical decompositions, which have lately been offered to the Public under the specious names of 'general laws,' and 'statements of fact,' are blended with hypotheses to no inconsiderable extent.

Our author does not seem to have made any observations on the respiration of aquatic plants: but we may presume that, like aquatic animals, they possess the power of producing changes on the air combined with the water in which they grow, similar to those which terrestrial vegetables effect on the air of the atmosphere.

From all these views, therefore, we are fully disposed to conclude, that the author of the volumes before us has satisfactorily established this important general truth in philosophy,—That the change which all animals and vegetables are continually producing on the atmosphere, or on the air of the fluids in which they live, consists simply in the conversion of a portion of oxygen into an equal bulk of carbonic acid, by the addition of carbon exhaled from the living organized body.

And now the question will naturally again suggest itself, why is this exhalation of carbon, and conversion of oxygen into carbonic acid, essentially necessary to the occurrence of that assemblage of phenomena which we express by the term Life?

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It is pretty bold, we think, in any physiologist to undertake to answer such a question as this; and indeed it is plain enough, that any answer which human genius can give to it, can only remove our insurmountable ignorance one degree farther back, and merely reduce, under a more comprehensive denomination, all the miscellaneous phenomena which indicate the inexplicable combination of organized matter with sensation and perception. This, indeed, is all that Mr Ellis probably proposes to attempt in the succeeding part of his publication, as we observe that he only announces his expectation of being able to trace all the effects which are observed to depend on respiration in animals and plants, to the agency of that subtile or calorific matter which is universally liberated on the conversion of oxygen into carbonic acid, and which enters into the animal and vegetable systems. It is impossible not to anticipate the explanation which such a view will at once afford of many puzzling and obscure phenomena: we need only allude to two, the change of colour, from modena to scarlet, which the blood undergoes in the lungs of a full grown person; and the corresponding change which the blood of the child suffers, in the placenta, within the mother's womb. In both instances, Mr Ellis, we presume, will say, *caloric*, and not the absorption of any *gas*, is the agent which operates the change.

Of Mr Ellis's style, we have nothing to observe but in commendation. It is pure and perspicuous throughout. We think, however, that the arrangement of his work is susceptible of improvement. The order which we have followed, in exhibiting a general view of the subjects it embraces, is nearly the reverse of that in which they are treated in the Inquiry itself. The author seems to have adopted, as the foundation of his arrangement, a principle almost generally admitted, it is true, in physiological writings, but admitted, we apprehend, on very insufficient proof; namely, that zoophytes and vegetables, or the lower classes, as they are called, of organized bodies, are the most *simple* in their structure; and, therefore, that in the investigation of any general function in the economy of living beings, we ought to rise gradually, from the contemplation of the more simple properties which, it is presumed, bodies simple in their structure possess, to the study of the complicated phenomena, accompanying a more complex organization. To this, however, we would reply, that in man the phenomena of life are exhibited on the grandest scale, and in circumstances the most favourable to accurate observation, and that with the human body, therefore, the properties of every other form of organized existence ought to be compared; that if the structure

of

of the lowest classes appears more simple, it is only because it is more minute; and that, in truth, none of them are totally devoid of any of those properties which seem essential to life in the higher classes,—although our senses, even when aided by the most powerful instruments, have not yet been able to perceive the individual parts by which these properties are exercised. M. Trembley has described, in one of the most interesting and best written memoirs in natural history, three kinds of fresh water polypes, which consist merely of a cylindrical tube or pouch, open at both ends, formed of an extremely thin, transparent skin, in which not the slightest appearance of nerves, or muscular fibres, or vessels, can be seen; animals which can be cut into slices almost in every direction, and each slice becomes a perfect polype; nay, what is even more extraordinary, which may be turned outside in, and still continue to live as well as before. Yet, these singular beings exhibit the most unequivocal indications of volition in their various motions from place to place, either to expose themselves to the pleasing influence of light, or in search of insects often larger than themselves, which they dexterously entangle in their arms, convey to their mouth, and devour with the utmost voracity. Voluntary motions, like these, we conceive dependent only on the previous consciousness of sensations and ideas. The apparently insignificant creatures which exhibit them have obviously the same motives to action as ourselves—the love of pleasure, and the fear of pain. But sensation, ideas, and volition, are phenomena which uniform experience has taught us, are inseparable from a nervous system; the conclusion, therefore, with respect to the polype, cannot but be obvious. In man, these phenomena are exhibited by parts so large, as to be observed and distinguished with accuracy, both in form and composition; in the polype, the corresponding organs are so minute, that they are wholly imperceptible to the quickest eye. And if this inference be just, can it reasonably be maintained, that *simplicity* of structure is the most distinguishing character of these lower animals? For our own parts, so strongly are we impressed with an opposite opinion, that when we compare these two extremes of organization, and reflect on the much greater difficulty which attends the construction of every thing that is minute in the works of art, we hesitate which to regard as the more wonderful production of Incomprehensible Power—the obscure and diminutive Polype—or Man, the lord of the creation.

ART. III. ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ΕΚΑΒΗ. *Euripidis Hecuba ad fidem Manuscriptorum emendata, et brevibus Notis Emendationum potissimum Rationes reddentibus instructa. In Usum Studiosæ Juventutis.* Edidit Ricardus Porson A. M. Græcarum Literarum apud Cantabrigienses Professor. Londini. 1808. 8vo. pp. 150.

THE present edition of the Hecuba of Euripides, with the preface and notes of the late Mr Porson, which is said, in the title-page, to have been printed in the year 1808, contains an advertisement, addressed by the booksellers to the reader, which is dated on the ides of January in the current year. That part of the volume which contains the text of the poet, and the annotations of the illustrious editor, was actually given to the world in the year specified in the title-page. Instead of the preface, Mr Porson prefixed to this imperfect edition the following brief declaration of his future intentions.

'Monitum: Quatuor fabulis, postquam typis repetitæ erunt, 'accedet Præfatio auctior aliquanto et emendatior, cum In-'dicibus locupletissimis.'

Mr Porson having been prevented by death from proceeding further in his design, his friends have completed the new edition of the Hecuba, by reprinting the preface, with such additions as Mr Porson's papers enabled them to make to it. We are sorry to perceive, that these additions are so far from being considerable, that, if they were printed separately, they would scarcely occupy a couple of pages. Every scholar, however, will be grateful for the smallest fragments of Mr Porson's critical writings. The Edinburgh Reviewers, in particular, willingly embrace the opportunity which is thus afforded to them, of delivering their sentiments on some of the principal doctrines propounded in the preface to the Hecuba. They take for granted, that every reader of this article is too well acquainted with that classical and original production, to require a regular analysis of its contents, or a formal demonstration of its merit.

Our readers will recollect, that the preface to the Hecuba originally appeared in the year 1797; and that the supplement, the length of which is four times that of the original preface, was added in the edition of 1802. The principal hero of the piece, although, after the example of the heroes of many tragedies, he is not produced upon the stage until the second act, is the learned Gottfried Hermann; whom, for some reason or other, Mr Porson appears to have considered rather as a personal enemy, than as a literary antagonist. Almost every line of Mr Porson's supplement contains an allusion to some blunder

committed by the above mentioned learned person, in one or other of two works, the titles of which may be seen in the note. * Whoever wishes thoroughly to understand the preface to Mr Porson's edition of the Hecuba, ought 'to devote his days and nights' to the study of Mr Hermann's edition of the same tragedy. Those persons who possess both editions, will do well in binding them in one volume; adding, if they think proper, the *Diatribe Extemporalis* of the vehement and injudicious Wakefield, and the excellent strictures on Mr Porson's Hecuba and Mr Wakefield's *Diatribe*, which appeared in the Monthly Review for 1799, and which are well known to be written by a gentleman, to whom Greek literature is more indebted than to any other living scholar.

The greater part of the original preface relates to the use of anapests in tragic *senarii*. Should any scholar of the nineteenth century venture to maintain the admissibility of an anapest, not included in a proper name, into any place of a Greek tragic *senarius* except the first foot, he would assuredly be ranked with those persons, if any such persons remain, who deny the motion of the earth, or the circulation of the blood. Before the appearance of the preface to the Hecuba, critics were divided into two sects upon this subject; the more rigid of which excluded anapests from all the even places; whereas the other admitted them promiscuously into any place except the last. Mr Porson (p. 6) with his usual strictness in attributing the merit of discoveries and improvements to the right owners, mentions an obscure hint of the true doctrine, which is contained in the preface to Morell's *Thesaurus Græcæ Poëseos*. By how little effect that hint was followed, may be judged from the following words of the learned Hermann (M. p. 150), which have been published about fifteen years.

'A trisyllabis pedibus tragici Græci maxime abstinuerunt, quamquam etiam in pari sede, sed admodum raro, anapæstus invenitur. Idque et Hephæstio notavit, et nuper Brunckius defendit ad Soph. Œd. Col. 371. 1169. Philoct. 491. Vide Æschyli Prom. 353. 354.'

The lines of Æschylus quoted in this antediluvian passage,

* *Godofredi Hermanni de Metris Poëtarum Græcorum et Romanorum Libri III. Lipsiæ.* 1796. *Euripidis Hecuba. Godofredi Hermanni ad eam et ad R. Porsoni notas Animadversiones. Lipsiæ.* 1800. In our citations, we distinguish these two works by the letters M and H. In justice to Mr Hermann, we are bound to declare our belief, that he has long been sensible of the numerous errors of these early productions.

are commonly read as follows: Ἑκατοντακάρηνον πρὸς βίαν χειρούμενον, Τυφῶνα θοῦρον, πᾶσιν ὃς ἀντέστη θεοῖς. According to Brunck, in his note on v. 265. *In priori scribere potuisset poëta* ἑκατονκάρηνον *vel* ἑκατοντάκρανον: *in altero* πᾶσ' *pro* πᾶσιν. The reading ἑκατοντάκρανον receives some support from a similar variation in Eurip. Herc. 611. Καὶ θῆρά γ' εἰς φῶς τὸν τρίκρανον ἤγαγον. The editions from Aldus to Barnes inclusive read τρικάρηνον. But the Attics always wrote ἑκατοντάλαντος, ἑκατόμνως, ἑκατόζυγος, ἑκατόστομος, &c., without the additional syllable. The Glasgow edition of Æschylus reads ἑκατογκάρηνον, which Mr Blomfield has properly altered to ἑκατογκάρανον. In Mr Blomfield's edition, the following verse is thus represented: Τυφῶνα θοῦρον, ὅστις ἀντέστη θεοῖς.

As our limits will not allow us to produce all the instances of unlawful anapests which are to be found in the common editions of the tragedies, we shall content ourselves with laying before our readers those which occur in Brunck's edition of Sophocles, being thirteen in number. * It must be remembered, that Brunck is a strenuous defender of anapests, which he seems to have regarded with compassion, as innocent and persecuted beings.

Œd. Tyr. 248. Κακὸν κακῶς νιν ἄμοιρον ἐκτρῖψαι βίου. Mr Porson (p. 11) reads ἄμορον. Œd. Col. 371. Νῦν δ' ἐκ θεῶν του, κἀξ ἀλιτηρίου (κἀξ ἀλιτηροῦ *Ald.*) φρενός. The true reading, κἀλιτηρίου, had been proposed by Toup, and is mentioned in Brunck's note. *Ibid.* 808. Χωρὶς τό τ' εἰπεῖν πολλὰ, καὶ τὸ τὰ (καὶ τὰ *Ald.*) καίρια. Here also the true reading, καὶ τὸ καίρια, which is furnished by Suidas, was known to Brunck, but did not meet with his approbation. *Ibid.* 1169. Ὦ φίλτατ', ἐπίσχες οὔπερ εἶ. τί δ' ἔστι σοι. Read with Heath, Ὦ φίλτατε, σχές. Ant. 263. Κοὐδεὶς ἐναργὴς, ἀλλ' ὄφευγε τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι. Mr Porson (*ad Med.* 139. 140. *p.* 17) reads ἔφυγε. *Ibid.* 467. Μητρὸς θανόντ' ἄθαπτον ἡνεχόμην (ἠνεσχόμην *Ald.*) νέκυν. Eustathius reads ἐσχόμην, as Mr Porson observes (p. 19). *Ibid.* 515. Οὐ μαρτυρήσει ταῦθ' ὁ κατὰ χθονὸς (ὁ κατθανὼν *Ald.*) νέκυς. The manuscripts do not agree. Trach. 292. Τῶν μὲν παρόντων, τῶν δὲ πεπυσμένη λόγῳ. Read with Toup τὰ δὲ πεπυσμένη. Mr Wakefield proposed τῶνδ' ἐπυσμένη, which reading Mr Erfurdt justly denominates *horribile et inauditum*. *Ibid.* 717. Χείρωνα πημήναντα, χὥσά πες (χὥσπες *Ald.*) ἂν θίγῃ. Mr Erfurdt reads χὥπες ἂν θίγῃ. Aj. 524.

* Once for all, we beg leave to mention, that in this and other enumerations of the same nature, we by no means wish the reader to rely on the accuracy of our examination. This article would have been still more imperfect, if an accidental delay in the publication of it had not enabled us to supply several omissions, and to correct many errors.

524. Οὐκ ἂν γένοιτό ποθ' οὗτος εὐγενὴς ἀνήρ. Several readings of this verse are mentioned by Mr Porson (p. 10, 11, 63), who appears to hesitate between οὔποτε γένοιτ' ἂν and οὐκ ἂν γένοιτ' ἔθ'. Perhaps the poet wrote, Οὐκ ἂν γένοιτ' ἂν οὗτος εὐγενὴς ἀνήρ. † *Ibid.* 706. The convertibility of δὲ and γὰρ, of which we shall have occasion to give more than one instance in the course of this article, is mentioned by Mr Porson in his note on Med. 1083, and elsewhere. We do not object to Heath's emendation, ἔλυσεν αἰνὸν ἄχος. Phil. 491. Τραχινίαν τε δειράδα, καὶ τὸν εὔροον. Mr Porson, as we are informed, read δειράδ', ἥ. *Ibid.* 1288. Πῶς εἶπας; οὐκ ἄρα δεύτερον δολούμεθα. Mr Porson (p. 12) proposes ἆρ' οὐ, or ἆρα without the negative particle. The latter emendation appears to us to be preferable.

A tragic *senarius*, according to Mr Porson (p. 20), admits an iambus into any place; a tribrach into any place except the sixth; a spondee into the first, third and fifth; a dactyl into the first and third; and an anapest into the first alone. So that the first foot of the *senarius* is capable of five different forms; the third of four; the fifth of three; the second and fourth of two; and the sixth of only one. Two hundred and forty different varieties of the *senarius* may be produced, without employing any combination of feet unauthorised by Mr Porson's rule. The tragic poets, however, do not often admit more than two trisyllabic feet into the same verse; and never, if our observation be accurate, more than three. The admission of anapests into the second, third, fourth and fifth places, and of dactyls into the fifth place, increases the varieties of the comic *senarius* to seven hundred and ten. The number would be eleven hundred and twenty-five, if four hundred and fifteen combinations were not rejected, because they exhibit a tribrach or a dactyl immediately before an anapest. *

† This mode of exhibiting the double ἂν is one of the most frequent. The following corrections are submitted to the judgment of our readers. Æschyl. Choëph. 854. Οὗτοι φρεὶ' ἂν κλέψει' ἂν ἀμμεατωμένην. Soph. El. 913. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὲν δὴ μητρὸς οὔθ' ὁ νοῦς φιλεῖ Τοιαῦτα πράσσειν, οὔτε δρᾷσ' ἂν ἔλαθεν ἄν. Eurip. Tro. 397. Εἰ δ' ἦσαν οἶκοι, χρηστὸς ὢν ἂν ἔλαθεν ἄν. Bacch. 1309. τὸν γέροντα δὲ Οὐδεὶς ὑβρίζειν Ἔλυσε γὰρ αἰνὸν ἄχος ἀπ' ὀμμάτων Ἄρης. Read, Ἔλυσε δ' αἰνὸν ἄχος. ἤθελ', εἰσορῶν τὸ σὸν Κάρα· δίκην γὰρ ἀξίαν ἂν ἔλαβεν ἄν. Herc. 183. Ἐρεῦ, τιν' ἀνδρ' ἄριστον ἂν κρίνειαν ἄν.

* That all such combinations are to be rejected, was first distinctly taught by Dawes in the year 1745. In the year 1713, the great father of this department of criticism proposed the following verses as legitimate *senarii*, in the second edition of his Emendations of Menander

No regular tragic *senarius*, of whatsoever feet it is composed, can possibly exhibit two short syllables enclosed between two long ones, or more than three long syllables, without the intervention of a short one. A moment's consideration will satisfy the reader, that all such combinations of syllables are absolutely incompatible with the structure of the verse. The inability to employ four or more long syllables together, is productive of so little practical inconvenience, that the tragedians appear to have acquiesced in it without difficulty. The inadmissibility of two short syllables enclosed between two long ones, is a much more serious grievance. Many persons of great eminence have had the misfortune to bear names constituted in that unaccommodating form. Such were Ægialeus, Andromache, Andromeda, Antigone, Antiope, Bellerophontes, Hermione, Hippodamia, Hypsipyle, Iphigenia, Laodamia, Laomedon, Penelope, Protesilaus, Tiresias, and a great many more of equal fame. Although all these persons were admirably qualified by their names, as well as by their actions, to shine in epic poetry, unhappily not one of them is capable of being mentioned by name in a tragic *senarius* composed in the regular manner. There is also another class of persons not altogether so unfortunate, whose names are excluded only in some of the oblique cases: as Hippolytus, Neoptolemus, Œnomaus, Talthybius, &c. In favour of all such persons, and perhaps of the names of places which are formed in the same manner, the tragic poets occasionally transgress the ordinary rules of their versification. Proper names which cannot enter the *senarius* in the regular way, are admitted into it in two different manners. The first, of which Mr Porson has not spoken, consists in substituting a choriambus in the place of the first *dipodia* of the verse. This

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Menander and Philemon: P. 30. Ἐξ ἰσταρίου γὰρ ἐρέματο φιλοπόνως πάνυ. P. 33. Ἀχειότερος· διπλάσια γὰρ ἐσθίει μάτην. We have just noticed the continual confusion which subsists between γὰρ and δέ. In the year 1796, the use of a tribrach, although not of a dactyl, before an anapest, was defended by the learned Hermann. Three only of the thirteen instances which he produces (M. p. 158), appear to be capable of creating any difficulty. Aristoph. Ach. 927. ὡς μοι φορυτὸν, ἵν' αὐτοι ἐνέγκας φέρω, Ὥσπερ κέραμον, ἵνα μὴ καταγῇ φιξόμενος. For ἵνα μὴ καταγῇ read καὶ μὴ καταγῇ. Nub. 662. Ὁρᾷς ἃ πάσχεις; τὴν τε θήλειαν καλεῖς Ἀλεκτρυόνα κατὰ ταυτὸ, καὶ τὸν ἄρρενα. A satisfactory correction does not occur to us. Pac. 246. Ἰὼ Μέγαρα, Μέγαρ', ὡς ἐπιτρίψεσθ' αὐτίκα, Ἅπαξάπαντα καταμεμυττωτευμένα. In addition to the tribrach before the anapest, we suspect that the passive sense of ἐπιτρίψεσθε is destitute of authority. We read: Ἰὼ Μεγαρῆται, ὡς ἐπιτριψόμεσθ' αὐτίκα, Ἅπαξάπαντες καταμεμυττωτευμένοι.

This practice has been adopted by Æschylus in two well known instances. Theb. 494. Ἱππομέδοντος σχῆμα καὶ μέγας τύπος. *Ibid.* 553. Παρθενοπαῖος Ἀρκάς· ὁ δὲ τοιόσδ' ἀνήρ. The only other instance of this license, with which we are acquainted, is produced from a play of Sophocles by Priscian (p. 1328): Ἀλφεσίβοιαν, ἣν ὁ γενήσας πατήρ. The second and more usual mode of introducing proper names of this form into the verse, consists in admitting the two short syllables, and the following long syllable of the proper name, as one foot, into the second, third, fourth or fifth place of the verse. We have not observed more than one instance of this practice in the surviving plays of Æschylus. Theb. 575. Ἀλκὴν τ' ἄριστον, μάντιν, Ἀμφιάρεω (pronounced Ἀμφιάρεω) βίαν. Sophocles and Euripides, however, will furnish examples in great abundance. In the Orestes of Euripides, the name of Hermione occurs in a *senarius* ten times. In nine of these instances, the anapest occupies the fourth place in the verse. This last circumstance is in a great measure the natural consequence of the predilection of the tragic poets for the penthemimeral *cæsura*.

We have some doubts whether the tragedians ever extended this license to patronymics. We are not at present able to recollect any authority for the following emendation proposed by Mr Porson (p. 38): Soph. Phil. 1333. Ἀσκληπιάδαιν δὲ τοῖν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐντυχών. We read: Καὶ τοῖν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐντυχὼν Ἀσκληπιοῦ.

A few *senarii* may be found, which contain anapests in some of the four middle places, composed of the three first syllables of a proper name. Most of the following instances are borrowed from Mr Porson (p. 24, 25); and their number is so small, that we do not hesitate to consider them as corrupt, although we do not pretend to correct them. Soph. Aj. 1008. Ἦ που Τελάμων, ὁ σὸς πατὴρ ἡμῖς θ' ἅμα. The reading of this verse, as Mr Porson observes, is uncertain. The different readings, with the authorities on which they depend, may be seen in Brunck's note. The anapest may be avoided, by adopting the emendation of Toup: Ἦ πού με Τελάμων, σὸς πατήρ. Phil. 793. ᾧ διπλοῖ στρατηλάται, Ἀγάμεμνον, ὦ Μενέλαε, πῶς ἂν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ. Mr Hermann reads (H. p. lxii), Πῶς ἄν, Ἀγάμεμνον καὶ Μενέλεως, ἀντ' ἐμοῦ. In all probability, Mr Hermann has long been convinced, that the first and fifth feet of this verse are such as Sophocles never exhibited. The poet might have written, if he had thought proper to do so, Μενέλαος, Ἀγαμέμνων τε, πῶς ἂν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ. Eurip. Or. 459. Ἀπωλόμην, Μενέλαε. Τυνδάρεως ὀδὲ Στείχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς. If the fault is not in the word Μενέλαε, perhaps we ought to read, Μενέλα', ἀπωλόμεσθα. Iph. Aul. 1168. Ἑλένην Μενέλαος ἵνα λάβῃ. κάλον γέρας. Μενέλεως is an obvious correction; but we suspect that Eu-

ripides wrote: Μενέλαος Ἑλένην ἵνα λάβῃ. καλόν γ' ἔθος Κακῆς γυναικὸς μισθὸν ἀποτῖσαι τέκνα. The intermediate step between γ' ἔθος and γένος is γ' ἔθνος. Γένους for ἔθους occurs in Athenæus (p. 297, D). The modern editions of Euripides read, καλόν γε, νὼ, &c.; which reading we do not presume lightly to abrogate. Hel. 86. Ὄνομα μὲν ἡμῖν Τεῦκρος· ὁ δὲ Φύσας πατὴρ Τελάμων· Σαλαμὶς δὲ πατρὶς ἡ θρέψασά με. Herc. 220. Ὃς εἷς Μινύαισι πᾶσι διὰ μάχης μολών. Read, Μινύαισιν εἷς ὃς πᾶσι. El. 314. Μήτης δ' ἐμὴ Φρυγίοισιν ἐν σκυλεύμασι Θρόνῳ κάθηται, πρὸς δ' ἕδρας Ἀσιήτιδες Δμωαὶ στατίζουσ', ἃς ἔπερσ' ἐμὸς πατήρ. Mr Hermann reads: Μήτης δὲ Φρυγίοις ἐν σκυλεύμασιν θρόνῳ Ἐμὴ κάθηται, πρὸς δ' ἕδρασιν Ἀσίδες. Unfortunately, the first syllable of σκύλευμα is long. The following arrangement is at least exempt from any violation of the metre: Μήτης δ' ἐμὴ Φρυγῶν μὲν ἐν σκυλεύμασι Θρόνῳ κάθηται, πρὸς θ' ἕδρασιν Ἀσιάδες. The words σκῦλα τε Φρυγῶν occur in the Troades, v. 573. The particle μὲν is used as in Iph. Aul. 73. ἀνθηρὸς μὲν εἱμάτων στολῇ, Χρυσῷ λαμπρὸς, βαρβάρῳ χλιδήματι.

We form the same judgment of those verses, in which the three last syllables of a proper name of four or five syllables are used as an anapest without necessity. Æsch. Prom. 839. Σαφῶς ἐπίστασ', Ἰόνιος κεκλήσεται. This is not a real instance, as we believe the first syllable of Ἰόνιος to be short. It is, indeed, sometimes made long for the convenience of the metre, like the first syllable of Ἰταλία or ἰσόθεος. It is short, however, in the Phœnissæ of Euripides, v. 216, where the words Ἰόνιον κατὰ correspond with ἴσα δ' ἀγάλμασι in the antistrophe. In most of the editions, the first syllable of ἴσα is improperly circumflexed. Eurip. Or. 1654. ὃς δ' οἴεται Νεοπτόλεμος γαμεῖν νιν, οὐ γαμεῖ ποτε. The word Νεοπτόλεμος is commonly read in the tragedies as if it were written Νουπτόλεμος. In the present verse, however, if the common reading be correct, the contraction of the two first syllables does not take place. We suspect that one long syllable or two short syllables have been omitted after Νεοπτόλεμος. Iph. Taur. 825. Ἑκτήσαθ' Ἱπποδάμειαν, Οἰνόμαον κτανών. Read Οἰνόμαον ἑλών, from Pindar, Olymp. I. 142. The same variety occurs Med. 385. *Ibid.* 1456. Ἄρτεμιν δέ νιν βροτοὶ Τὸ λοιπὸν ὑμνήσουσι Ταυροπόλον θεάν. We should prefer Ταυροπόλον ἀεί. Tro. 1126. Αὐτὸς δ' ἀνῆκται Νεοπτόλεμος, καινάς τινας Πηλέως ἀκούσας ξυμφοράς. Ion. 267. Ἐκ γῆς πατρός σου πρόγονος ἔβλαστεν πατρί; Ἐριχθονίος γε. τὸ δὲ γένος μ' οὐκ ἀφελεῖ. Perhaps we ought to read Ἐριχθονίου γε, ἔκγονός εἰμι being understood. El. 4. Κτείνας δὲ τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἐν Ἰλιάδι χθονί. For ΙΑΙΑΔΙ read ΙΔΑΙΑΙ.

The following verses may also be considered as in some degree licentious. Eurip. Herc. 2. Ἀργεῖον Ἀμφιτρύων', ὃν Ἀλκαῖός ποτε. *Ibid.* 701. Εἰς καιρὸν οἶκον Ἀμφιτρύων ἔξω πυρᾶς. The second syllable

syllable of Ἀμφιτρύων is not necessarily short, and is lengthened more than once in the same play.

As the tragic trimeter iambic admits anapests when they are contained in proper names, so, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that the tragic tetrameter trochaic admits dactyls in similar circumstances, and for the same reason. The thirty-two tragedies, however, afford only two examples of this practice, both of which are probably corrupt: Eurip. Iph. Aul. 882. Εἰς ἃς Ἰφιγένειαν Ἑλένης νόστος ἦν πεπρωμένος. *Ibid.* 1352. Πάντες Ἕλληνες, στρατὸς δὲ Μυρμιδόνων οὔ σοι παρῆν. Read στρατὸς δὲ Μυρμιδών. With regard to unnecessary dactyls in this metre, it may be observed, that they are liable to the same objections as unnecessary anapests in iambic verses, together with the additional objection, that they are divided between two words. Mr Porson (p. 25) produces three examples of this kind, of which the first alone deserves much consideration. Eurip. Or. 1533. Εἰ γὰρ Ἀργείους ἐπάξει τοῖσδε δώμασιν λαβὼν, Τὸν Ἑλένης Φόνον διώκων, κἀμὲ μὴ σάζειν θέλει, Ξύγγονόν τ' ἐμὴν, Πυλάδην τε, τὸν τάδε ξυνδρῶντά μοι, Παρθένον τε καὶ δάμαρτα δύο νέκρω κατόψεται. The obnoxious verse is thus corrected by the learned Hermann (H. p. lxiv): Ξύγγονόν τ' ἐμὴν τάδε Πυλάδην τε τὸν ξυνδρῶντά μοι. In this verse, the rhythm is violated by the tribrach, which begins on the last syllable of a word of more than one syllable. We suspect that the word Πυλάδην has crept into the text from an interlinear gloss, and that the poet wrote, Ξύγγονόν τ' ἐμὴν, τρίτον τε τὸν τάδε ξυνδρῶντά μοι. This use of τρίτος is not rare. So Eurip. Hippol. 1404. Πατέρα τε, καὶ σὲ, καὶ τρίτην ξυνάορον. Every person conversant with Greek MSS. is aware how often proper names supplant the words which are intended to represent them. See, for instance, Eurip. Med. 58. where Mr Porson has restored δεσποίνης instead of Μηδείας, and Aristoph. Plut. 1173, where all the editions read Πλοῦτος instead of θεός. Mr Porson's second instance of a divided dactyl is Iph. Aul. 324. Οὐ, πρὶν ἂν δείξω Δαναοῖσι πᾶσι (Δαναοῖς ἅπασι *Ald.*) τἀγγεγραμμένα. The true reading, δείξω γε Δαναοῖς πᾶσι, which is exhibited in one MS., and is mentioned with approbation by Mr Porson, has lately been admitted into the text by Mr Gaisford. The suppression of the verb after οὐ renders the introduction of γε almost indispensably necessary. The third instance is from the same play, v. 354. Ὡς δ' ἄνολβον εἶχες ὅμμα, σύγχυσίν τε, μὴ νεῶν Χιλίων ἄρχων, Πριάμου τε πεδίον ἐμπλήσας δορός. The meaning of these lines appears to be: *Do you remember how unhappy you were, because you were not able to land your army at Troy, although you had a thousand ships under your command?* If this interpretation be correct, the conjunction in the second verse

must necessarily be expunged. If we read τὸ Πρίαμου πιδίον, the dactyl will disappear.

According to Mr Porson (p. 26), the poets of the sock agree with their brethren of the buskin, in excluding dactyls from trochaic verses, except in the case of proper names. In the eleven comedies of Aristophanes, we have not discovered any genuine instance of a dactyl in a verse of this measure. We have observed, however, three verses, which appear to deserve greater attention than they have received. Ach. 220. Καὶ παλαιῷ Λακρατίδῃ τὰ σκέλος βαρύνεται. Eq. 327. Πρῶτος ὢν; ὁ δ' Ἱπποδάμου λείβεται θώμενος. Pac. 1154. Μυρρίνας αἴτησον ἐξ Αἰσχινάδου τῶν καρπίμων. It is almost superfluous to observe, that the two middle syllables of these three proper names are necessarily short. Ἱππόδαμος, in particular, cannot reasonably be supposed to be a Doric compound of ἵππος and δῆμος. We perceive, therefore, that in order to introduce these refractory names into tetrameter trochaics, Aristophanes has twice used a choriambus, and once an ionic *a minore*, in the place of the regular trochaic *dipodia*. The following instances of the use of dactyls, to which we are unable to make any additions, are given by Mr Porson (p. 25): Hermippus *apud Athen. p.* 486. *A.* Ἦν ἐγὼ πάθω τε τήνδε τὴν λεπαστὴν ἐκπιὼν, Τῷ Διονύσῳ πάντα τἀμαυτοῦ δίδωμι χρήματα. We should be very happy, if we were able to rid ourselves of this dactyl as easily as of that which follows: *Comicus incertus apud Plutarch. Polit. Præcept. p.* 811. *F.* Μητίοχος μὲν γὰρ στρατηγεῖ, Μητίοχος δὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς, Μητίοχος δ' ἄρτους ἐποπτᾷ (*l.* ἐποπτεῖ), Μητίοχος δὲ τἀλφιτα, Μητίοχῳ δὲ πάντα κεῖται, Μητιοχος δ' οἰμώξεται. We vehemently suspect, that this important personage, who appears, from Plutarch, to have been a creature of Pericles, was not called Metiochus, but Metichus. If the reader will consult Alberti's note on the words Μητίχου τέμενος in Hesychius, he will be convinced that our conjecture is not destitute of foundation. Names of a similar form are by no means uncommon: as Φρύνιχος, Ὀλύμπιχος, Φιλόνιχος, Ἰσμήνιχος.

We now return to the tragic *senarius*, respecting which we find two very important canons in the preface to the Hecuba, besides those which relate to the use of anapests. The first of these canons is, that the third and fourth feet must not be included in the same word, as in the following verse of Castorio the Solian, produced by Mr Porson from Athenæus (p. 454. F): Ἐν τὸν βόλοις νιφοκτύποις δυσχείμερον. *Hoc si fieri posset*, says Mr Porson (p. 28), *omnis rhythmus, omnes numeri funditus everterentur.* This expression has in some instances been construed rather too strictly, as if it were necessary that a tragic *senarius*, which has neither the penthemimeral nor the hephthemimeral *cæsura*,

cæsura, should at least have a pause after the third foot, like the following verses of Sophocles: Phil. 101. Λέγω σ' ἐγὼ δόλῳ Φιλοκτήτην λαβεῖν. *Ibid.* 276. Σὺ δῆ, τέκνον, ποίαν μ' ἀνάστασιν δοκεῖς. *Ibid.* 1369. Ἕα κακῶς αὐτοὺς ἀπόλλυσθαι κακούς. Such verses are, indeed, sufficiently common; but a certain number may also be produced, which have no regular pause at all in the two middle feet. Soph. Oed. Tyr. 615. Κακὸν δὲ κἀν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ γνοίης μιᾷ. *Ibid.* 809. Κάρα διπλοῖς κέντροισί μου καθίκετο. Ant. 95. Ἀλλ' ἔα με καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἐμοῦ δυσβουλίαν. Aj. 71. Οὗτος, σὲ τὸν τὰς αἰχμαλωτίδας χέρας. *Ibid.* 1228. Σέ τοι τὸν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωτίδος λέγω. El. 282. Ἐγὼ δ' ὁρῶσ' ἡ δύσμορος κατὰ στέγας. To our ears, most of the preceding verses appear to be as destitute of *cæsura*, as if the third and fourth feet of each were comprehended in the same word. Mr Porson, however, has proved that the ancients, who must be allowed to have been better judges of these matters than the Edinburgh Reviewers, were of a different opinion. Mr Porson has collected three apparent instances of the violation of his canon from Æschylus, two from Sophocles, two from Euripides, and one from Neophro. Soph. Œd. Col. 372. Εἰσῆλθε τοῖν τρισαθλίοιν ἔρις κακή. Mr Porson reads τρὶς ἀθλίοιν, *divisim*. Aj. 969. Πῶς δῆτα τοῦδ' ἐπεγγελᾶεν ἂν κάτα. As the tragedians do not say ἐπεγγελᾶν κατά τινος, Mr Porson reads τοῦδέ γ' ἐγγελᾶεν ἂν κάτα. Perhaps, however, the true reading is τεῦδ' ἂν ἐγγελᾶεν ἂν κάτα. Eurip. Androm. 397. Ἀτὰρ τί ταῦτ' ὀδύρομαι, τὰ δ' ἐν ποσίν. Neophro *apud Stob. xx. p.* 107. *ed. Grot.* Καὶ πρὸς τί ταῦτ' ὀδύρομαι, ψυχὴν ἐμήν. Mr Porson reads ταῦτα δύρομαι in both passages. The only tragic verse of any metre, to the best of our knowledge, in which ὀδύρομαι cannot be changed into δύρομαι by a similar alteration, occurs in a suspicious passage of Euripides: Phœn. 1750. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τί ταῦτα θρηνῶ καὶ μάτην ὀδύρομαι. Mr Porson's second instance from Euripides is Iph. Aul. 1586, which we omit, as he has taught us that the whole conclusion of that play, after the last song of the Chorus, was fabricated many centuries after the death of the poet. The three examples from Æschylus cause a little more hesitation. Pers. 501. Στρατὸς περᾷ κρυσταλλοπῆγα διὰ πόρου. Mr Porson reads, Κρυσταλλοπῆγα διὰ πόρου στρατὸς περᾷ. Agam. 1261. Ἦ κάρτ' ἄρ' ἂν (ἢ κάρτ' ἄγαν *Hermannus H. p.* 142.) παρεσκόπεις χρησμῶν ἐμῶν. Mr Porson reads, Ἦ κάρτα χρησμῶν ἆρ' ἐμῶν παρεσκόπεις. Suppl. 252. Καὶ τἄλλα πόλλ' ἐπεικάσαι δίκαιον ἦν, Εἰ μὴ παρόντι φθόγγος ἦν ὁ σημανῶν. Mr Porson reads, Καὶ πολλά γ' ἦν δίκαιον ἄλλ' ἐπεικάσαι. The following emendation adheres more closely to the common reading: Καὶ πολλά γ' ἄλλα μ' (*vel* ἄλλ' ἂν) εἰκάσαι δίκαιον ἦν. Upon the whole, when we consider how frequently the first and second, the second and third, the fourth and fifth, and the fifth and sixth feet of the *senarius* are included in the

same

same word, we cannot agree with the learned Hermann (H. p. 141), in attributing to chance the non-occurrence, or at least the extreme rarity, of verses which exhibit the two middle feet similarly conjoined.

Mr Porson's second canon may be conveniently expressed in the following words: *The first syllable of the fifth foot of a tragic trimeter iambic must be short, if it ends a word of two or more syllables, unless the second syllable of the same foot is a monosyllable which is incapable of beginning a verse.* The monosyllables of most frequent occurrence which are incapable of beginning a verse, are ἂν, αὖ, γὰρ, δὲ, δὴ, μὲν, μὴν, οὖν, together with all enclitics. Dissyllables, in which the vowel of the second syllable is elided, are considered as monosyllables. This canon was originally promulgated rather obscurely in a note on v. 343 of the tragedy; which verse in most editions is thus represented: Κρύπτοντα χεῖρα καὶ πρόσωπον τοὔμπαλιν. The true reading, ἔμπαλιν, had already been received by King on the authority of manuscripts: but it remained for Mr Porson to show that the common reading violates a very important law of tragic versification. His words in the note in question are as follows:

"Quid velim melius fortasse intelligetur, si dicam, paucissimos apud Tragicos versus occurrere similes Ionis initio, Ἄτλας ὁ χαλκείοισι νώτοις οὐρανόν."

In his note on v. 1464 of the Phœnissæ, Mr Porson remarks, that the following verse, forged in the name of Euripides by Teles, is inartificially constructed: Καὶ γῆς φίλης ὄχθοισι κρυφθῶ καὶ τάφῳ. If Teles had written κρυφθῶ δὴ τάφῳ, he would not have offended against Mr Porson's canon, as the particle δὴ cannot begin a verse, and therefore may be considered as in some degree adhering to the preceding word. Such verses, however, as we shall hereafter show, are not of very frequent occurrence. The following verse, quoted in the same note, is of a better and more usual form: Ἐν γῆς φίλης μυχοῖσι κρυφθῆναι καλόν.

Perhaps our readers will not be displeased at seeing a somewhat larger collection of real or apparent violations of Mr Porson's canon, than is exhibited in the preface to the Hecuba. Our collection might be considerably increased by the examination of the fragments of the lost tragedies. But every thing relating to the fragments is so uncertain, that they are hardly legitimate objects of minute criticism. As an instance of the small reliance which can be placed on the accuracy of quotations made from memory, Mr Porson (p. 42) produces a verse of some tragic poet, which is twice cited by Plutarch: Οὐ παῖς Ἀχιλλέως, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς εἶ. Muretus (*Var. Lect.* xv, 1.) destroys the

the metre, by changing ἐκεῖνος into Ἀχιλλεύς. In Bentley's Epistle to Mill (p. 14), v. 27 of the Bacchæ of Euripides, is thus exhibited: Διόνυσον οὐκ ἔφασκον εἶναι τοῦ Διός. If Bentley had been an old scholiast, and the Bacchæ had been lost, we hardly believe that the true reading, ἐκφῦναι Διός, would have occurred to the most sagacious critic. Mr Porson (p. 43) observes, that the following verse of the Perithus of Euripides deserves consideration: Ἐμὴ γὰρ ἦλθε μητρὶ κεδνῇ πρὸς λέχος. Although Mr Porson's caution with regard to this verse is perfectly justified by the preceding examples, we are inclined to believe that the poet wrote πρὸς κεδνὸν λέχος. The words κεδνὸν λέχος occur in v. 835 of the Hippolytus. In the surviving plays, we confine ourselves to these instances which are to be found in the Aldine editions of Sophocles and Euripides, and in Stanley's edition of Æschylus. We quote the verses of Euripides throughout the whole of this article, according to the numeration of Barnes.

Æsch. Suppl. 206. Τὸ μὴ μάταιον δ' ἐκ μετώπων σωφρόνων (μετόπῳ σωφρονῶν *Ald.*) Ἵτω πρόσωπον (προσώπων *Ald.*) ὄμματος παρ' ἡσύχου. From the reading of Aldus Mr Porson (p. 39) deduces ἐκ μετωποσωφρόνων. *Ibid.* 212. Πάτερ, φρονοῦντος πρὸς φρονοῦσας ἐννέπεις. Read with the MSS. and Aldus, πρὸς φρονοῦντας. *Ibid.* 274. Χρανθεῖσ' ἀνῆκε γαῖα μήνη καὶ δάκη (μηνεῖται ἄκη *Ald.*). We are not aware of any satisfactory emendation of this verse. *Ibid.* 995. Λάθοιμι, χώρᾳ δ' ἄχθος αἰεὶ ζῶν πέλοι. Read ἀείζων in one word, from ἀείζως, which is contracted from ἀειζωος. In the same manner, the σκῶς ἀείνων of Aristophanes (Ran. 146) must be considered as a contraction of ἀέναον. Pers. 321. Νωμῶν, ὁ τ' ἐσθλὸς Ἀριόμαρδος Σάρδεσι Πένθος παρασχών. Mr Porson remarks (p. 38), that the death of Ariomardus, who, at the beginning of the play, is called the governor of Thebes in Egypt, could not occasion much affliction at Sardes. Mr Porson conjectures that several words are lost, which ought to intervene between Ἀριόμαρδος and Σάρδεσι. Soph. Oed. Tyr. 1113. Γήρᾳ ξυνᾴδει τῇδε τἀνδρὶ ξύμμετρος. So also Soph. Œd. Col. 1014. 1368. Ant. 740. Trach. 1177. Eurip. Phœn. 540. The recent editions are free from these errors. *Ibid.* 1482. Αἳ τοῦ φυτουργοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῖν ὦδ' ὁρᾶν. In this and nine other similar verses of the same poet, Mr Porson (p. 37) observes, that the second syllable of the pronoun must be considered as short, according to the well known practice of Sophocles. Œd. Col. 664. Θαρσεῖν μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε κἄνευ τῆς ἐμῆς Γνώμης ἐπαινῶ, Φοῖβος εἰ προύπεμψέ σε. No emendation is proposed by Mr Porson. *Ibid.* 1022. Εἰ δ' ἐγκρατεῖς φεύγουσιν, οὐδὲν δεῖ πονεῖν. So also Eurip. Phœn. 754. Alc. 674. Herc. 1338. Menalip. fr. 7. In these five verses, Mr Porson (p. 37) reads οὐδ' ἓν and οὐδ' εἷς. That this trifling alteration is of great consequence to the metre, may be

be demonstrated by the following passages in Aristophanes. In v. 1039. of the Acharnians, the words οὐδενὶ μεταδώσειν terminate a catalectic iambic, in which the three syllables -νὶ με- must of course be considered as a tribrach. In iambic verses of every kind, according to Dawes's well known canon, the middle syllable of a tribrach or dactyl must not terminate a word of more than two syllables. We must therefore read οὐδ' ἐνὶ as two words, by which alteration the rhythm is restored. In the Ecclesiazusæ we find the two following tetrameter anapestics: V. 516. Οὐδεμιᾷ γὰρ δυνατέρα σου ξυμμιξασ' οἶδα γυναικί. *Ibid.* 624. Μηδεμιᾶς ἡ πρύτανις μόνον. τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τί ποιήσει. Unless we are much mistaken, no tetrameter anapestic can begin with a dactyl contained in a word of four syllables. Before the conclusion of this article, we shall have an opportunity of enlarging on this point. At present it will be sufficient to mention, that in the verses in question we must read οὐδὲ μιᾷ and μηδὲ μιᾶς, or more properly μὴ δὲ μιᾶς. * We proceed in our enumeration. Soph. Trach. 1138.

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* *Attici etiam*, says Mr Porson (p. 37), *circa posteriora Aristophanis tempora* οὐδὲ εἰς *et* μηδὲ εἰς *plene scripta usurpare cœperunt, Epicharmi exemplum fortasse secuti.* We have observed three instances of the hiatus in question, which in all probability are considerably more ancient than the later plays of Aristophanes. Crates *apud Athen. p.* 267, *E*: Ἔπειτα δοῦλον οὐδὲ εἰς κεκτήσετ', οὐδὲ δούλην. It appears by the *Farabasis* of the Knights, that Crates preceded Aristophanes in point of time. Cratinus *apud Etymol.* v. Βλιμάζειν. Ὡς [δὲ] μαλακὸν καὶ τέρεν τὸ χρωτίδιον [ἦν], ὦ θεοί· Καὶ γὰρ ἐβλιμάζομεν αὐτήν· ἡ δ' ἐφρόντιζ' οὐδὲ ἕν. Eupolis *apud Stobæum* iv. *p.* 31. Ἦν δέ τις τῶν ἐνθάδ' ἀστῶν, μηδὲ ἓν χεῖρον φρονῶν, Ἐπιτίθηται τῇ ποιήσει, πάνυ δοκεῖ κακῶς φρονεῖν. The last example is mentioned by Mr Porson in the present edition. That the later tragedians imitated the comic poets, appears from the following verse of Dionysius the tyrant *apud Stobæum* xxxviii. p. 149. Τοῖς οὐθὲν οὔτιν οὐδὲ εἰς ὅλως φθονεῖ. Another fragment of the same author is given by Stobæus xcviii. p. 407. Εἰ δ' ἀξιοῖς σοι μηδὲν ἀλγεινόν ποτε Μηδὲν ἔσεσθαι, μακαρίας ἔχεις φρενῶν· Θεῶν γὰρ ἕξειν βίοτον, οὐ θνητῶν, δοκεῖς. Grotius reads μηδὲ ἓν ἔσεσθαι, without adverting to μηδὲν in the first verse. The marginal title to these lines is *Dionysius Tyrannus Alcmenæ*. The margin of Stobæus is so little to be trusted, that we do not hesitate to read, Μηδέ', ἔσεσθαι. Two of the fragments of Epicharmus, to which Mr Porson alludes, are preserved by Stobæus: *Tit.* xx. *p.* 103. Οὐδὲ εἷς οὐδεὶς μετ' ὀργῆς κατὰ τρόπον βουλεύεται. *Tit.* xxxviii. *p.* 151. Τυφλὸν ἠλέησ' ἰδών τις, ἐρθόνησε δ' οὐδὲ εἷς. A third is given by Plutarch. *Consolat. p.* 110, *B.* Συνεκρίθη, καὶ διεκρίθη, κἀπῆλθεν ὅθεν ἦλθεν πάλιν, Γᾶ μὲν εἰς γᾶν, πνεῦμα δ' ἄνω. τί τῶνδε χαλεπόν; οὐδὲ ἕν. To these authorities may be added Hipponax *apud Stobæum* xxix. *p.* 129. Χρόνος δὲ φευγέτω σε μηδὲ εἰς ἀγρός.

1138. Ἅπαν τὸ χρῆμ' ἥμαρτε, χρηστὰ μνωμένη. The true reading, μωμένη, was first proposed by Heath, who was unconscious of any defect in the metre. Aj. 1100. ποῦ δέ σοι λεῶν Ἔξεστ' ἀνάσσειν; ὧν ὁδ' ἡγεῖτ' οἴκοθεν; Ἤγετ' is proposed by a learned writer in the Quarterly Review (III. p. 396); and we believe that the same emendation has occurred to others. Ἄγομαι signifies, *I bring with me.* So Eurip. Or. 245. Ἥκει, τὸ πιστὸν τόδε λόγων ἐμῶν δέχου; Ἑλένην ἀγόμενος Τρωϊκῶν ἐκ τειχέων. Εἰ μόνος ἐσώθη, μᾶλλον ἂν ζηλωτὸς ἦν, Εἰ δ' ἄλοχον ἄγεται, κακὸν ἔχων ἥκει μέγα. The Atticism of ὧν for οὓς requires no explanation. Phil. 22. Ἁμοὶ προσελθὼν σῖγα, σήμαιν', εἴτ' ἔχει Χῶρον πρὸς αὐτὸν τόνδ' ἔτ' (τόνδε γ' *Ald.*), εἴτ' ἄλλῃ κυρεῖ. We have seen no probable emendation of this passage. *Ibid.* 533. Ἴωμεν, ὦ παῖ, προσκύσαντες τὴν ἔσω. Mr Porson (*ad Phœn.* 1419) reads προσκύσαντε. *Ibid.* 731. Λόγου σιωπᾷς, κἀπόπλήκτως ὧδ' ἔχει. Brunck tacitly reads κἀπόπληκτος, which correction, as Mr Porson remarks (p. 38), is as necessary to the construction as to the metre. El. 1488. Ταφεῦσιν, ὧν τόνδ' εἶκος ἐστὶν τυγχάνειν. So Eurip. Med. 939. Παῖδες δ' ὅπως ἂν ἐκτραφῶσιν σῇ χερί. Aldus does not often add the paragogic Ν without necessity. Eurip. Hec. 343. Κρύπτοντα χεῖρα καὶ προσωπον τοὔμπαλιν. Read ἔμπαλιν, as we have already mentioned. Or. 91. Οὕτως ἔχει τάδ', ὥστ' ἀπείρηκ' ἐν κακοῖς. Mr Porson reads ἀπείρηκεν κακοῖς. *Ibid.* 1272. Θῆρας ξιφήρεις αὐτὸν ἐχθροῖς ἢν φανῇ. Mr Porson reads ἐχθροῖσιν φανεῖ. Phœn. 525. Ζεύγνυσθε δ' ἵππους, πεδία πίμπλασθ' (πέπλασθ' *Ald.*) ἁρμάτων. Mr Porson reads πίμπλαθ'. *Ibid.* 1413. Ἐνθένδε κώπας ἁρπάσαντες φασγάνων. The modern editions read ἁρπάσαντε. Androm. 346. Φεύγει τὸ ταύτης σῶφρον; ἀλλὰ ψεύσεται. Mr Porson proposes no emendation of this passage. Suppl. 30. Πρὸς τόνδε σηκὸν, ἔνθα πρῶτον φαίνεται. Markland reads πρῶτα after three MSS. *Ibid.* 158. Τί δὲ πλέον (τί πλεῖον *Pors.*); ἦλθον Ἀμφιάρεω πρὸς βίαν. Mr Porson (p. 41) reads with two MSS. Ἀμφιάρεω γε πρὸς βίαν. *Ibid.* 664. Κάδμου δὲ λαὸς ἧστο πρόσθεν τειχέων. The modern editions read πρόσθε. Iph. Aul. 530. Κἄμ' ὡς ὑπέστην θῦμα, κᾆτα ψεύδομαι. Mr Porson proposes no emendation of this line. *Ibid.* 665. Εἰς ταυτὸν, ὦ θύγατερ, σύ θ' ἥκεις τῷ πατρί. Mr Porson reads (p. 40): Ὦ θύγατερ, ἥκεις καὶ σύ γ' εἰς ταυτὸν πατρί. *Ibid.* 1456. Δεινοὺς ἀγῶνας διὰ σὲ κεῖνον δεῖ δραμεῖν. Mr Porson (p. 38) reads δεῖ κεῖνον. Mr Porson remarks (p. 40), that his canon is violated three times in the spurious supplement to this play, v. 1589, 1612, 1613. In the Commelinian fragment of the Danaë, which, if not the production of the same impostor, is every way worthy of him, one instance occurs, v. 4. Iph. Taur. 580. Κἀμοί· τὸ δ' εὖ μάλιστά γ' οὕτω γίγνεται. Mr Porson (p. 41) reads ὧδε γίγνεται. *Ibid.* 914. Εἴληχε βιότου· φίλα γὰρ ἔσται πάντ' ἐμοῦ. Markland, who was directed merely by the sense, conjectured ἔστι. Tro. 464. Οὐκ ἀντιλήψεσθ', ἢ μεθήσεσθ'; ὦ κακαί. Mr Burges properly

properly reads after Musgrave: Οὐκ ἀντιλήψεσθ'; ἢ μεθήσετ', ὦ κακαί. Bacch. 1134. Χεῖρας, διεσφαίριζε σάρκας Πενθέως. Read σάρκα. Heracl. 530. Καὶ στιμματοῦτε, καὶ κατάρχεσθ', εἰ δοκεῖ. Mr Porson has not mentioned this verse, which we are unable to correct, and which might be omitted without injury to the sense. *Ibid.* 640. Ὦ φιλταθ', ἥκεις ἆρα σωτὴρ νῷν βλάβης. Mr Porson (p. 34) reads νῷν σωτήρ. Hel. 772. Τί σοι λέγοιμ' ἂν τὰς ἐν Αἰγαίῳ συμφοράς. Musgrave reads after Reiske and one MS. τὰς ἐν Αἰγαίῳ φθοράς. Ion. 1. Ἄτλας, ὁ χαλκέοισι νώτοις οὐρανόν. Read νώτοις χαλκέοισιν. *Ibid.* 22. Φρουρὸν παραζεύξασα φύλακας σώματος. Mr Porson (*ad Phœn.* 1419) reads φύλακε. *Ibid.* 1016. Εἰς ἓν δὲ κραθὲν ταυτὸν ἰχῶρ' εἰσφέρεις. Read with Mr Wakefield, Εἰς ἓν δὲ κραθὲντ' αὐτὸν, ἢ χωρεῖς, φορεῖς. Herc. 465. Στολήν τε θηρὸς ἀμφίβαλες (*sic*) σῷ κάρᾳ. The modern editions rightly read ἀμφίβαλλε. *Ibid.* 582. Ὁ καλλίνικος, ὡς πάροιθεν, λέξομαι. Read πάροιθε. *Ibid.* 933. Ῥίζας δ' ἐν ὄστοις αἱματώπους ἐκβαλών. Read αἱματῶπας. Rhes. 731. Ὦ ξυμφορὰ βαρεῖα Θρηκῶν συμμάχων. Mr Porson (p. 40) reads Θρηκὶ συμμάχῳ. *Ibid.* 928. Δινᾷ· τρέφειν δὲ σ' οὐ βροτείαν ἐσχάραν. Read βρότειον. To these *scenarii* we add two tetrameter trochaics: Eurip. Iph. Aul. 380. Ὡς ἀδελφὸν ὄντ' ἀνὴρ γὰρ αἰσχρὸς αἰδεῖσθ' οὐ φιλεῖ. Markland reads ἀνὴρ γὰρ χρηστὸς αἰδεῖσθαι φιλεῖ. Hel. 1644. Οἵπερ ἡ δίκη κελεύει μ'. ἀλλ' ἀφίστασθ' ἐκπεδών. Mr Porson (p. 47) reads ἀφίστασ'.

It may not be superfluous to mention, that we have discovered no instance of the violation of Mr Porson's canon in the fragments of Simonides of Amorgus and the other early iambic poets, from whom the tragedians probably derived it. It is also strictly observed in the Alexandra of Lycophron.

Mr Porson has omitted to mention, although it appears that he was aware of the fact, that his canon is as applicable to those verses the first syllable of the fifth foot of which is a monosyllable which cannot begin a verse, as to those in which it terminates a word of two or more syllables. The instances to the contrary, which are to be found in the thirty-two tragedies, for the most part admit of very easy and satisfactory emendations.

Æsch. Suppl. 792. Μελαινόχρως δὲ πάλλεταί μου καρδία. We recommend this verse, on more than one account, to the attention of our sagacious readers. Soph. Œd. Tyr. 435. Ἡμῖν τοιοῦδ' ἔφυμεν, ὡς μὲν σοὶ δοκεῖ Μῶροι· γονεῦσι δ', οἵ σ' ἔφυσαν, ἔμφρονες. The Triclinian editions and Brunck read ὡς μέν σοι δοκεῖ, to the advantage of the rhythm, but to the disadvantage of the sense. Read ὡς σοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ. Œd. Col. 115. Τίνας λέγους ἐροῦσιν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ μαθεῖν. Read ἐν δὲ τῷ μαθεῖν. So in Eurip. Or. 787. three MSS. collated by Mr Porson read: Δηλαδὴ σιγᾶν ἄμεινον. τῷ χρόνῳ γὰρ (δὲ *edd.*) κερδανεῖς. In the Œdipus Coloneus, the common reading is exhibited by Suidas v. Εὐλάβεια. *Ibid.* 1543. Σφῶν αὖ πίφαυσκε καὶ-

νὸν,

νὸς, ὥσπερ σφὼ πατρί. Mr Porson (p. 34), who considers ὥσπερ as one word, reads ὡς πρὶν σφὼ πατρί. Aj. 995. Μάλιστα τοὐμὸν σπάγχνον, ἢν δὴ νῦν ἔβην. Read δή νυν. Νυν is here an enclitic, as in τοίνυν. Phil. 593. Διώμοτοι πλέουσιν, ἦ μὴν ἢ λόγῳ Πείσαντες ἄξειν, ἢ πρὸς ἰσχύος κράτος. Read ἦ μήν νιν λόγῳ. El. 376. Φέρ' εἰπὲ δὴ τὸ δεινόν· εἰ γὰρ τῶνδέ μοι. Read εἰ δὲ τῶνδέ μοι. Eurip. Hec. 729. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἴσμεν, οὐδὲ ψαύομεν. Mr Porson, who considers οὐδὲ as one word, notices the error (p. 40), without attempting to correct it. Or. 614. Μᾶλλον δ' ἐκείνη σοῦ θανεῖν ἐστ' ἄξια. Bacch. 246. Ταῦτ' οὐχὶ δεινῆς ἀγχόνης ἔστ' ἄξια. The first of these verses might perhaps be corrected from the second. As, however, we have not observed either ἐστ' or ἔστ' in this position, except in these two passages, we are strongly inclined to read ἐπαξία in the first, and ἐπαξια in the second. Phœn. 406. Εὖ πρᾶσσε· τὰ φίλων δ' οὐδὲν, ἤν τις δυστυχῇ. Read ἤν τι δυστυχῇς. So Eurip. Suppl. 897. χώπόθ' εὖ πράσσει πόλις, Ἔχαιρε· λυπρᾶς δ' ἔφριεν, εἴτι δυστυχοῖ. In the Phœnissæ, the authorities quoted in Mr Porson's note all concur in the common lection. *Ibid.* 892. Εἰ μὴ λόγοισι τοῖς ἐμοῖς τις πείσεται. Mr Porson reads λόγοις τις τοῖς ἐμοῖσι, with the following note: *Mox* λόγοισι τοῖς ἐμοῖς (ἐμοῖσι *Cant.*) τις *Ald. unde propter numeros* τις *transposui.* Med. 710. Γονάτων τε τῶν σῶν, ἱκεσία δὴ γίγνομαι. Brunck and Porson read ἱκεσία τε γίγνομαι after two of the best MSS. Alc. 1083. Ἔγνωκα καὐτός· ἀλλ' ἔρως τίς μ' ἔξάγει. Read ἀλλ' ἔρως τις ἐξάγει. Androm. 62. Οἴκτῳ δὲ τῷ σῇ. δεινὰ γάρ τοι βούλεται. Lascaris and Musgrave with all the MSS. read δεινὰ γὰρ βουλεύεται. *Ibid.* 229. Ζήτει παρελθεῖν. τῶν κακῶν γὰρ μητέρων. Read τῶν κακῶν δὲ μητέρων. Iph. Aul. 858. Δοῦλος. οὐχ ἁβρύνομαι τῷδ'· ἡ τύχη γάρ μ' οὐκ ἐᾷ. Read ἡ τύχη γὰρ οὐκ ἐᾷ. Tro. 441. Πικρὰν Ὀδυσσεῖ γῆρυν. ὡς δὴ συντεμῶ. Read ὡς δὲ συντέμω. *Ibid.* 1182. Ὦ μῆτερ, ὤνδας, ἦ πολὺν σοι βοτρύχων. Read ἦ πολὺν σοὶ βοστρύχων. Heracl. 173. Μάχοιντ' ἂν ἠβῶσαντες, εἶπες (εἰ *Ald.*) τοῦτο σέ. Read εἴτι τοῦτό σε. Ion. 808. Δέσποινα, προδεδόμεσθα. σὺν γάρ σοι νοσῶ. The modern editions read σὺν γὰρ σοὶ νοσῶ. If the accented pronoun is right, we must read σὺν σοὶ γὰρ νεσῶ. El. 275. Ἥρου τόδ'; αἰσχρόν γ' εἶπας. οὐ γὰρ νῦν ἀκμή. Read οὐ γὰρ οὖν ἀκμή. *Ibid.* 850. Τλήμων Ὀρέστης· ἀλλὰ μή με κτείνετε. Read καίνετε.

It may be laid down as a general rule, that the first syllable of the fifth foot must be short, if it is followed by the slightest pause or break in the sense. Æsch. Suppl. 761. Καλῶς ἂν ἡμῖν ξυμφέροι ταῦτ', ὦ τέκνα. Setting aside all consideration of the preceding observation, we do not hesitate to change ταῦτ' into τάδ', and τοῦτ' into τόδ', whenever they occur in this situation. Soph. El. 409. is the only other instance which we have observed. Soph. Œd. Col. 505. Τοιχεῖθεν ἄλσους, ὦ ξένη, τοῦδ'· ἦν δέ του. The whole passage is thus to be read: Ἀλλ' εἶμ' ἐγὼ τιλοῦσα· τὸν τόπον δ'

ὅπα

ἵνα Χρὴ στέμμ' ἐρυσεῖν, τοῦτο βούλομαι μαθεῖν. Τοὐκεῖθεν ἄλσος, ὦ ξένη, τόδ' ἦν δὲ τοῦ Σπάνιν τίν' ἴσχῃς, ἔστ' ἔποικος, ὃς φράσει. Ἄλσος is the accusative, with κατὰ understood. So τὸν Κιθαιρῶνος τόπον Œd. Tyr. 1134, Αἰγύπτου πέδον Eurip. Hel. 2, &c. Eurip. Iph. Aul. 635. Ἐγὼ δὲ βούλομαι τὰ σὰ στέρν', ὦ πάτερ. This verse, with several others in the same passage, is rejected by Mr Porson as spurious. For this information we are indebted to Mr Gaisford's republication of the three plays of Euripides edited by Markland.

The following verse of Euripides deserves consideration: Iph. Aul. 895. Μενέλεως ἀφεῖλεθ' ἡμᾶς, ὃς κακῶν τῶνδ' αἴτιος. Mr Porson (*ad Med.* 333) reads τῶνδ' ὃς αἴτιος κακῶν. The alteration is not proposed by Mr Porson as necessary, nor is it so in fact. Soph. Œd. Tyr. 219. Ἀγὼ ξένος μὲν τοῦ λόγου τοῦδ' ἐξερῶ. Eurip. Androm. 876. Προδοὺς ἐάσει δωμάτων τῶνδ' ἐκπεσεῖν. Ion. 1426. Ἔστιν τι πρὸς τῷδ', ἢ μόνῳ τῷδ' εὐτυχεῖς;

It appears from what has been said, that the fifth foot of a tragic *senarius* cannot be a spondee, except in three cases. The first case, the occurrence of which is by far the most frequent, is when both syllables of the fifth foot are contained in the same word. The second case is when the first syllable of the fifth foot is a monosyllable which is capable of beginning a verse, and which is not disjoined from the following syllable by any pause in the sense. The third case is when the second syllable of the fifth foot is a monosyllable, which, by being incapable of beginning a verse or a sentence, is in some measure united to the preceding syllable. The Œdipus Tyrannus of Sophocles contains more than four hundred and twenty examples of the first case, more than fifty of the second, and only one of the third. We consider verses to which both the second and third cases apply, as belonging to the second. With this reservation, we doubt whether the thirty-two tragedies will afford fifty genuine instances of the third case. A considerable number is produced by Mr Porson, which we will subjoin with several additions.

AN. Soph. El. 413. Εἴ μοι λέγοις τὴν ὄψιν, εἰποιμ' ἂν τότε. Eurip. Phœn. 1613. Ἀλλ' ἔτι νεάζων αὐτὸς εὕροιμ' ἂν βίον. *Ibid.* 1620. Ἐγώ τε (ἐγὼ δὲ *Ald.*) ναίειν σ' οὐκ ἐάσαιμ' ἂν χθόνα. Hippol. 294. Γυναῖκες αἵδε συγκαθίσταιντ' ἂν (συγκαθιστάναι *Ald.*) νόσον. The MSS. read συγκαθίστανται. The correction was made by Musgrave, and is approved by Mr Porson (p. 36). Androm. 936. Βλέπουσ' ἂν αὐγάς, ταμ' ἑκαρπεῦτ' ἂν λέχη. *Ibid.* 1185. Οὗτος μὲν οὖν (οὑτός γ' ἂν ὡς *Pors.*) ἐκ τῶνδ' ἐτιμᾶτ' ἄν, γέρον. Iph. Aul. 523. Ὃν μὴ σὺ φράζεις, πῶς ὑπολάβοιμ' ἂν (ὑπολάβοιμεν *Ald.*) λόγον. Bacch. 1270. Κλύοις ἂν οὖν τι, κἀποκρίναι ἂν σαφῶς (σαφῶς *Ald.*). Heracl. 457. Μάλιστα δ' Εὐρυσθεύς με βουλοιτ' ἂν λαβών. AI. Æsch. Prom. 820. Λέγ'· εἰ δὲ πάντ' εἴρηκας, ἡμῖν αὖ χάριν. PAP. Æsch. Prom. 107. Οἷόν τε μοι τάσδ' ἐστί, θνητοῖς γὰρ γέρα. Soph. Trach. 308. Ἀναίδρος, ἢ τεκνοῦσα; πρὸς μὲν γὰρ φύσιν. *Ibid.* 931.

934. Ἰδὼν δ' ὁ παῖς ὤμωξεν· ἔγνω γὰρ τάλας. Phil. 422. Νέστωρ ὁ Πήλιος ἐστιν; οὗτος γὰρ τά γε. *Ibid.* 466. Ἤδη, τέκνον, στέλλισθε: καιρὸς γὰρ καλεῖ. *Ibid.* 596. Ὀδυσσέως λέγοντος. οὗτος γὰρ πλέον. Eurip. Iph. Aul. 1146. Ἄκουε δή νυν. ἀνακαλύψω γὰρ λόγους. Iph. Taur. 678. Δόξω δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖσι, πολλοὶ γὰρ κακοί. Heracl. 304. Τῆς δυσγενείας μᾶλλον· ἡμεῖς γὰρ κακῶν. Hel. 1568. Τοὺς σοὺς λόγους σάζοντες ἄρχειν γὰρ νεώς. ΓΕ. Eurip. Iph. Aul. 1207. Εἰ δ' εὖ λέλεκται ταῦτα νῷν, μὴ δή γε κτάνῃς. ΔΗ. Soph. Œd. Col. 265. Ὄνομα μόνον δείσαντες; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τό γε. *Ibid.* 1118. Καί σοί γε τοὔργον τοὐμὸν ἔσται δὴ βραχύ. This is the reading of Turnebus. Aldus omits δή, and Brunck reads ὡς ἔσται βραχύ, with the following annotation: *Vocula ὡς in Aldina perperam omissa.* It is impossible to collect from this note what reading is found in the MSS. We prefer οὖν to Brunck's ὥς. Eurip. Hec. 421. Ἡμεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντ' ἄμοιροι δὴ τέκνων. The true reading, Ἡμεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντά γ' ἄμμοροι τέκνων, is restored by Mr Porson on the authority of Eustathius. To the authority of Eustathius may be added that of Hesychius: Γάμμορος. ἀμέτοχος, ἐστερημένος. A similar error occurs in Suidas: Γάμβορος. ὁ ἀμέτοχος. Ion. 954. Τίς γάρ νιν ἐξέθηκεν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ σύ γε. MEN. Soph. Œd. Tyr. 142. Ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα, παῖδες, ὑμεῖς μὲν βάθρων. El. 357. Σὺ δ' ἡμῖν ἡ μιτοῦσα, μισεῖς μὲν λόγῳ Eurip. Iph. Aul. 392. Φιλόγαμοι μνηστῆρες. ἡ δέ γ' ἐλπίς, οἶμαι μέν, θεός. MOI. Æsch. Choëph. 903. Κρίνω σὲ νικᾶν, καὶ παραινεῖς μοι καλῶς. Soph. Œd. Col. 982. Ἔτικτε γάρ μ', ἔτικτεν, οἵμοι μοι κακῶν. Phil. 788. Προσέρχεται τόδ' ἐγγύς· οἵμοι μοι τάλας. Eurip. Hec. 507. Σπεύδωμεν, ἐγκονῶμεν, ἡγοῦ μοι, γέρον. Suppl. 1145. Ἔτ' ἂν (ὅταν *Ald.*), θεοῦ θέλοντος, ἔλθοι μοι δίκα. Iph. Aul. 1212. Πιθεῖν ἐπᾴδουσ', ὥστ' ὀμαρτεῖν μοι πέτρας. Iph. Taur. 942. Ἠλαυνόμεσθα φυγάδες, ἔνθεν μοι πόδα. Hel. 478. Πῶς φής; τιν' εἶπας μῦθον; αὖθις μοι φράσον. MOY. Eurip. Ion. 633. Ἃ δ' ἐνθάδ' εἶχον ἀγαθ', ἄκουσόν μου, πάτερ. Mr Porson (p. 36) appears to be inclined to read, ἀκουέ μου, πάτερ. We should prefer, ἄκουσον, ὦ πάτερ. NIN. Æsch. Agam. 1061. Εἶσω φρενῶν λέγουσα, πείθω νιν λόγῳ. The poet wrote, πειθὼ νιν λόγῳ. Soph. Phil. 593. Διώμοτοι πλέουσιν ἢ μήν νιν λογᾷ We have already spoken of this verse, and of that which follows. NYN. Soph. Aj. 995. Μάλιστα τοὐμὸν σπλάγχνον, ἦν δή νυν ἔβην. OYN. Soph. Trach. 720. Πῶς οὐκ ὀλεῖ καὶ τόνδε; δόξῃ γ' οὖν ἐμοί. ΣΟΙ. Æsch. Prom. 649. Τί παρθενεύει δαρὸν, ἔξον σοι γάμου. Soph. El. 432. Τύμβῳ προσεύξῃ μηδέν· οὐ γάρ σοι θέμις. Eurip. Alc. 1088. Χρόνος μαλάξει νῦν δ' ἔθ' ἡβᾷ σοι κακόν. The true reading is pointed out by Mr Porson (p. 36) after Valckenaer from Galen: Χρόνος μαλάξει, νῦν δ' ἔθ' ἡβάσκει, κακόν. El. 1119. Καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνος οὐκέτ' ἔσται σοι βαρύς. Rhes. 868. Σὺ δ' οὖν νόμιζε ταῦτ', ἐπείπερ σοι δοκεῖ. ΤΙΣ. Eurip. Heracl. 517. Κοὐκ αἰσχυνοῦμαι δῆτ', ἐὰν δή τις λέγῃ. Rhes. 715. Βίον δ' ἐπαιτῶν, ἐμπρ' ἀγύρτης τις λάτρις. ΤΟΙ. Soph. Phil. 801. Ἐμπρήσον, ὦ γενναῖε. κἀγώ τοι ποτὲ Eurip. Or. 111. Καὶ πέμψομέν (πέμψομαι *Ald.*) γ' θυγατρὶ· εὖ γάρ τοι λέγεις.

Should the student be desirous of discovering the reasons

which induced the tragic poets to observe the rules respecting the fifth foot of the *senarius*, which have been discovered and communicated to the world by Mr Porson, we profess ourselves to be unable to give him better information, than that which is delivered by the learned Hermann in the following words (H. p. 109):

" Caussa autem quare ista vocabulorum divisio displicere debet, hæc est. Quoniam in fine cujusque versus, ubi, exhaustis jam propemodum pulmonibus, lenior pronunciationis decursus desideratur, asperiora omnia, quo difficilius pronunciantur, eo magis etiam aures lædunt: propterea sedulo evitatur illa vocabulorum conditio, quæ ultimum versus ordinem longiore mora a præcedente disjungit, eaque re decursum numerorum impedit ac retardat. "

To illustrate this doctrine, we may conveniently revert to the first verse of the Ion, Ἄτλας ὁ χαλκέοισι νώτοις οὐρανόν. It is by no means necessary to have enacted the part of Mercury in the Ion of Euripides, in order to be sensible of the relief which is afforded to the ' exhausted lungs ' of a corpulent performer by that variation of the verse in question which we have already proposed, Ἄτλας, ὁ νώτοις χαλκέοισιν οὐρανόν. That the comic poets were not quite so considerate of the lungs of their actors, appears as well by their neglect of this canon, as by the words of inordinate length which they sometimes employ: particularly by one of near eighty syllables, which occurs towards the conclusion of the Ecclesiazusæ of Aristophanes. Hephæstion informs us (ch. 14), that the μακρὸν, as it was called, of the comic *parabasis*, ought to be pronounced, ἀπνευστὶ, without taking breath. In the Birds of Aristophanes, the μακρὸν consists of thirteen and a half dimeter anapestics (v. 723–736), which contain a hundred and thirty-four syllables. Upon the whole, it is not without reason that Mr Hermann (H. p. 140) exults in the following terms over the inaptitude of his rival to investigate the causes of those facts which he had sufficient sagacity to discover:

" Id sponte animadvertisset vir eruditissimus, si non satis haberet observare, sed in caussas etiam earum rerum quas observavit, inquirendum putaret. "

We are afraid that we shall exhaust the patience of our readers, although perhaps not their lungs, by the length of our observations on the following passage in Mr Porson's preface (p. 43):

" Nunc Iambicorum genus Comicis fere proprium leviter attingamus, quod vulgo vocatur Tetrametrum catalecticum. Duabus rebus a Comico senario hoc differt; primo, quod quartus pes semper iambus aut tribrachys sit oportet; secundo, quod sextus

sextus pes anapæstum etiam admittit. Sed pes catalecticam syllabam præcedens non iambus esse nequit; nisi in proprio nomine, ubi conceditur anapæstus. Quod de quarto etiam pede intelligi velim."

We have long suspected, that Mr Porson was mistaken in restricting to the case of proper names the use of anapests in the fourth place of the catalectic tetrameter iambics of the comic poets. The appearance of the third edition of the preface to the Hecuba, without any modification of the doctrine proposed in the edition of 1802, has induced us to examine the question with considerable attention, and to present the result of our examination to our readers.

We have to observe, in the first place, that all the trisyllabic feet which are admissible into comic iambics, are employed with much greater moderation in the catalectic tetrameters, than in the common trimeters. The Plutus of Aristophanes, for instance, commences with two hundred and fifty-two trimeters, which are immediately followed by thirty-seven tetrameters, after which, the measure, although still iambic, becomes antistrophic. Nearly three fifths of the trimeters contain one or more trisyllabic feet in each verse. The thirty-seven tetrameters, on the contrary, exhibit only one tribrach and one dactyl, and not one anapest. In the earlier plays of Aristophanes, trisyllabic feet are used more unsparingly both in trimeters and in tetrameters. But the comparative rarity of those feet in tetrameters is nearly as observable in the Knights, the earliest remaining play of Aristophanes, which contains a considerable number of tetrameters, as in the Plutus, which was written after the versification of the comic stage had begun to assume an appearance of smoothness and regularity, which the contemporaries of the youth of Aristophanes were not desirous of exhibiting. In the second place, we must remark, that the eleven surviving comedies of Aristophanes contain more than six hundred tetrameter iambics, in which number of verses, the edition of Brunck exhibits only seventy anapests which the most obstinate critic will venture to defend. These seventy anapests are found in the followiug fifty-nine verses: Eq. 343, 345, 351, 352, 357, 359, 360, 407, 414, 415, 422, 424, 428, 433, 884, 896, 902, 903, 908, 909, 910. Nub. 1046, 1050, 1062, 1063, 1066, 1075, 1077, 1083, 1372, 1427. Pac. 948. Thesm. 543, 545, 546, 547, 550, 558, 560, 561, 562, 567, 568. Ran. 910, 912, 915, 917, 918, 919, 920, 922, 932, 937, 939, 943, 948, 954, 962. Eccl. 288. If our seventy anapests were distributed equally among all the places of the verse, except the seventh, which may be considered as out of the question, we should find

eleven or twelve instances of an anapest in the fourth place. If, upon actual inspection, we discover only three or four such instances, we believe that every person acquainted with the nature of chances, will allow us to attribute the smallness of the number to accident, unless it can be satisfactorily ascribed to some other cause. To exemplify the irregularities which so frequently disturb the calculations of the critical arithmetician, it will be sufficient to mention, that in the Lysistrata, which contains near seventy tetrameters, Aristophanes has not used a single anapest in a verse of that measure; and that in the Thesmophoriazusæ, which play was written nearly at the same time, he has introduced the anapest fifteen times in the forty-three tetrameters which the play contains.

Before Mr Porson's edition of the Hecuba appeared, the learned Hermann had taught the world, in his incomparable work on Metres (p. 176), that the fourth foot of a catalectic tetrameter iambic might be an iambus, a tribrach, an anapest, or a proceleusmatic. Of the proceleusmatic he produces only one instance: Aristoph. Ran. 1063. Πολλοῖς· ὅ γ' οὖν Πηλεὺς ἔλαβε δι | ὰ τοῦτο τὴν μάχαιραν. Of the anapest he gives the nine following instances from Aristophanes: Eq. 421, 836. Nub. 1049, 1369, 1427. Thesm. 560. Ran. 930, 932, 937. Mr Porson (p. 43–46) has enabled us to increase the number of real and apparent instances to nineteen, including a few from other poets.

A. Aristoph. Eq. 421. Ὦ δεξιώτατον κρέας, ὡς | σοφῶς γε προυνόησω. We heartily concur in Mr Porson's omission of ὡς. B. *Ibid.* 836. Ὦ τοῖσιν ἀνθρώποισι φανείς, | μέγιστον ὠφέλημα. All the editions before Brunck read ἀνθρώποις. C. *Ibid.* 881. Τονδὶ δ' ἄνευ χιτῶνος ὁρῶν | ὄντα τηλικουτονί. Read with the Ravenna MS. and Brunck in his notes, Τονδὶ δ' ὁρῶν ἄνευ χιτῶ | νος ὄντα τηλικοῦτον. D. *Ibid.* 884. Τοιουτονὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς | οὐπώποτ' ἐπενόησε. The common reading is Θεμιστοκλῆς, which ought not to be retained without necessity. E. Nub. 1040. Καὶ τοῖσι νόμοις καὶ ταῖσι δίκαις | τἀναντί' ἀντιλέξαι. Read, Τοῖσιν νόμοις καὶ ταῖς δίκαις. F. *Ibid.* 1050. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδέν' Ἡρακλέους | βελτίον' ἄνδρα κρίνω. G. *Ibid.* 1063. Πολλοῖς· ὅ γ' οὖν Πηλεὺς ἔλαβεν | διὰ τοῦτο τὴν μάχαιραν. The common reading is ἔλαβε, which exhibits a tribrach before an anapest. Mr Porson reads, we apprehend from conjecture, ἔλαβε δι' αὐτό. Διὰ τοῦτο appears to us to be preferable to δι' αὐτό. H. *Ibid.* 1359. οὐ γὰρ τότ' εὐθὺς χρῆν σ' ἄρα τύ | πτεσθαί τε καὶ πατεῖσθαι. Read with Bentley and Porson χρῆν σε τύπτεσθαί τε. I. *Ibid.* 1427. Σκέψαι δὲ τοὺς ἀλεκτρυόνας, | καὶ τἄλλα τὰ βοτὰ ταυτί. K. Thesm. 548. Οὐπώποτ' ἐποίησεν, ὅτι γυνὴ | σώφρων ἔδοξεν εἶναι. Mr Porson reads ἐπ[illegible], the second syllable of which word is short. L. *Ibid.* 550. Τῶν νῦν γυναικῶν πηνελόπην, | Φείδρας δ' ἀπαξαπάσας. M. *Ibid.* 560. Οὐδ' ὡς τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ πελέκει | γυνὴ κατεσπόδησεν. Mr Porson reads

reads Οὐδ' ὡς ἑτέρα τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ | πελέκει κατεσπόδησεν. This lection appears to be derived from Suidas: Κατεσπόδησε. κατέκοψεν. ἑταίρα τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ πελέκει κατεσπόδησε. καὶ κατεσπόδωσεν ὁμοίως. N. Ran. 912. Ἀχιλλέα τίν', ἢ Νιόβην, | τὸ πρόσωπον οὐχὶ δεικνύς. O. *Ibid.* 930. Ἃ συμβαλεῖν οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἦν. | νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἔγωγ' οὖν. Mr Porson reads οὐ ῥᾴδι' ἦν. At present we have not leisure to examine whether the comic poets ever use the adjective ῥᾴδιος in any other manner than impersonally, in the neuter gender and singular number. At all events, if the verse requires emendation, we should prefer the omission of ην to the alteration of ῥᾴδιον. Οὐ ῥᾴδιον without the substantive verb, occurs continually. If we retain the common reading, besides the anapest in the fourth place, to which we do not object, we shall have a division of the anapest similar to that in Ach. 107. Εἰ προσδοκῶσι χρυσίον ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων. This division is sparingly adopted in the common trimeters, a much more licentious species of metre; and we have observed no instance of it in tetrameters, except the verse now before us. At the same time, we do not pretend to determine, whether the rarity of such anapests in tetrameters is to be attributed to accident or to design. Too few of these verses are preserved, to enable us to decide with confidence on every question relating to their structure. If the Thesmophoriazusæ of Aristophanes had been lost, no metrical writer would have hesitated in pronouncing, that the catalectic *dipodia* or κατακλεὶς of an iambic verse must necessarily be a bacchius, as τραφῆναι, πολίτης, πονηρῶν, παρήσω. A solitary instance of an ionic *a minore* occurs in that play, v. 547. Ἐγένετο, Μελανίππας ποιῶν, | Φαίδρας τε, Πη | νελόπην δέ. This deviation from the ordinary form of the verse is the more remarkable, as it is not caused by necessity. The word Πηνελόπην might occupy five different positions in the verse, without producing any irregularity. P. Ran. 932. Τὸν ξουθὸν ἱππαλεκρυόνα | ζητῶν τίς ἐστιν ὄρνις. Q. *Ibid.* 937 Οὐχ ἱππαλεκρυόνας, μὰ Δί', οὐ | δὲ τραγελάφους, ἅπερ σύ. We suspect that the poet wrote, μὰ Δία, καὶ τραγελάφους. So in Soph. El. 689, some copies read, Οὐκ οἶδα τοιοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς ἔργ' οὐδὲ κράτη, instead of the common and true reading, ἔργα καὶ κράτη. R. Aristophanes *apud Athen. p.* 372. *B.* Ὑρισοὺς δ' ἴδοις ἀν[illegible] | σύκων ὁμοῦ τε μύρτων. S. Plato Comicus *ibid.* p. 665, C. Καὶ δὴ κεκρᾶται. τὸν λιβανω | τὸν ἐπιτιθεὶς εἶπε. We suspect the true reading to be ἐπιτίθησιν ἡ παῖς. T. Cratinus *apud Suid. atque Etymol.* [illegible] βὴ, *et Eustath. p.* 768, 14. Ὁ δ' ἠλίθιος, ὥσπερ πρόβατον, βὴ βὴ λέγων βαδίζει. Mr Porson attributes this verse to the younger Cratinus. Eustathius simply says, Κρατῖνος. Suidas and the Etymologist add the name of the play, Κρατῖνος Διονυσαλεξάνδρῳ, which most probably was the work of the elder Cratinus. Mr Porson reads ὡς προβάτιον. We have no objection to προβάτιον, but we cannot so readily consent to exchange ὥσπερ for ὡς. The comic poets almost always use

ὥσπερ to express the sense of the English words *As it were*. Examples may be found in the Wasps of Aristophanes, v. 96, 105, 107, 129, 172, 227, 257, 351, 363, 395, 506, 571, 702, 712, 713, 780, 804, 1107, 1111, 1306, 1370. To our ears, ὡς appears to mean something more than mere comparison, as in the following lines of Antiphanes (*apud Athen. p.* 681, *C*): Οὐκ ἔφυσαν οἱ Λάκωνες, ὡς ἀπόρθητοί ποτε, Νῦν δ' ὁμηρεύουσ' ἔχοντες πορφυροῦς κεκρυφάλους; At all events, if any alteration in the verse of Cratinus were necessary, we should prefer the following representation of it: Ὁ δ' ἠλίθιος, βὴ βὴ λέγων, ὥσπερ πρόβατον, βαδίζει. But we are perfectly satisfied with the common reading.

Of the nineteen preceding verses, the anapest in the fourth foot of six, marked A, B, C, E, H, K, has been removed by corrections which may be considered as quite satisfactory. Four more, marked D, F, L, N, in which the anapest is contained in a proper name, do not militate against Mr Porson's canon. A sufficient proportion of the nine which remain, appears to be placed beyond the reach of emendation, to convince us, that the comic poets did not scruple to employ an anapest in the fourth place of a catalectic tetrameter iambic, whenever they found it convenient to do so. Mr Porson (p. 46) adduces those five which are marked I, P, Q, R, S, without proposing any emendations of them.

In confirmation of our opinion, we will take the liberty of applying Mr Porson's canon to the sixth place, instead of the fourth. The instances of an anapest in the sixth place which we have been able to collect, amount only to twelve. The reader will observe how great a reduction from this number may be made by emendations, not one of which can be called violent or very improbable.

A. Aristoph. Eq. 339. Οὐδ' αὖ μ' ἐάσεις; οὐ μὰ Δια. | ναὶ μὰ Δία. μὰ τὸν Ποσειδῶ. In order to avoid the dactyl before the anapest, Mr Hermann (M. p. 153) properly reads μὰ Δία instead of οὐ μὰ Δία. as in v. 336. B. *Ibid.* 412. Ἠνεσχόμην ἐκ παιδίων, | μαχαιριδίων τε πληγάς. The true reading, μαχαιρίδων, is exhibited in the Ravenna MS. and by Julius Pollux, as Brunck observes in his notes. C. *Ibid.* 909. Ἰδοὺ δέχου κέρκον λαγῶ, | τὼφθαλμιδίω περιψῆν. If it were necessary, we might read τὼφθαλμίδια. D. *Ibid.* 910. Ἀπομυξάμενος, ὦ Δῆμε, ἐμοῦ | πρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποψῶ. E. Nub. 1066. Εἶληφε διὰ πονηρίαν, | ἀλλ' οὐ μὰ Δί', οὐ μάχαιραν. We apprehend that the poet wrote, ἀλλ' εὖ, μὰ Δία, μάχαιραν. F. *Ibid.* 1075. Εἶεν. πάρειμ' ἐντεῦθεν εἰς | τὰς τῆς φύσεως ἀναγκαίας. Read φύσεος, as in Vesp. 1282, 1458. G. Thesm. 568. Καὶ μὴν ἰδού. καὶ μὴν ἰδού. | λαβὲ θοιμάτιον, Φιλίστη. H. *Ibid.* 570. Τὸν σταμεοῦνθ', ὃν κατέφαγες, | τοῦτόν σε χρεστῶν ποιήσω. The pronoun was inserted by Brunck without any reason, and against all authority. I. Ran. 919. Οὐχ ἥττον ἢ νῦν οἱ λαλοῦν|τες. ἠλίθιος γὰρ ἦσθα. Perhaps

we

we ought to read ἡλίθιος ἆρ' ἦσθα. K. Archippus *apud Athen. p.* 227. *A.* 311, C. Ἐμμαῖος, ὃς βίᾳ δέρων | βίνας γαλεοὺς τε πωλεῖ. L. Crates *ibid. p.* 267, *E.* Οὔκουν μιαιτρέψας σταν | τὸν ἀλοὶ πάσεις ἀλείφων. Until a probable emendation of this verse is proposed, we are fairly entitled to decline its authority. M. Aristophanes *ibid. p.* 427, C. Πίνειν, ἔπειτ' ᾄδειν κακᾶς, | Συρακοσίων τράπεζαν.

It will appear, on examination, that three only of the preceding verses, marked D, G, K, decidedly forbid our application of Mr Porson's canon to the sixth place instead of the fourth. The fact is, that in this kind of verse, the comic poets admit anapests more willingly and frequently into the first, third, and fifth places, than into the second, fourth and sixth. Of the seventy anapests which we have observed in the eleven plays of Aristophanes, twenty-two, or nearly one third, occur in the first place. The first place having almost double the number which would accrue to it from an equal distribution, some of the other places must necessarily exhibit fewer anapests than their fair proportion.

As it is probable, that a more accurate examination than ours will discover anapests in Aristophanes which have escaped our notice, we think it necessary to state, that hitherto we have intentionally passed over in silence the following instances. Ach. 849. Κρατῖνος, ἀεὶ κεκαρμένος | μοιχὸν μιᾷ μαχαίρᾳ. This anapest would hardly be tolerable in a trimeter. The last editor of this play reads Κρατῖνος αὖ, comparing v. 854. Eq. 893. Καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπίτηδές σε πειρῶμ' | πισχεῖν γ', ἵνα σ' ἀποπνίξῃ. This disjointed verse may be conveniently read as follows: Καὶ τοῦτό γ' ἐπίτηδές σε πειρ' | ἡμπισχεν, ἵν' ἀποπνίξῃ. Pac. 948. Τὸ κανοῦν πάρεστιν, ὅλας ἔχον, | καὶ στέμμα, καὶ μαχαιραν. The Ravenna MS. reads πάρεστ'. The anapest in the first place is in our list. Lys. 316. Τὴν λαμπάδα θ' ἡμιμύνην ὅπως | πρώτως ἐμοὶ προτοίτυς. Read with the old editions, τὴν λαμπάδ' ἡμιμύνην. *Ibid.* 368. Οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνὴρ Εὐριπίδου | σοφώτερος ποιητής. The old editions read οὐκ ἔστ' ἀνήρ. Perhaps, however, the true reading is οὐκ ἔστιν ἆρ', as in the Knights, v. 1079. Οὐκ ἦν ἄρ' οὐδεὶς τοῦ Γλανίδος σοφώτερος. Lys. 372. Τί δὲ δὴ σὺ πῦρ, ὦ τύμβ', ἔχων; | ὡς σαυτὸν ἐμπυρεύτων; The δὴ was inserted by Brunck in order to sustain the metre. Read τί δαὶ σὺ πῦρ.

In turning over the leaves of Athenæus, for the purpose of discovering tetrameter iambics with anapests in the fourth and sixth places, a few verses written in that measure, or which may be converted into that measure, have occurred to us, which we are willing to take this opportunity of exhibiting in a less incorrect form than has been given to them by the various editors of Athenæus.

P. 86, C. 90, F. Archippus: Λεπάσιν, ἐχίνοις, ἰσχάραις, βελόναις τε, τοῖς κνίσαί τι. These words are divided by Schweighæuser

into one trimeter and the beginning of a second. A better division would have been to end the first verse with ἐσχάραις. By reading τοῖς κτεσίν τε, we make one tetrameter of the whole.

P. 96, C. Pherecrates. Schweighæuser, in his *Addenda et Corrigenda* (p. 414), has converted this fragment into four miserable tetrameters, on the authority of the Leipzig Reviewers. The first seven words, Ὡς παρασκευάζεται δεῖπνον πῶς ἂν εἶπαθ' ἡμῖν, may perhaps be formed into the following tetrameter: Ἕως παρασκευάζεται | τὸ δεῖπνον εἶπαθ' ἡμῖν. The remainder of the fragment consists of six excellent dimeters: Καὶ δῆθ' ὑπάρχει τἀμαχος ἐγ | χέλειον ἡμῖν, τευθίς, ἀρ | νεῖον κρέας, φύσκης τόμος, | ποῦς ἑφθός, ἤπαρ, πλευρόν, ὀρ | νίθεια πλῆθει πολλά, τυ | ρὸς ἐν μέλιτι, μερὶς κρεῶν. Perhaps the following fragment of the same poet (*apud Athen. p.* 56, *F*) is part of the same passage: Ραφανὶς τ' ἁπλυτος ὑπάρχει, | Καὶ θερμὰ λουτρὰ, καὶ ταρί | χη τηκτὰ, καὶ κάρυα. The verse may be completed by reading καρύκη for κάρυα.

P. 267, E. Crates:

A. Ἔπειτα δοῦλον οὐδὲ εἷς κεκτήσετ', οὐδὲ δούλην.
B. Ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αὐτῷ δῆτ' ἀνὴρ γέρων διακονήσει;
A. Οὐ δῆθ'· ὁδοιποροῦντα γὰρ τὰ πάντ' ἐγὼ ποιήσω.
B. Τί δῆτα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς πλέον; A. Πρόσεισιν αὐθέκαστον
τῶν σκευαρίων ὅτι ἂν καλῇ τις. παρατίθου, τράπεζα.
αὕτη, παρασκεύαζε σαυτήν. μάττε, θυλακίσκε.
ἔγγει, κύαθε. ποῦσθ' ἡ κύλιξ; ἰοῦσα λίζε σαυτήν.
ἀνάβαινε, μάζα. τὴν χύτραν χρὴ ἔξεραν τὸ τεῦτλα.
ἰχθύ, βάδιζ'. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τάπὶ θάτερ' ὄντος εἰμι.
οὔκουν μεταστρέψας σεαυτὸν ἅλσι πάσεις ἀλείφων.

In the sixth verse, we are uncertain whether we ought to read with Schweighæuser, αὐτὴ παρασκεύαζε σαυτήν, or to consider αὕτη as the corruption of some other word. The Venetian MS. countenances the latter opinion, by reading παρασκεύαζε σαυτόν. Without pretending to correct the last verse, we give it as it is written in the same MS., except that, with the assistance of Casaubon, we have changed ἁλιπάσεις into ἅλσι πάσεις.

P. 301, B. Archippus: Καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀφύην καταπέπωκεν ἕψητὸς ἐντυχών. Read, Καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀφύην καταπέπωχ' | ἕψητὸς ἐντυχών τις. This verse may be added to the instances of the omission of τις which are produced in Mr Porson's note on Hec. 1161. Suidas v. Ἄθυρμα quotes the words νεοχμὸν παρῆχθαι ἄθυρμα from the Ὀδυσσῆς of Cratinus. If we read νεοχμόν τι παρῆχθαι ἄθυρμα, we shall have the second hemistich of a tetrameter anapestic, in which metre the beginning of the Ὀδυσσῆς was written, as we learn from Hephæstion, ch. 8.

P. 372, B. Aristophanes: Ὄψει δὲ χειμῶνος μέσου | σικυοὺς, βότρυς, ὀπώραν. Στεφάνους ἴων, κονιορτὸν ἐκτινάξοντα. The second verse may be completed by reading, Στεφάνους ἴων, στεφάνους ῥόδων. In the same fragment, one God says to another, Ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτ' ὀλίγον χρόνον φήσας ἀφειλόμην ἄν. Casaubon reads φυσήσας, and attributes these words to Æolus.

Æolus. Schweighæuser gives them to Boreas, and accommodates Casaubon's emendation to the metre, by reading Φυσῶν. We believe that the poet wrote, ὀλίγον χρόνον ἔφθασας, *If I had come a little earlier.*

P. 484, F. 527, C. Aristophanes: Ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐμάθετε ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ πάμπονηρος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον Πίνειν, ἔπειτ' ᾄδειν κακῶς, Συρακοσίων τράπεζαν, Συβαριτιδῶς τ' ἐσθίειν, καὶ Χῖον ἐκ Λακαινῶν Κυλίκων μέθυ ἡδέως καὶ φίλως. In the first verse, Mr Porson (p. 45) reads ἐμάθετ' αὖτ'. From the other fragments of the same play, the Δαιταλῆς, we collect that these words are spoken by an old man, who is complaining of his prodigal son. We read, therefore, ἔμαθε ταῦτ'. Mr Porson rejects the words μέθυ ἡδέως καὶ φίλως as desperately corrupt, but retains κυλίκων as the beginning of a fourth verse. It is, however, an interpolation. In one passage of Athenæus, the words of the poet end with Λακαινᾶν. Hesychius: Χῖον τὸν ἐκ Λακαίνης. ἐκ κύλικος Λακαίνης οἶνον. Read: Χῖον ἐκ Λακαίνης. ἐκ κύλικος Λακαινης οἶνον Χῖον. Perhaps the first hemistich of the following verse was as follows: Μεθυειν ἀεί, ζῆν ἡδέως.

P. 499, C. Diphilus: Λάγυνον ἔχω κένον, ὦ γραῦ, θύλακον δὲ μεστόν. We are informed by Mr Gaisford, in his notes on Hephæstion (p. 341), that Mr Porson considered this verse of Diphilus as an asynartete, similar to some which conclude the Wasps of Aristophanes, and to others which Mr Gaisford has produced. To these may be added, Cratinus *apud Athen. p.* 553, *E.* Ἀπαλὸν δὲ σισύμβριον ἢ | κρίνον παρ' οὗς ἐθάκει· Παρὰ χρηστὸν δὲ μᾶλλον ἔχων | σκίπωνά τ' ἠγόραζον. As the poets of the new comedy had very little variety in their measures, we are inclined to represent the verse of Diphilus as follows: Ἔχω κένον λάγυνον, ὦ | γραῦ, θύλακον δὲ μεστόν.

P. 700, F Plato: Ἐνταῦθ' ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν κροτάφων ἔξει λύχνον δίμυξον. The omission of the article will convert these words into an asynartete of the kind mentioned in the preceding paragraph. By changing the order of the words, we may produce a tetrameter iambic: Ἐνταῦθ' ἐπὶ τῶν κροτάφων ἄκρων | ἔξει λύχνον δίμυξον. Where the metre is so uncertain, an editor of Athenæus would perhaps act most prudently in retaining the common reading.

Aristophanes occasionally introduces a very elegant species of verse, which we are willing to mention in this place, because it differs from the tetrameter iambic, only in having a cretic or pæon in the room of the third *dipodia*, and because it is frequently corrupted into a tetrameter iambic by the insertion of a syllable after the first hemistich. In technical language, it is an asynartete, composed of a dimeter iambic and an ithyphallic. It is called Εὐριπίδειον τετραεσκαιδεκασύλλαβον by Hephæstion (ch. 15), who has given the following specimen of it: Ἔφος ἀνὴρ ἱππότας | ἐξέλαυνεν ἀστυ. Twenty-five of these verses occur together in the Wasps of Aristophanes, beginning with v. 248. Two of them may be corrected as follows: V. 249. Κἄρφος χαμαῖθεν νυν λαβών, | τὸν λύχνον πρόβυνον. The second syllable of χαμαῖθεν is long. V. 263. Φιλεῖ δ', ὅταν τοῦτ' ᾖ, πολεῖν | ὑτὸν μάλιστα. In v. 1212 of the Clouds, the Ravenna MS. rightly reads: Ἀλλ'

Ἀλλ' εἰσάγων σε βούλομαι | πρῶτον ἑστιᾶσαι. The following verse of Teleclides is adduced by Athenæus (p. 485, F): Καὶ μελιχρὸν οἶνον ἕλκειν ἐξ ἡδυπνόου λεπαστῆς. Schweighæuser has converted these words into the following tetrameter trochaic: Καὶ μελιχρὸν οἶνον ἕλκειν ἐκ λεπαστῆς ἡδύπνου. As the second syllable of μελιχρὸν ought to be short, perhaps the following asynartete with a dactyl in the first place may approach nearer to the true reading: Καὶ μελιχρὸν οἶνον εἷλκεν ἐξ | ἡδύπνου λεπαστῆς. The measure of these verses resembles the Latin Saturnian, except that the first hemistich of the Saturnian is catalectic. *Dabunt malum Metelli | Nævio poëtæ.* Ἑῷος ἀνίχ' ἱππεὺς | ἐξέλαμψεν ἀστήρ.

Respecting the dimeter iambics of the comic poets, Mr Porson has said nothing; and we have very little to add to what has been said by Mr Gaisford, p. 244. With the exception of the catalectic *dipodia*, they appear to admit anapests into every place, but more frequently into the first and third, than into the second and fourth. Strictly speaking, indeed, there is no difference in this metre between the second and fourth feet, as a system or set of dimeter iambics is nothing more than one long verse divided for convenience of arrangement into portions each containing four feet. That the quantity of the final syllable of each dimeter is not indifferent, has been remarked as well by others as by Brunck, from whose hands we beg leave to rescue the following passage: Aristoph. Eq. 453. Παῖ' αὐτὸν ἀνδρικώτατα, | γάστριζε καὶ τοῖς ἐντέροις | καὶ τοῖς κόλοις, | χὥπως κολᾷ τὸν ἄνδρα. This is the common reading. Brunck reads, *ex ingenio*: Παῖ' αὐτὸν ἀνδρικώτατα, καὶ | γάστριζε τοῖσιν ἐντέροις, &c. If this reading were found in all the MSS., we should think it our duty to submit to it; but we cannot allow the division of the anapest which it exhibits to be introduced upon mere conjecture. We suspect that the poet wrote: Παῖ' αὐτὸν ἀνδρικώτατ', εὖ | γάστριζε καὶ τοῖς ἐντέροις, &c. It is well known that A and EY are continually confounded in manuscripts. In our account of Mr Blomfield's edition of the Prometheus, we had occasion to remark, that the Aldine edition of Æschylus reads ἀρὼν for εὐρὼν v. 580, and ἀγμάτων for εὐγμάτων v. 586. In the same manner, the Ἀστράτευτοι, a play of Eupolis mentioned by Hephæstion (ch. 15), is called Εὐστράτευτοι in several MSS. * The adverbs

εὖ

* In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1787 (p. 672), the following words conclude a very learned and elaborate panegyric on Mr Pitt. "Rome had cause to rejoice that Scipio was her consul; Britain, too, has reason to gratulate herself that Pitt is her minister. Σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φυᾷ. Pind. Ol. ii. Let not therefore objection be made to the youth of one, who may with confidence say, εἰ δ' ἐγὼ νέος, Οὐ τὸν χρόνον χρὴ μᾶλλον ἢ τἄργα σκοπεῖν. Soph. Ant. 740. Or in the words of Menander: Μὴ τοῦτο βλέψῃς, εἰ νεώτερος λέγω, Ἀλλὰ φρονοῦντος ἄνδρος εἰ λόγους ἐρῶ." If we read ἀλλ' εὖ φρονοῦντος, we shall have a reading,

εὖ and ἀνδρικῶς are both applied to a verb signifying *To beat*, in the Wasps, v. 450. Προσαγαγὼν πρὸς τὴν ἐλαίαν ἔξιδιε' εὖ κἀνδρικῶς. We conclude our observations on these verses by mentioning, that in v. 840 of the Knights, at the end of a system of them, we must read ἐπαποπνιγείης instead of ἀποπνιγείης, in order to prevent the lengthening of a short syllable before a mute and a liquid. The compound ἐπαποπνιγείης may be compared with ἐπιδιαῤῥαγῶ v. 701.

An expression occurs in Mr Porson's remarks on the trochaic metre, which appears to have deceived more than one respectable scholar. Mr Porson observes (p. 46), that the catalectic tetrameter trochaic of the tragic and comic poets may conveniently be considered as consisting of a cretic or pæon prefixed to a common trimeter iambic, in the following manner: Μῆτερ, εὐ | λόγων ἓθ' ἀγὼν, ἀλλ' ἀνήλωται χρόνος. Ἀνόσιος | πέφυκας. ἀλλ' οὐ πατρίδος, ὡς σὺ, πολέμιος. Ἀρτέμιδι, | καὶ πλοῦν ἔσεσθαι Δαναΐδαις, ἠθεῖς φρένας. Mr Porson adds:

"Sed in hoc trochaico senario (liceat ita loqui) duo observanda sunt; nusquam anapæstum, ne in primo quidem loco, admitti; deinde necessario semper requiri cæsuram penthemimerim."

The inadmissibility of anapests into the trochaic *senarius* may be exemplified by prefixing a cretic to the fifth verse of the Plutus of Aristophanes: Ἀλλὰ γὰρ | μετέχειν ἀνάγκη τὸν θεράποντα τῶν κακῶν. The dactyl in the second place vitiates the metre of this verse, considered as a tetrameter trochaic. Common readers will pardon us for explaining this passage in Mr Porson's preface, when we show that it seems to have been misunderstood by so excellent a scholar as Mr Burges. In Mr Porson's edition of the Phœnissæ, v. 616 has an anapest in the fourth place: Ἐξελαυνόμεσθα πατρίδος. καὶ γὰρ ἦλθες ἐξελῶν. In his note upon this verse, Mr Burges remarks: *Raro et fortasse nunquam in Trochaicis tragicis anapæstus occurrit.* He proposes to read, either ἐξελαύνομαι χθονὸς γάρ, or πατρίδος ἐξελαυνόμεσθα. It is somewhat remarkable, that an anapest in v. 621 of the same play has escaped Mr Burges's observation: Καὶ σὺ, μῆτερ, οὐ θέμις σε (*f.* σὲ θεμιστὸν) μητρὸς ὀνομάζειν κάρα. In Mr Porson's edition of the Orestes, anapests occur in the five following trochaics: V. 728, 776,

reading, which, in our opinion, is preferable not only to that which is exhibited by this ingenious admirer of youthful ministers, but also to the original reading in Stobæus LII. p. 201. Ἀλλ' εἰ φρονοῦντος ἦσθ' λόγους ἀνδρὸς ἐρῶ. Grotius reads ἀνδρός σ' ἐρῶ, with the following note: *Addidi σ' versus causa.* The fragment is manifestly taken from some tragedian, but not from Euripides, if Mr Porson's (*ad Hec.* 298) observation on the initial letters βλ, γλ, &c. be correct.

776, 787, 1528, 1530. The Iphigenia in Aulis will supply near twenty examples, including a few in which the anapest is contained in a proper name.

It is almost unnecessary to mention that, in this metre, anapests are admissible only into the even places. It may, however, be not altogether superfluous to observe, that the tragic poets appear to have used anapests in the even places as willingly and frequently as tribrachs, in any place except the first and fifth. The thirty-two tragedies exhibit about thirty-two instances of a tribrach in the second, third, fourth, sixth or seventh place, several of which appear to be corrupt.

Both in tragedy and in comedy, the tetrameter trochaic is usually divided into two hemistichs by a *cæsura* after the fourth foot. The tragedians, however, observe this rule much more strictly than the comedians. Most of the instances to the contrary have been corrected in a satisfactory manner. Æsch. Pers. 165. Ταῦτά μοι διπλῆ μέριμν' ἄφραστός ἐστιν ἐν φρεσίν. The Glasgow edition has an obelus before διπλῆ. The *cæsura* may be restored by removing διπλῆ to the end of the verse. *Ibid.* 731. Ὧδε παμπήδην δὲ πᾶς λαὸς κατέφθαρται δορί; The true reading, λαὸς πᾶς, has been restored by all the modern editors. Soph. Phil. 1402. Εἰ δοκεῖ, στείχωμεν. ὦ γενναῖον εἰρηκὼς ἔπος. Mr Porson's emendation, which, in our opinion, is more ingenious than satisfactory, may be seen in Mr Gaisford's notes on Hephæstion, p. 264. Eurip. Iph. Aul. 1385. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδέ τοι λίαν γ' ἐμοὶ (οὐδέ τι λίαν ἐμὲ *codd.*) φιλοψυχεῖν χρεών. Perhaps the poet wrote, Καὶ γὰρ οὐδέ τοι τι λίαν ἐμὲ φιλοψυχεῖν χρεών. *Ibid.* 1391. Τί τὸ δίκαιον τοῦτό γ' (τοῦ γ' *Ald.*); ἆρ' ἔχομεν ἀντειπεῖν ἔπος. We do not pretend to correct the whole verse; but we have little doubt that the true reading of the latter hemistich is ἔχομεν ἀντειπεῖν ἔπος. Ion. 532. Μαρτυρεῖς σαυτῷ. τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γ' ἐμαθὼν χρηστήρια. We quote this verse as an instance of licentious emendation. Barnes silently reads τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μαθών. His motive for this alteration is unknown to us. We are unwilling to suppose that even the author of the sublime ode on Λεόπολδος αὐτοκράτωρ Ὑπὸ Μαρλβόρου σωθείς objected to the contraction of θεοῦ into one syllable, an instance of which occurs only ten lines before the verse in question.

Mr Porson remarks (p. 50), that in dimeter anapestics a dactyl is very seldom, *rarissime*, placed immediately before an anapest, so as to cause a concourse of four short syllables. Mr Gaisford (p. 279) has collected several instances of this concourse, which we will lay before our readers, with some additional examples which have occurred to us. Æsch. Theb. 874. ὕμνον Ἐριννύος, Ἰαχεῖν, Λίδα τ'. Eum. 952. Ἦ τάδ' ἀκούετε, πόλεως Φρούριον. Suppl. 9. τὸν φυξάνορα

Φυξάνορα Γάμεν Αἰγύπτου. Soph. Ant. 941. Τὴν βασιλίδα τὴν μούνην λοιπήν. Aj. 205. Νῦν γὰρ ὁ δεινὸς, ὁ μέγας, ἀκοκρατής. Read μέγας without the article. Eurip. Hec. 147. Ἶς' Ἀγαμέμνονος ἱκέτις γενάτων. Hippol. 1365. Ὃδ' ὁ σωφρονοῦν πάντας ὑπερέχων. Mr Gaisford properly reads ὑπερσχών. Alc. 81. Ὅστις ἂν ἐκποτ πότερον φθιμένην. Tro. 101. Μεταβαλλομένου δαίμονος ἀνέχου. *Ibid.* 177. Τάσδ' Ἀγαμέμνονος, ἐπακουσομένα. *Ibid.* 1252. Ἐλπίδας ἐπὶ σοὶ κατέκναψε βίου. Mr Gaisford, who omits this line, probably reads ἐν σοὶ with Mr Porson (*ad Hec.* 298). Ion. 226. Εἰ μὲν ἐθύσατε πέλανον πρὸ δόμων. El. 1319. Θάρσει. Παλλάδος οἵαν ἥξεις. *Ibid.* 1321. Σύγγονε φίλτατε· διὰ γὰρ ζεύγνυσ'. Aristoph. Pac. 169. Καὶ μύρον ἐπιχεῖς, ὡς ἦν τι πεσών. Av. 404. Καὶ πόθεν ἥμολον. This little verse is not anapestic, as appears by the following words, ἐπὶ τίνα τ' ἐπίνοιαν, which Brunck has miserably corrupted, in order to accommodate them to his notions of the metre. Thesm. 822. Τάντιον, ὁ κανὼν, οἱ καλαθίσκοι. Ran. 1527. Λαμπάδας ἱερὰς, χἅμα πρεσβεύσετε. Ephippus *apud Athen. p.* 322, *E.* Κάβιος, ἀφύαι, βελόναι, κεστρεῖς. Mnesimachus *ibid. p.* 403, *C.* Κάραβος, ἔσχαρος, ἀφύαι, βελόναι. More examples may probably be detected by diligent search; but those which we have produced are sufficient to prove that Mr Porson's expression must be construed with some degree of latitude. According to Mr Porson (p. 55), there is no genuine instance of this license in tetrameter anapestics.

The anapestic dipodia may be composed of a tribrach and an anapest, for the purpose of admitting a proper name, which cannot otherwise be introduced into the verse. Anaxandrides *apud Athen.* p. 131, B. Αὐλεῖν δ' αὐτοῖς Ἀντιγενίδαν, Ἀργᾶν δ' ᾄδειν, καὶ κιθαρίζειν Κηφισόδοτον τὸν Ἀχαρνῆθεν. The second syllable of Ἀντιγενίδαν is evidently short.

In both kinds of anapestic verse, dactyls are admitted with much greater moderation into the second than into the first place of the *dipodia*. The eleven comedies of Aristophanes contain more than twelve hundred tetrameter anapestics, in which number we have remarked only the nineteen following examples of a dactyl in an even place, which, in this kind of anapestic metre, can only be the second foot of the verse, as Mr Porson has observed (p. 51): Eq. 524*, 805, 1327. Nub. 351*, 353, 400, 409*. Vesp. 389, 551, 671, 673*, 708*, 1027. Pac. 732. Lys. 500. Thesm. 790, 794. Ran. 1055. Eccl. 676*. In all of these verses, except those six which are marked with an asterisk, the preceding foot is also a dactyl. The same observations apply in a certain degree also to dimeter anapestics. When we find, therefore, in the Œdipus Coloneus of Sophocles (v. 1766), Ταῦτ' οὖν ἔκλυε δαίμων ἡμῶν, we do not hesitate to read ἔκλυεν. In the Electra (v. 96), where the MSS. and editions read Φοίνιος Ἄρης

Ἄρης οὐκ ἐξένισε, Brunck has judiciously adopted the reading of the Scholiast, οὐκ ἐξένισεν. These trifling alterations require no authority to support them; but we would not go so far as to change the order of the words for the purpose of removing a dactyl out of an even place.

Of the nineteen tetrameters mentioned in the preceding paragraph, one only is destitute of a *cæsura* after the first *dipodia*: Nub. 353. Ταῦτ' ἄρα ταῦτα Κλε | ὄνυμον αὗται | τὸν ῥίψασπιν χθὶς ἰδοῦσαι. Similar instances are exceedingly rare in dimeters. Mr Gaisford has collected more than fifty instances of the violation of the *cæsura* in dimeter anapestics, in six of which the foot which ought to be followed by the *cæsura* is a dactyl. Æsch. Pers. 532. Ἀλλ', ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, νῦν Περσῶν. The word ἀλλ' appears to have been inserted by Turnebus for the purpose of completing the verse. Perhaps we ought to read, Ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ νῦν τῶν Περσῶν | τῶν μεγαλαύχων καὶ πολυάνδρων | στρατίαν ὀλέσας. This emendation is corroborated by the first words of the play, Τάδε τῶν Περσῶν τῶν οἰχομένων, &c. At the same time, we are not free from suspicion that the poet wrote, νῦν αὖ Περσῶν, *now for the second time*. Agam. 1533. ἀλλ' ἐμὸν ἐκ τοῦδ' | ἔρνος ἀερθὲν, τὴν πολύκλαυτόν τ' | Ἰφιγένειαν ἀνάξια δράσας, &c. Mr Porson (*ad Med.* 822) remarks on this passage: *Dele inutilem copulam, et lege* πολυκλαύτην. We suspect that both the conjunction and the proper name are interpolated, and that we ought to read, τὴν πολύκλαυτον ἀνάξια δράσας. Either reading violates the *cæsura*. *Idem Prometheo Soluto apud Strabonem, p.*33. Λίμναν παντοτρόφων Αἰθιόπων. Both the sense and the reading of these words are uncertain. Soph. Ant. 156. Τῆσδε Κρέων ὁ Μενοικέως νεοχμός. The word τῆσδε, which is unnecessary to the sense, was added by Heath to complete the verse. Until a happier emendation is offered, perhaps an editor of Sophocles will do well in exhibiting this verse as it stands in the MSS. and old editions. Eurip. Iph. Taur. 460. Ἐν ναοῖσι πέλας τάδε βαίνει. As the preceding verse ends with a vowel, Markland omits ἐν, and considers this verse as catalectic. Aristoph. Pac. 1320. Κἄπειτ' εὐξαμένους τοῖσι θεοῖς. Read with the assistance of the Ravenna manuscript, κἀπευξαμένους τοῖσι θεοῖσιν.

Every person who has a tolerable ear, and is acquainted with the subject, will immediately perceive that the rhythm of the following verses is not quite perfect. Æsch. Prom. 1067. Τοὺς προδότας γὰρ μισεῖν ἔμαθον. Choëph. 1068. Παιδοβόροι μὲν πρῶτον ὑπῆρξαν. Soph. Œd. Col. 1754. Ὦ τέκνον Αἰγέως, προσπίτνομέν σοι. Eurip. Med. 160. Ὦ μεγάλα Θέμι, καὶ πότνι' Ἄρτεμι. *Ibid.* 1408. Ἀλλ' ὁπόσον γ' οὖν πάρα καὶ δύναμαι. Suppl. 980. Καὶ μὴν θαλάμας τάσδ' ἐσορῶ δή. Iph. Aul. 28. Οὐκ ἄγαμαι τοῦτ' ἀνδρὸς ἀριστέως. The rhythm of the first hemistich of the first, second, fourth, fifth and seventh

venth of these verses, and of the second hemistich of the third and sixth, is rather dactylic than anapestic. The same effect is always produced, when the three last syllables of a word, which are capable of standing in the verse as an anapest, are divided, as in the preceding examples, between a dactyl and the following foot. In the Prometheus, Mr Blomfield has judiciously adopted Bothe's emendation, τοὺς γὰρ προδότας. In comic anapestics, such faults may generally be corrected with great ease. Aristoph. Nub. 293. Καὶ σέβομαι γ', ὦ πολυτίμητοι. Read, Σέβομαι δῆτ', ὦ πολυτίμητοι. *Ibid.* 420. Ἀλλ' ἕνεκεν γε ψυχῆς στερρᾶς. Read, Ἀλλ' οὕνεκά γε. Vesp. 687. Ὅταν εἰσελθὼν μιαρώτατόν σοι. Read σοι μιαρώτατον. *Ibid.* 715. Ἀλλ' ὁπόταν μὲν δείσω' αὐτοί. Read ὁπότ' ἂν as two words. Ar. 494. Εἰς δεκάτην γάρ ποτε παιδαρίου. Read, Εἰς γὰρ δεκάτην. *Ibid.* 569. Ὧ πρεσβύτερε δεῖ τοῦ Διὸς αὐτοῦ. Read, Ὧ δεῖ πρεσβύτερε. Lys. 571. Ἐξ ἐρίων δὴ καὶ κλωστήρων. Read, Ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων καὶ κλωστήρων. Thesm. 804. Ναυσιμάχης μὲν (μὴν *Brunck.*) ἥττων ἐστίν. Read, Ἥττων μὲν Ναυσιμάχης ἐσθ'. Eccl. 516. Οὐδεμιᾷ γὰρ δεινοτέρᾳ σου. Read, Οὐδὲ μιᾷ γὰρ σοῦ δεινοτέρᾳ. *Ibid.* 624. Μηδεμιᾶς ἢ ἰσύπνημα κένον. Read, Μηδὲ μιᾶς ἦ. Plut. 588. Φειδόμενος γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενος. Read, Εἰ φειδόμενος καὶ βουλόμενος.

We shall now take our leave for the present of this great critic, who, in the compass of a few pages, has thrown more light upon the subjects of his inquiry, than can be collected from all the numerous volumes of his predecessors. For ourselves, we have only to express a hope, that our strictures may contribute in some degree to the information of such younger students in Greek literature, as are disposed to peruse the preface to the Hecuba with that care and attention which it so eminently deserves, and without which its merits cannot be duly appreciated.

Art. IV. *Memoirs of the Political and Private Life of James Caulfield, Earl of Charlemont, Knight of St Patrick, &c. &c.* By Francis Hardy esq. Member of the House of Commons in the three last Parliaments of Ireland. 4to. pp. 436. London. 1810.

This is the life of a Gentleman, written by a Gentleman;—and, considering the tenor of many of our late biographies, this of itself is no slight recommendation. But it is, moreover, the life of one who stood foremost in the political history of Ireland for fifty years preceding her union,—that is, for the whole period during which Ireland had a history or politics of her own—written by one who was a witness and a shar-

er in the scene,—a man of fair talents and liberal views,—and distinguished, beyond all writers on recent politics that we have ever met with, for the handsome and indulgent terms in which he speaks of his political opponents. The work is enlivened, too, with various anecdotes and fragments of the correspondence of persons eminent for talents, learning, and political services in both countries; and with a great number of characters, sketched with a very powerful, though somewhat too favourable hand, of almost all who distinguished themselves, during this momentous period, on the scene of Irish affairs.

From what we have now said, the reader will conclude that we think very favourably of this book: And we do think it both entertaining and instructive. But—(for there is always a *but* in a Reviewer's praises)—it has also its faults and imperfections; and these, alas! so great and so many, that it requires all the good nature we can catch by sympathy from the author, not to treat him now and then with a terrible and exemplary severity. He seems, in the first place, to have begun and ended his book, without ever forming an idea of the distinction between private and public history; and sometimes tells us stories about Lord Charlemont, and about people who were merely among his accidental acquaintance, far too long to find a place even in a biographical memoir;—and sometimes enlarges upon matters of general history, with which Lord Charlemont has no other connexion, than that they happened during his life, with a minuteness which would not be tolerated in a professed annalist. The biography again is broken, not only by large patches of historical matter, but by miscellaneous reflections, and anecdotes of all manner of persons; while, in the historical part, he successively makes the most unreasonable presumptions on the reader's knowledge, his ignorance and his curiosity,—overlaying him, at one time, with anxious and uninteresting details, and, at another, omitting even such general and summary notices of the progress of events as are necessary to connect his occasional narratives and reflections.

The most conspicuous and extraordinary of his irregularities, however, is that of his style;—which touches upon all the extremes of composition, almost in every page, or every paragraph;—or rather, is entirely made up of those extremes, without ever resting for an instant in a medium, or affording any pause for softening the effects of its contrasts and transitions. Sometimes, and indeed most frequently, it is familiar, loose and colloquial, beyond the common pitch of serious conversation: at other times by far too figurative, rhetorical and ambitious, for the sober tone of history. Here, it runs into little trifling joke-

jokes and stories; there, into weighty aphorisms and potent antitheses. One page is filled with vulgar idiom and ungrammatical familiarity; and another teems with more classical allusions, than would serve to season a whole quarto of parliamentary orations. The ingenious author, in short, has never hit, by any accident, upon the proper tone for impressive narrative, or important discussion; but is perpetually carried away, by ambition, or carelessness, or vivacity of temper, or deficiency of taste, into all sorts of strange and contradictory excesses. To our colder temperaments, a good deal of this appears strained and unnatural; but, to an Irishman, it is very probably natural enough; and indeed, the whole work bears more resemblance to the animated and versatile *talk* of a man of generous feelings and excitable imagination, than the mature production of an author who had diligently corrected his manuscript for the press, with the fear of the public before his eyes. There is a spirit about the work, however,—independent of the spirit of candour and indulgence of which we have already spoken,—which redeems many of its faults; and, looking upon it in the light of a memoir by an intelligent contemporary, rather than a regular history or profound dissertation, we think that its value will not be injured by a comparison with any work of this description that has been recently offered to the public.

The part of the work which relates to Lord Charlemont individually,—though by no means the least interesting, at least in its adjuncts and digressions,—may be digested into a very short summary. He was born in Ireland in 1728; and received a private education under a succession of preceptors, of various merit and assiduity. In 1746 he went abroad, without having been either at a public school or an university; and yet appears to have been earlier distinguished, both for scholarship and polite manners, than most of the ingenuous youths that are turned out by these celebrated seminaries. He remained on the Continent no less than nine years; in the course of which, he extended his travels to Greece, Turkey and Egypt; and formed an intimate and friendly acquaintance with the celebrated historian David Hume, whom he met both at Turin and Paris—the President Montesquieu—the Marchese Maffei—Cardinal Albani—Lord Rockingham—the Duc de Nivernois—and various other eminent persons. He had rather a dislike to the French national character; though he admired their literature, and the general politeness of their manners.

In 1755 he returned to his native country, at the age of 28; an object of interest and respect to all parties, and to all individuals of consequence in the kingdom. His intimacy with Lord

John Cavendish naturally disposed him to be on a good footing with his brother, who was then Lord Lieutenant; and 'the 'outset of his politics,' as he has himself observed, 'gave rea-'son to suppose that his life would be much more courtly than 'it proved to be.' The first scene of profligacy and court intrigue, however, which he witnessed, determined him to act a more manly part—'to be a Freeman,' as Mr Hardy says, 'in 'the purest sense of the word, opposing the court or the peo-'ple indiscriminately, whenever he saw them adopting errone-'ous or mischievous opinions.' To this resolution, his biographer adds, that he had the virtue and firmness to adhere; and the consequence was, that he was uniformly in opposition to the court for the long remainder of his life!

Though very regular in his attendance on the Irish Parliament, he always had a house in London, where he passed a good part of the winter, till 1773; when feelings of patriotism and duty induced him to transfer his residence almost entirely to Ireland. The polish of his manners, however, and the kindness of his disposition,—his taste for literature and the arts, and the unsuspected purity and firmness of his political principles, had before this time secured him the friendship of almost all the distinguished men who adorned England at this period. With Mr Fox, Mr Burke, and Mr Beauclerk—Sir Joshua Reynolds, Dr Johnson, Sir William Chalmers—and many others of a similar character—he was always particularly intimate. During the Lieutenancy of the Earl of Northumberland, in 1772, he was, without any solicitation, advanced to the dignity of an Earl; and was very much distinguished and consulted during the short period of the Rockingham administration;—though neither at that time, nor at any other, invested with any official situation. In 1768, he married; and in 1780, he was chosen General of the Irish Volunteers, and conducted himself in that delicate and most important command, with a degree of temper and judgment, liberality and firmness, which we have no doubt contributed, more than any thing else, both to the efficacy and the safety of that most perilous but necessary experiment. The rest of his history is soon told. He was the early patron, and the constant friend of Mr Grattan; and was the means of introducing the celebrated Single-Speech Hamilton to the acquaintance of Mr Burke. Though very early disposed to relieve the Catholics from a part of their disabilities, he certainly was doubtful of the prudence, or propriety, of their more recent pretensions. He was from first to last a zealous, active and temperate advocate for parliamentary reform. He was averse to the Legislative Union with Great Britain.

He

He was uniformly steady to his principles, and faithful to his friends; and seems to have divided the latter part of his life pretty equally between those elegant studies of literature and art by which his youth had been delighted, and those patriotic duties to which he had devoted his middle age. The sittings of the Irish Academy, over which he presided from its first foundation, were frequently held at Charlemont House;—and he always extended the most munificent patronage to the professors of art, and the kindest indulgence to youthful talents of every description. His health had declined gradually from about the year 1790; and he died in August 1799,—esteemed and regretted by all who had had any opportunity of knowing him, in public or in private, as a friend or as an opponent.—Such is the sure reward of honourable sentiments, and mild and steady principles!

To this branch of the history belongs a considerable part of the anecdotes and characters with which the book is enlivened; and, in a particular manner, those which Mr Hardy has given, in Lord Charlemont's own words, from the private papers and memoirs which have been put into his hands. His Lordship appears to have kept a sort of journal of every thing interesting that befel him through life, and especially during his long residence on the Continent. From this document Mr Hardy has made copious extracts, in the earlier part of his narrative; and the general style of them is undoubtedly very creditable to the noble author;—a little tedious, perhaps, now and then,—and generally a little too studiously and maturely composed, for the private memoranda of a young man of talents;—but always in the style and tone of a gentleman, and with a character of rationality, and calm indulgent benevolence, that is infinitely more pleasing than sallies of sarcastic wit, or periods of cold-blooded speculation.

One of the first characters that appears on the scene, is our excellent countryman, the celebrated David Hume, whom Lord Charlemont first met with at Turin, in the year 1750:—and of whom he has given an account rather more entertaining, we believe, than accurate. We have no doubt, however, that it records with perfect fidelity the impression which he then received from the appearance and conversation of that distinguished philosopher. But, with all our respect for Lord Charlemont, we cannot allow a young Irish Lord, on his first visit at a foreign court, to have been precisely the person most capable of appretiating the value of such a man as David Hume;—and though there is a great fund of truth in the following ob-

 servations,

servations, we think they illustrate the character and condition of the person who makes them, fully as much as that of him to whom they are applied.

'Nature, I believe, never formed any man more unlike his real character than David Hume. The powers of physiognomy were baffled by his countenance; neither could the most skilful, in that science, pretend to discover the smallest trace of the faculties of his mind, in the unmeaning features of his visage. His face was broad and fat, his mouth wide, and without any other expression than that of imbecility. His eyes, vacant and spiritless; and the corpulence of his whole person was far better fitted to communicate the idea of a turtle-eating alderman, than of a refined philosopher. His speech, in English, was rendered ridiculous by the broadest Scotch accent; and his French was, if possible, still more laughable; so that wisdom, most certainly, never disguised herself before in so uncouth a garb. Though now near fifty years old, he was healthy and strong; but his health and strength, far from being advantageous to his figure, instead of manly comeliness, had only the appearance of rusticity. His wearing an uniform added greatly to his natural awkwardness; for he wore it like a grocer of the trained bands. Sinclair was a Lieutenant-general, and was sent to the courts of Vienna and Turin as a military envoy, to see that their quota of troops was furnished by the Austrians and Piedmontese. It was therefore thought necessary that his secretary should appear to be an officer; and Hume was accordingly disguised in scarlet.

'Having thus given an account of his exterior, it is but fair that I should state my good opinion of his character. Of all the philosophers of his sect, none, I believe, ever joined more real benevolence to its mischievous principles, than my friend Hume. His love to mankind was universal, and vehement; and there was no service he would not cheerfully have done to his fellow-creatures, excepting only that of suffering them to save their souls in their own way. He was tender-hearted, friendly, and charitable in the extreme.' p. 8, 9.

His Lordship then tells a story in illustration of the philosopher's benevolence, which we have no other reason for leaving out—but that we know it not to be true; and concludes a little dissertation on the pernicious effects of his doctrines, with the following little anecdote; of the authenticity of which also, we should entertain some doubts, did it not appear likely to have fallen within his own personal knowledge.

'He once professed himself the admirer of a young, most beautiful, and accomplished lady, at Turin, who only laughed at his passion. One day he addressed her in the usual common-place strain, that he was *abimé, anéanti.*—"*Oh! pour anéanti,*" replied the lady, "*ce n'est en effet qu' une operation très naturelle de vôtre Système.*" p. 10.

The

The following passages are from a later part of the journal: but indicate the same turn of mind in the observer.

'Hume's fashion at Paris, when he was there as Secretary to Lord Hertford, was truly ridiculous; and nothing ever marked, in a more striking manner, the whimsical genius of the French. No man, from his manners, was surely less formed for their society, or less likely to meet with their approbation; but that flimsy philosophy which pervades and deadens even their most licentious novels, was then the folly of the day. Freethinking and English frocks were the fashion, and the Anglomanie was the *ton du pais.* From what has been already said of him, it is apparent that his conversation to strangers, and particularly to Frenchmen, could be little delightful; and still more particularly, one would suppose, to Frenchwomen. And yet, no lady's toilette was complete without Hume's attendance. At the opera, his broad, unmeaning face was usually seen *entre deux jolis minois.* The ladies in France give the ton, and the ton was deism; a species of philosophy ill suited to the softer sex, in whose delicate frame weakness is interesting, and timidity a charm. But the women in France were deists, as with us they were charioteers. How my friend Hume was able to endure the encounter of these French female Titans, I know not. In England, either his philosophic pride, or his conviction that infidelity was ill suited to women, made him perfectly averse from the initiation of ladies into the mysteries of his doctrine.' p. 121, 122.

'Nothing,' adds his Lordship, in another place, 'ever showed a mind more truly beneficent than Hume's whole conduct with regard to Rousseau. That story is too well known to be repeated; and exhibits a striking picture of Hume's heart, whilst it displays the strange and unaccountable vanity and madness of the French, or rather Swiss moralist. When first they arrived together from France, happening to meet with Hume in the Park, I wished him joy of his pleasing connexion; and particularly hinted, that I was convinced he must be perfectly happy in his new friend, as their sentiments were, I believed, nearly similar. "Why no, man," said he, "in that you are mistaken. Rousseau is not what you think him; he has a hankering after the Bible, and, indeed, is little better than a Christian, in a way of his own." p. 120.

'In London, where he often did me the honour to communicate the manuscripts of his additional Essays, before their publication, I have sometimes, in the course of our intimacy, asked him, whether he thought that, if his opinions were universally to take place, mankind would not be rendered more unhappy than they now were; and whether he did not suppose, that the curb of religion was necessary to human nature? "The objections," answered he, "are not without weight; but error never can produce good; and truth ought to take place of all considerations." He never failed, indeed, in the midst of any controversy, to give its due praise to every thing tolerable that was either said or written against him. His sceptical

turn made him doubt, and consequently dispute, every thing; yet was he a fair and pleasant disputant. He heard with patience, and answered without acrimony. Neither was his conversation at any time offensive, even to his more scrupulous companions. His good sense, and good nature, prevented his saying any thing that was likely to shock; and it was not till he was provoked to argument, that, in mixed companies, he entered into his favourite topics.' p. 123.

Another of the eminent persons of whom Lord Charlemont has recorded his impressions in his own hand, was the celebrated Montesquieu; of whose acquaintance he says, and with some reason, he was more vain, than of having seen the pyramids of Egypt. He and another English gentleman paid their first visit to him at his seat near Bourdeaux; and the following is the account of their introduction.

'The first appointment with a favourite mistrees, could not have rendered our night more restless than this flattering invitation; and the next morning we set out so early, that we arrived at his villa before he was risen. The servant showed us into his library; where the first object of curiosity that presented itself was a table, at which he had apparently been reading the night before, a book lying upon it open, turned down, and a lamp extinguished. Eager to know the nocturnal studies of this great philosopher, we immediately flew to the book. It was a volume of Ovid's Works, containing his Elegies, and open at one of the most gallant poems of that master of love. Before we could overcome our surprise, it was greatly increased by the entrance of the president, whose appearance and manner was totally opposite to the idea which we had formed to ourselves of him. Instead of a grave, austere philosopher, whose presence might strike with awe such boys as we were, the person who now addressed us, was a gay, polite, sprightly Frenchman; who, after a thousand genteel compliments, and a thousand thanks for the honour we had done him, desired to know whether we would not breakfast; and, upon our declining the offer, having already eaten at an inn not far from the house, 'Come, then,' says he, 'let us walk; the day is fine, and I long to show you my villa, as I have endeavoured to form it according to the English taste, and to cultivate and dress it in the English manner.' Following him into the farm, we soon arrived at the skirts of a beautiful wood, cut into walks, and paled round, the entrance to which was barricadoed with a moveable bar, about three feet high, fastened with a padlock. 'Come,' said he, searching in his pocket, 'it is not worth our while to wait for the key; you, I am sure, can leap as well as I can, and this bar shall not stop me.' So saying, he ran at the bar, and fairly jumped over it, while we followed him with amazement, though not without delight, to see the philosopher likely to become our playfellow.' p. 32, 33.

'In

'In Paris, I have frequently met him in company with ladies, and have been as often astonished at the politeness, the gallantry, and sprightliness of his behaviour. In a word, the most accomplished, the most refined *petit-maître* of Paris, could not have been more amusing, from the liveliness of his chat, nor could have been more inexhaustible in that sort of discourse which is best suited to women, than this venerable philosopher of seventy years old. But at this we shall not be suprised, when we reflect, that the profound author of L'Esprit des Loix, was also author of the Persian Letters, and of the truly gallant Temple de Gnide.' p. 36.

The following opinion, from such a quarter, might have been expected to have produced more effect than it seems to have done, on so warm an admirer as Lord Charlemont.

'In the course of our conversations, Ireland, and its interests, have often been the topic; and, upon these occasions, I have always found him an advocate for an Union between that country and England. "Were I an Irishman," said he, "I should certainly wish for it; and, as a general lover of liberty, I sincerely desire it; and for this plain reason, that an inferior country, connected with one much her superior in force, can never be certain of the permanent enjoyment of constitutional freedom, unless she has, by her representatives, a proportional share in the legislature of the superior kingdom." p. 36.

Of Lord Charlemont's English friends and associates, none is represented, perhaps, in more lively and pleasing colours than Topham Beauclerk, to the graces of whose conversation even the fastidious Dr Johnson has borne such powerful testimony. Lord Charlemont, and, indeed, all who have occasion to speak of him, represent him as more accomplished and agreeable in society, than any man of his age—of exquisite taste, perfect good-breeding, and unblemished integrity and honour. Undisturbed, too, by ambition, or political animosities, and at his ease with regard to fortune, he might appear to be placed at the very summit of human felicity, and to exemplify that fortunate lot to which common destinies afford such various exceptions. But there is no such lot. This happy man, so universally acceptable, and with such resources in himself, was devoured by *ennui*; and probably envied, with good reason, the condition of one half of those laborious and discontented beings who looked up to him with envy and admiration. He was querulous, Lord Charlemont assures us—indifferent, and internally contemptuous to the greater part of the world;—and, like so many other accomplished persons, upon whom the want of employment has imposed the heavy task of self-occupation, he passed his life in a languid and unsatisfactory manner; absorbed sometimes in play, and sometimes in study; and seeking, in vain, the wholesome

exercise of a strong mind, in desultory reading, or contemptible dissipation. His Letters, however, are delightful; and we are extremely obliged to Mr Hardy, for having favoured us with so many of them. It is so seldom that the pure, animated, and unrestrained language of polite conversation, can be found in a printed book, that we cannot resist the temptation of transcribing a considerable part of the specimens before us; which, while they exemplify, in the happiest manner, the perfect style of a gentleman, serve to illustrate, for more reflecting readers, the various sacrifices that are generally required for the formation of the envied character to which that style belongs. A very interesting essay might be written on the unhappiness of those from whom nature and fortune seem to have removed all the causes of unhappiness:—and we are sure that no better assortment of proofs and illustration could be annexed to such an essay, than some of the following passages.

"I have been but once at the club since you left England. We were entertained, as usual, by Dr Goldsmith's absurdity. Mr V. can give you an account of it. Sir Joshua Reynolds intends painting your picture over again; so you may set your heart at rest for some time: It is true, it will last so much the longer; but then you may wait these ten years for it. Elmsly gave me a commission from you about Mr Walpole's frames for prints, which is perfectly unintelligible: I wish you would explain it, and it shall be punctually executed. The Duke of Northumberland has promised me a pair of his new pheasants for you; but you must wait till all the crowned heads in Europe have been served first. I have been at the review at Portsmouth. If you had seen it, you would have owned, that it is a very pleasant thing to be a King. It is true, ——— made a job of the claret to ———, who furnished the first tables with vinegar, under that denomination. Charles Fox said, that Lord S—wich should have been impeached! What an abominable world do we li ve in! that there should not be above half a dozen honest men *in* the world, and that one of those should live in Ireland. You will, perhaps, be shocked at the small portion of honesty that I allot to your country: but a sixth part is as much as comes to its share; and, for any thing I know to the contrary, the other five may be in Ireland too; for I am sure I do not know where else to find them. Your philanthropy engages you to think well of the greatest part of mankind; but every year, every hour, adds to my misanthropy, and I have had a pretty considerable share of it for some years past. Leave your parliament and your nation to shift for itself; and consecrate that time to your friends, which you spend in endeavouring to promote the interest of half a million of scoundrels. Since, as Pope says,

"Life can little else supply,
Than just to look about us, and to die,"

Do not let us lose that moment that we have; but let us enjoy all

that

that can be enjoyed in this world—the pleasures of a true uninterrupted friendship. Let us leave this island of fog and iniquity, and sail to purer regions, not yet quite corrupted by European manners. It is true, you must leave behind you Marino, and your medals; but you will likewise leave behind you the S—s, and R—bys of this place. I know you will say you can do all this without flying to the other pole, by shunning the society of such wretches: but what avails it to me, that you are the very man I could wish, when I am separated from you by sea and land? If you will quit Marino, and sail with me, I will fly from Almack's, though, whatever evil I may have suffered from my connexion with that place, I shall always with gratitude remember, that there I first began my acquaintance with you. Why should fortune have placed our paltry concerns in two different islands? If we could keep them, they are not worth one hour's conversation at Elmsly's. If life is good for any thing, it is made so by the society of those whom we love. At all events, I will try to come to Ireland, and shall take no excuse from you, for not coming early in the winter to London. The club exists but by your presence. The flourishing of learned men is the glory of the state;—Mr Vesey will tell you that our club consists of the greatest men in the world: and consequently you see there is a good and patriotic reason for you to return to England in the winter.' p. 168, 169.

'I am rejoiced to find by your letter that Lady C. is as you wish. I have yet remaining so much benevolence towards mankind, as to wish that there may be a son of your's, educated by you, as a specimen of what mankind ought to be. Goldsmith, the other day, put a paragraph into the newspapers, in praise of Lord Mayor Townshend. The same night we happened to sit next to Lord Shelburne, at Drury Lane. I mentioned the circumstance of the paragraph to him. He said to Goldsmith, that he hoped that he had mentioned nothing about Malagrida in it. "Do you know," answered Goldsmith, "that I never could conceive the reason why they call you Malagrida; *for* Malagrida was a very good sort of man." You see plainly what he meant to say; but that happy turn of expression is peculiar to himself. Mr Walpole says, that this story is a picture of Goldsmith's whole life. Johnson has been confined for some weeks in the Isle of Skye. We hear that he was obliged to swim over to the main land, taking hold of a cow's tail. Be that as it may, Lady Di. has promised to make a drawing of it. Our poor club is in a miserable decay: unless you come and relieve it, it will certainly expire. Would you imagine, that Sir Joshua Reynolds is extremely anxious to be a member of Almack's? You see what noble ambition will make a man attempt. That den is not yet opened, consequently I have not been there; so, for the present, I am clear upon that score. I suppose your confounded Irish politics take up your whole attention at present: but we cannot do without you. If you do not come here, I will bring all the club over to Ireland,

Ireland, to live with you, and that will drive you here in your own defence. Johnson shall spoil your books, Goldsmith pull your flowers, and Boswell talk to you. Stay then if you can. Adieu, my dear Lord.' p. 176, 177, 178.

'I hope your parliament has finished all its absurdities, and that you will be at leisure to come over here to attend your club, where you will do much more good than all the patriots in the world ever did to any body, viz. you will make very many of your friends extremely happy; and you know Goldsmith has informed us, that no form of government ever contributed either to the happiness or misery of any one. I saw a letter from Foote, with an account of an Irish tragedy. The subject is Manlius; and the last speech which he makes, when he is pushed off from the Tarpeian Rock, is, "Sweet Jesus, where am I going?" Pray send me word if this is true. We have a new comedy here, which is good for nothing. Bad as it is, however, it succeeds very well, and has almost killed Goldsmith with envy. I have no news, either literary or political, to send you. Every body, except myself, and about a million of vulgars, are in the country. I am closely confined, as Lady Di. expects to be so every hour.' p. 178.

'I must now entreat you to lay aside your politics for some time, and to consider, that the taking care of your health is one of the most public-spirited things that you can possibly do; for, notwithstanding your vapour about Ireland, I do not believe that you can very well spare one honest man. Our politicians, on this side of the water, are all asleep; but I hear they are to be awakened next Monday, by a printer, who is ordered to attend the bar of the House, for having abused Sir Fletcher Norton. They have already passed a vote, that Sir Fletcher's character is immaculate, and will most certainly punish the printer very severely, if a trifling circumstance does not prevent them, viz. that the printer should, as he most probably will, refuse to attend. Our club has dwindled away to nothing. Nobody attends but Mr Chambers; and he is going to the East Indies. Sir Joshua and Goldsmith have got into such a round of pleasures, that they have no time. In my next I will send you a long history of all our friends; and particularly an account how twelve thousand pounds may be paid without advancing one single shilling. This is certainly very convenient; and, if you can get rid of all your feeling and morality before my next letter arrives, you may put it in practice, as probably it has not yet been introduced into Ireland.' p. 179.

'Why should you be vexed to find that mankind are fools and knaves? I have known it so long, that every fresh instance of it amuses me, provided it does not immediately affect my friends or myself. Politicians do not seem to me to be much greater rogues than other people; and as their actions affect, in general, private persons less than other kinds of villany do, I cannot find that I am so angry with them. It is true, that the leading men in both countries at present,

are,

are, I believe, the most corrupt, abandoned people in the nation. But now that I am upon this worthy subject of human nature, I will inform you of a few particulars relating to the discovery of Otaheite.' p. 180.

'There is another curiosity here, Mr Bruce. His drawings are the most beautiful things you ever saw, and his adventures more wonderful than those of Sinbad the sailor,—and perhaps as true. I am much more afflicted with the account you send me of your health, than I am at the corruption of your ministers. I always hated politics: and I now hate them ten times worse; as I have reason to think that they contribute towards your ill health. You do me great justice in thinking, that whatever concerns you, must interest me; but as I wish you most sincerely to be perfectly happy, I cannot bear to think that the villanous proceedings of others should make you miserable: for, in that case, undoubtedly you will never be happy. Charles Fox is a member at the Turk's Head; but not till he was a patriot; and you know, if one repents, &c. There is nothing new, but Goldsmith's Retaliation, which you certainly have seen. Pray tell Lady Charlemont, from me, that I desire she may keep you from politics, as they do children from sweetmeats, that make them sick.' p. 181, 182.

We look upon these extracts as very interesting and valuable; but they have turned out to be so long, that we must cut short this private branch of the history. We must add, however, a part of Lord Charlemont's account of Mr Burke, with whom he lived in habits of the closest intimacy, and continual correspondence, till his extraordinary breach with his former political associates in 1792. Mr Hardy does not exactly know at what period the following paper, which was found in Lord Charlemont's handwriting, was written.

'This most amiable and ingenious man was private secretary to Lord Rockingham. It may not be superfluous to relate the following anecdote, the truth of which I can assert, and which does honour to him and his truly noble patron. Soon after Lord Rockingham, upon the warm recommendation of many friends, had appointed Burke his secretary, the Duke of Newcastle informed him, that he had unwarily taken into his service a man of dangerous principles, and one who was by birth and education a papist and a jacobite; a calumny founded upon Burke's Irish connexions, which were most of them of that persuasion, and upon some juvenile follies arising from those connexions. The Marquis, whose genuine Whiggism was easily alarmed, immediately sent for Burke, and told him what he had heard. It was easy for Burke, who had been educated at the university at Dublin, to bring testimonies to his protestantism; and with regard to the second accusation, which was wholly founded on the former, it was soon done away; and Lord Rockingham, readily and willingly disabused, declared that he was perfectly satisfied

tisfied of the falsehood of the information he had received, and that he no longer harboured the smallest doubt of the integrity of his principles; when Burke, with an honest and disinterested boldness, told his Lordship that it was now no longer possible for him to be his secretary; that the reports he had heard would probably, even unknown to himself, create in his mind such suspicions, as might prevent his thoroughly confiding in him; and that no earthly consideration should induce him to stand in that relation, with a man who did not place entire confidence in him. The Marquis, struck with this manliness of sentiment, which so exactly corresponded with the feelings of his own heart, frankly and positively assured him, that what had passed, far from leaving any bad impression on his mind, had only served to fortify his good opinion; and that, if from no other reason, he might rest assured, that from his conduct upon that occasion alone, he should ever esteem, and place in him the most unreserved confidential trust—a promise which he faithfully performed. Neither had he at any time, nor his friends after his death, the least reason to repent of that confidence; Burke having ever acted towards him with the most inviolate faith and affection, and towards his surviving friends with a constant and disinterested fidelity, which was proof against his own indigent circumstances, and the magnificent offers of those in power. It must, however, be confessed, that his early habits and connexions, though they could never make him swerve from his duty, had given his mind an almost constitutional bent towards the popish party. Prudence is, indeed, the only virtue he does not possess; from a total want of which, and from the amiable weaknesses of an excellent heart, his estimation in England, though still great, is certainly diminished.' p. 343, 344.

We have hitherto kept Mr Hardy himself so much in the back ground, that we think it is but fair to lay before the reader the sequel which he has furnished to the preceding notice of Lord Charlemont. The passage is perfectly characteristic of the ordinary colloquial style of the book, and of the temper of the author; though the concluding paragraph is rather a stronger instance of *bathos*, produced by good nature, than he often exhibits.

'Thus far Lord Charlemont. Something, though slight, may be here added. Burke's disunion, and final rupture with Mr Fox, were attended with circumstances so distressing, so far surpassing the ordinary limits of civil rage, or personal hostility, that the mind really aches at the recollection of them. But let us view him, for an instant, in better scenes and better hours. He was social, hospitable, of pleasing access, and most agreeably communicative. One of the most satisfactory days perhaps that I ever passed in my life, was going with him, *tête à-tête*, from London to Beconsfield. He stopped at Uxbridge, whilst his horses were feeding; and, happening to meet some gentlemen, of I know not what militia, who appeared

peared to be perfect strangers to him, he entered into discourse with them at the gateway of the inn. His conversation, at that moment, completely exemplified what Johnson said of him—" That you could not meet Burke for half an hour under a shed, without saying that he was an extraordinary man. " He was, on that day, altogether uncommonly instructive and agreeable. Every object of the slightest notoriety, as we passed along, whether of natural or local history, furnished him with abundant materials for conversation. The House at Uxbridge, where the treaty was held during Charles the First's time; the beautiful and undulating grounds of Bulstrode, formerly the residence of Chancellor Jefferies; and Waller's tomb in Beconsfield churchyard, which, before we went home, we visited, and whose character, as a gentleman, a poet, and an orator, he shortly delineated, but with exquisite felicity of genius, altogether gave an uncommon interest to his eloquence; and, although one-and-twenty years have now passed since that day, I entertain the most vivid and pleasing recollection of it. He reviewed the characters of many statesmen. Lord Bath's, whom, I think, he personally knew, and that of Sir Robert Walpole, which he pourtrayed in nearly the same words which he used with regard to that eminent man, in his appeal from the Old Whigs to the New. He talked much of the great Lord Chatham; and, amidst a variety of particulars concerning him and his family, stated, that his sister, Mrs Anne Pitt, used often, in her altercations with him, to say, " That he knew nothing whatever except Spenser's Fairy Queen. " " And, " continued Mr Burke, " no matter how that was said; but whoever relishes, and reads Spenser as he ought to be read, will have a strong hold of the English language. " These were his exact words. Of Mrs Anne Pitt he said, that she had the most agreeable and uncommon talents, and was, beyond all comparison, the most perfectly eloquent person he ever heard speak. He always, as he said, lamented that he did not put on paper a conversation he had once with her; on what subject I forget. The richness, variety, and solidity of her discourse, absolutely astonished him.

' But I restrain myself. Before I take leave of this truly eminent man, so long connected with Lord Charlemont, and whose fame, as an author and philosophic statesman and orator, of the highest rank, is now so *stabilitated!* let me add, (and it is a slight tribute to modest and retired worth to add), that Mrs Burke appeared to me a lady of uncommonly mild, gentle, and most engaging manners. ' p. 344–346.

We should turn now to the public or historical part of Mr Hardy's performance; which comprises a lively and almost dramatic representation of every thing that befel Ireland, from the year 1750 to the period of the Union. We do not, however, propose to make any such dangerous experiment on the patience of our readers, as to present them with an abstract of all this

this history. A very few short notices, and occasional remarks, are all that our abilities or our limits enable us to supply.

In the end of the reign of George II, Ireland still exhibited the appearance of a country that had been recently subdued by a jealous and injudicious conqueror. The Catholics, who formed by far the greatest part of the population, were reduced—to express it in one word—to the condition of alien enemies;—incapable of any civil rights, and only exempted from actual inflictions by the forbearance of those among whom they lived. In point of political rights, the Protestants were not much better off. Though publicly acknowledged as an independent kingdom in the time of Henry VIII, and permitted to have a national Parliament at least since the days of Elizabeth, it enjoyed, at the period of which we are speaking, none of the benefits, either of national or even provincial freedom. The Parliament, the nomination to which was restricted to still fewer hands than in the borough elections of England, was elected only once in each reign, and was only dissolved by the demise of the Crown. By what was called Poyning's law, passed in the time of Henry VII, as interpreted by usage, and the 3d and 4th of Philip and Mary, no bill could be passed or adopted in that Parliament, until it had been approved of by the Lord Lieutenant and his privy council—by him transmitted to the King and Council in England—and returned with their approbation; and by the 6th of George I. it was enacted, that the King and Parliament of England might make laws to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland. Thus, it was first provided, that no laws should be passed but such as had been *previously* recommended by the King and his English council; and then it was openly stated, that the English Parliament should, of itself, make such laws for the government of Ireland as to them in their wisdom might seem proper.

Such was the state of political servitude in which Ireland was then placed; and the practical effects of it were such as might have been expected. By various acts passed in the reigns of Charles II, King William and Queen Anne, Ireland was as completely excluded from all commerce with the British colonies, as if she had been a foreign and hostile nation. She was directly prohibited from importing into England various articles of provisions and raw produce; and her woollen trade, which had been her great staple, was completely annihilated, by an act of the British Parliament, laying on a duty on the entry of Irish woollens, equivalent to an entire prohibition.

Such was, for nearly a century, the degraded state of Ireland;

land; and so habituated and familiar had men of all desriptions become with the idea of her perfect insignificance, that many of the most liberal and enlightened statesmen that England has ever known, seem to have regarded her interests as something too trifling and worthless, to be entitled to any share of their attention. Swift himself, to whom she is far more indebted than to any other individual of his age, makes the following simple, but most emphatic confession, in one of his letters to Lord Bolingbroke—'The truth is, we never had leisure to think of that country while we were in power!' The country thus forgotten by others, was not very mindful of itself. An English faction was allowed to domineer as in a conquered province; and the Parliament, which made a part of their splendour, was scarcely so far honoured as to be made an instrument of their power. The ordinary entry in the journals of the Lords was, 'Prayers.—Ordered, That the Judges should be covered. '—Adjourned.' And, in the House of Commons, while there was scarcely a debate in the Session, such a degree of formality and decorum was observed, that one member who came into the House suddenly, on his arrival from the country, obtained for life the nickname of '*Tottenham in his Boots*,' because he had ventured into this august assembly in his travelling habiliments.

It would be long to tell by what means, and by what degrees, this unhappy kingdom at length regained a part of its rights. The writings of Swift did something, in the long-run;—but the progress of intelligence, and the increase of wealth among the body of the people, did more. The Irish gentlemen, better educated, and more familiar with the spirit of English liberty, began to feel the burden, and to resent the indignity of English domination. The mere increase of the population which they supported, rendered their estates of greater value and importance; and the dawnings of commercial enterprise and opulence, though grievously repressed by the unjust and rigorous policy of England, began, especially in the North, to display some of their natural tendencies in favour of political freedom and independence. Early in the reign of the present King, various political pamphlets, written in a bold and patriotic style, aroused the attention of the public; and almost the first indication of national spirit that was manifested by this turbulent nation, was exhibited in the zeal with which petitions were everywhere presented for abridging the duration of Parliament, in the year 1768. The aristocracy, and those who regarded themselves as already secure of a seat for the life of the reigning prince, were generally hostile to this measure,—and the local government was decidedly against it. The zeal and clamour of the

the people, however, was so great, that many out of fear, and many out of love for popularity, were forced to counterfeit a great zeal in its behalf; and the bill was ultimately passed through the Houses of Parliament, by the votes of those who secretly relied upon its being arrested in its way to England, by the official terrors of the Privy Council. In this reasonable expectation, too, they were gratified for two successive sessions;—but the Privy Council at last thought it prudent to yield to the voice of the people, and transmitted the bill to England;—hypocritically trusting, in their turn, as Mr Hardy assures us, that it would never be returned by the Cabinet of that country. Other views, however, had in the mean time suggested themselves to the Government.

'Enraged with the House of Commons for its dissimulation—with the aristocracy for not crushing the bill at once; and, amid all this confusion and resentment, not a little elated, to have it at length in their power completely to humiliate that aristocracy, which, in the true spirit of useful obsequious servitude, not only galled the people, but sometimes mortified, and controlled the English cabinet itself;—afraid of popular commotions in Ireland;—feeling, as English gentlemen, that the Irish public was in the right;—as statesmen, that it would be wise to relinquish at once what, in fact, could be but little longer tenable,—they sacrificed political leaders, privy councillors, and parliament, to their fears, their hatred, their adoption of a new policy, and though last, not the least motive, it is to be hoped, their just sense of the English constitution. They returned the bill, and gave orders for the calling of a new parliament; which was dissolved the day after the Lord Lieutenant put an end to the session of 1768.'—p. 130, 131.

We are not disposed, we confess, to place a perfect reliance on this secret history of the great measure in question;—but that its ultimate success produced a general sensation of surprise, as well as of joy, and occasioned no little mortification to many who had affected to be most zealous in the cause, we cannot allow ourselves to doubt. The following anecdote, we think, is worth extracting.

'It is impossible not to mention, in this place, an anecdote which I heard from Lord Charlemont, as well as others. He happened, at this time, to dine with one of the great parliamentary leaders. A large company, and, as Bubb Dodington says of some of his dinners with the Pelhams, much drink, and much good humour. In the midst of this festivity, the papers and letters of the last English packet, which had just come in, were brought into the room, and given to the master of the house. Scarcely had he read one or two of them, when it appeared that he was extremely agitated. The company was alarmed. "What's the matter?—Nothing, we hope, has happened that——" "Happened! (exclaimed their kind host,

'and swearing most piteously,) Happened! The septennial bill is returned." A burst of joy from Lord Charlemont, and the very few real friends of the bill, who happened to be present! The majority of the company, confused, and, indeed, almost astounded, began, after the first involuntary dejection of their features, to recollect that they had, session after session, openly voted for this bill, with many an internal curse, Heaven knows! But still they had uniformly been its loudest advocates; and that, therefore, it would be somewhat decorous, not to appear too much cast down at their own unexpected triumphs. In consequence of these politic reflections, they endeavoured to adjust their looks to the joyous occasion as well as they could. But they were soon spared the awkwardness of assumed felicity. "The bill is not only returned," continued their chieftain, "but—but—the parliament is dissolved!" "Dissolved! Dissolved! Why dissolved?" "My good friends, I can't tell you why, or wherefore; but dissolved it is, or will be directly."

'Hypocrisy, far more disciplined than theirs, could lend its aid no further. If the first intelligence which they heard was tolerably doleful, this was complete discomfiture. They sunk into taciturnity, and the leaders began to look, in fact, what they had been so often politically called, a company of Undertakers. They had assisted at the parliamentary funeral of some opponents (Jones Nevil, for instance); and now, like Charles the Fifth, though without his satiety of worldly vanities, they were to assist at their own. In the return of this fatal bill was their political existence completely inurned. Lord Charlemont took advantage of their silent mood, and quietly withdrew from this group of statesmen, than whom a more ridiculous, rueful set of personages in his life, he said, he never beheld. The city, in consequence of the intelligence of the evening, was in a tumult of gratitude and applause;—illuminations were every where diffused, and our unintentionally victorious senators were obliged, on their return home, to stop at the end of almost every street, and huzza, very dismally, with a very merry, very patriotic, and very drunken populace.'—p. 131, 132.

A Catholic bill was afterwards carried in 1778; and about the same time, the whole strength and independent spirit of the nation was directed towards the obtaining a free trade, and the abolition of those laws by which the kingdom and Parliament of Ireland had been rendered entirely dependent upon the Parliament or Cabinet of England. It is now universally admitted, however, that neither of these great objects would have been obtained, had it not been for the formidable array, and patriotic resolutions of the Associated Volunteers, who then covered the country. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, to explain, in a few words, the origin of this singular institution, which, to speak it in plain terms, effected a Revolution in Ireland not less momentous and radical, than that which was accomplished in

England in 1688; and a revolution which, though carried through by the instrumentality of an armed force, was yet conducted with a temperance and moderation unexampled in the history of any such transaction.

About the year 1777, a considerable alarm had been excited by the report of an invasion meditated by France upon several parts of the Irish shore; and as the country had been almost entirely stripped of its regular force, by the exigencies of the foreign service, very urgent applications were made to Government for the means of defence. To these applications the Government was constrained to reply, that it had no forces to spare for such a purpose; and that it trusted in a great degree to the vigilance of the navy, and to the valour and loyalty of the inhabitants. The inhabitants, thus left to their own exertions, were not slow in showing that these were sufficient for their security. Under the direction of a number of public-spirited gentlemen, a great variety of volunteer companies were raised, and trained to arms, in all the districts on the coast; and as they multiplied, and became better organized, were reunited into battalions and brigades. In a country overflowing with an ardent, idle, and spirited population, it is easy to conceive with what rapidity an institution of this kind was likely to diffuse itself. Independent of the patriotic motives which suggested the attempt, the gentry were vain of the numbers and discipline of those they could engage to serve under them;—and the peasantry were vain of their uniform, their band, the admiration they excited, and the importance to which they were raised. The institution spread from the coasts to the centre of the country; and before the end of the year 1780, there were upwards of 42,000 men arrayed and embodied in Ireland—commanded by officers of their own election; and free to lay down their arms, as they had taken them up, from the impulses of their own sense of duty, or of honour.

Important as the services were which this body rendered to the government and the country at their first institution, it is not possible that they should not have been regarded with considerable distrust and apprehension, from the moment that they began to communicate, and be organized in large bodies,—to form encampments, and assemble for reviews, with a splendour, and in numbers, far exceeding any thing that had ever been displayed by the regular army in that country. Such, however, was their popularity—such the unquestioned loyalty of all the men who possessed the chief influence among them—and such, for a good while, the utter inoffensiveness of their deportment, that, whatever jealousy was felt, none was manifested by any party in the state. The thanks of the Government, and of both Houses

Houses of Parliament, were repeatedly voted to them, in terms of the highest approbation. They lined the streets through which the members proceeded to their places of assembly; and escorted with their unbought battalions the Lord Lieutenant on his arrival or departure from the seat of government. Persons holding the first offices in the state, intrigued for commissions in their body;—and a vast self-created military force, seemed for a while to be regarded as a safe and ordinary ingredient in the frame of the constitution.

It has been already observed, however, that just about the time when the exigencies of national defence led, accidentally as it were, to the formation of this great force, the body of the nation had been roused to an extraordinary degree of zeal for the recovery of their commercial and political freedom. The sense of the country was so decidedly in favour of those claims, that it was not without great difficulty that the government could command a majority, even in the Houses of Parliament, where Flood and Grattan displayed an eloquence and a courage, of which there was no example in the recent annals of their country;—while, out of doors, the sentiments of the nation were not only unanimous, but keen and enthusiastic, even beyond the common pitch of Irish impetuosity. It could not but happen, therefore, that the Volunteers should participate in this spirit. Being taken indifferently from all ranks and descriptions of the community, and from all parts of the country, and commanded by officers who had been raised to that station, not by the favour of the court, but by their individual and local popularity and influence, from whatever source these might be derived,—they could not fail to represent very faithfully whatever sentiments or opinions were really prevalent among the body of the people, and to share in all the emotions by which they might happen to be inspired. It was almost as inevitable, that, when assembled in large bodies, the leading men among them should communicate and converse together upon those great topics of national interest; or that, when they had once felt their power and their popularity, they should not think of employing them in the support of this good cause.

In those days, it was not illegal for persons associated for lawful purposes, to appoint delegates to take charge of their common interests, or for any body of men to petition Parliament, or to express, in public resolutions, their determination to seek, by all constitutional means, an amelioration of their political condition. Those important points were accordingly discussed, with various degrees of temper, in various local assemblages; till, at last, one of the Armagh battalions, commanded by Lord Charlemont, appointed a full

meeting of delegates from all the Volunteer corps within the province of Ulster, to take place at Dungannon on the 15th of February 1782, 'then-and there to deliberate on the present alarming situation of public affairs; and to determine, and to publish to the country, what may be the result of such meeting.' On the day appointed, the representation of 143 corps accordingly assembled; and after a good deal of discussion, adopted a variety of resolutions, by which they condemned, as grievances, and unconstitutional, the powers exercised by the Privy Council, or Parliament of England, under the law of Poynings, or of George I.; and also the various remaining obstructions that had been allowed to cramp the trade of Ireland;—and declared, that 'they were determined to seek redress of these grievances by all constitutional means;—and pledged themselves, at every ensuing election, to support those only who had supported, and would support them therein.' They appointed a committee to call future meetings, and to act for them in the *interim;* and to communicate with such other Volunteer Associations as might think proper to adopt similar resolutions;—and, finally, they voted the following short and emphatic address to the minority in both Houses of Parliament, who had unsuccessfully supported the claims which they had then asserted.

'My Lords and Gentlemen—We thank you for your noble and spirited, though hitherto ineffectual efforts, in defence of the great constitutional rights of your country. Go on! The almost unanimous voice of the people is with you; and in a free country, the voice of the people must prevail. We know our duty to our Sovereign, and are loyal. We know our duty to ourselves, and are resolved to be free. We seek for our rights, and no more than our rights; and, in so just a pursuit, we should doubt the being of a Providence, if we doubted of success.' p. 211.

The spirit of these resolutions spread like flame into every part of the island. They were adopted and seconded by all the volunteer corps in the kingdom; and the principles upon which they were founded were almost admitted by the regular official supporters of the government, who still headed the timid and decaying majorities in parliament. The people, in fact, were now openly arrayed against the government;—and it is painful even to imagine what might have been the result of a more protracted resistance. But it happened most providentially, that Lord North's administration was dissolved within little more than a month after this period; and a Whig ministry, with Lord Rockingham and Mr Fox at the head of it, was appointed, to deliver this empire from the disgrace and danger both of a foreign and of a civil war. The Duke of Portland was sent over as Lord Lieutenant,

nant, with General Fitzpatrick as his secretary, early in April 1782; and, such was the disposition, or the necessity for immediate conciliation, that, before the end of May, the whole usurped powers of the Privy Council, and the English legislature, were formally abandoned, and the supreme authority declared, by acts of both parliaments, to be vested exclusively in the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland and England respectively. The most grievous restrictions on their commercial liberty had been taken off in the preceding session; and the proposals of the patriots for its further promotion were met with the utmost cordiality by the members of the English and the Irish cabinet.

Ireland, therefore, was at last emancipated; and a feeling of unbounded joy and exultation pervaded the whole community. Twenty thousand seamen were voted by acclamation for the support of government;—a day of solemn thanksgiving was appointed,—and a sum of 50,000*l.* was voted by Parliament (and graciously approved of by the Lord Lieutenant) to Henry Grattan, Esq. for his signal services on this memorable occasion. But though the country was thus gloriously and happily delivered, without tumult or violence, from the ignominious subjection in which it had hitherto been held, it was still a subject of awful and anxious consideration, that an armed and irresistible force had been the instrument of its deliverance; and that this force still subsisted unchecked and unbalanced by any preponderating force in the constitution, and as irresistible for mischief as it had been for good. To those who know how inseparable the possession of power commonly is from its abuse, it must be needless to speak of the danger to which Ireland was now exposed. But she escaped that danger:—and exhibited, in her escape, the most memorable proof, perhaps, that history has ever furnished, of the efficacy of concession in repressing discontent, and of the safety with which *unjust* demands may be refused to a power, to which nothing could be refused while it was supported by justice. But though this tempest blew over when it had done its commission, it was not without some commotion and terror that it sunk into repose.

The first and chief leaders of the volunteers were men of rank, loyalty and moderation; but when the power of this association had been once manifested, and such a dazzling career was opened up to irregular ambition, more turbulent spirits began to assume an ascendancy, or at least to divide with their original chiefs, that influence which had hitherto been exerted for such salutary purposes. The political independence of Ireland was established in May 1782; and, before the end of July, a large council of volunteers at Belfast resolved, by a majority of two voices, 'that the nation ought *not* to be satisfied with

what had been effected.' The spirit of discontent spread fast to other bodies. Mr Grattan, who had been, but a few months before, the very god of their idolatry, now fell into great odium, and was made the subject of the most scandalous and abominable libels; and Lord Charlemont himself, though he still retained the situation of their general, was rendered, for a time, extremely unpopular, by the clamours and outrageous pretensions of those fierce agitators, who wished to make a body of armed men the instrument of an Utopian regeneration. His first impulse was to retire, in disgust, from a situation so full of anxiety; but he soon became satisfied that it was his duty to remain; and, by moderating and guiding the impulse which he could not openly resist, to avert some of the evils with which he saw it was pregnant. In the course of summer 1783, it was resolved to hold a grand convention of volunteer delegates in Dublin, in November ensuing; and Lord Charlemont, who could not prevent this very hazardous convocation, made every exertion to have the delegates chosen from among the temperate and respectable persons who constituted the majority of their original leaders. The convention met accordingly, and was allowed to hold its daily sessions for three weeks, in the most public, and even splendid and ostentatious manner, without the slightest interference on the part either of Government or of the Houses of Parliament, which were then sitting in its vicinity.

The business with which it was principally occupied, was a plan of parliamentary reform; which, after a great deal of discussion, was at last agreed upon, and digested into a regular system,—when, to the astonishment of Lord Charlemont, and of the other leaders of the moderate party, a proposition was suddenly made, for a deputation of the delegates, who were also members of the House of Commons, to go down to that assembly, and to ask leave to bring in a bill corresponding exactly with the plan which had just been approved of in the convention, which, it was agreed, should continue sitting till the fate of the motion was ascertained. This most dangerous proposition was instantly carried into effect,—when, after a furious and disorderly debate, the motion of the delegates was rejected, by a large majority, in the House of Commons, upon the strong constitutional ground, of its having originated in a different assembly,—at the same time that Lord Charlemont had the address to prevail on the convention to adjourn to another day, before the result of this discussion was known. The peace of Ireland stood, on that night, (the 29th November 1783), in a state of tremendous peril; but the danger was over, the moment that this burst of imprudence had spent itself, and that leisure was allowed for reflecting on the consequences

consequences of what had been attempted. The convention was dissolved in a few days thereafter; and no other was ever assembled. The volunteer associations fell into gradual decay after the restoration of peace; and never again attempted to act in a body for the attainment of political objects, or even to take them into consideration in any considerable assemblies.

Certainly no nation ever obtained such a deliverance by such an instrument, and hurt itself so little by the use of it; and, if the Irish Revolution of 1782 shows, that power and intimidation may be lawfully employed to enforce rights which have been refused to supplication and reason, it shows also the extreme danger of this method of redress, and the necessity there is for making use of every precaution in those cases where it has become indispensable. Ireland was saved from all the horrors of a civil war, only by two circumstances;—the first, that this great military force, which accomplished the redress of her grievances, had not been originally raised or organized with any view to such an interference, and was chiefly guided, therefore, by men of loyal and moderate characters, who had taken up arms for no other purpose but the defence of their country against foreign invasion;—the other, that the just and reasonable demands to which these leaders limited their interference, were addressed to a liberal and enlightened administration,—too just to withhold, when in power, what they had laboured to procure when in opposition,—and too magnanimous to dread the effect of conceding, even to armed petitioners, what was clearly and indisputably their due. It was the moderation of their first demands, and the generous frankness with which they were granted, that saved Ireland in this crisis. The volunteers were irresistible, while they asked only for their country, what all the world saw she was entitled to; but they became impotent the moment they demanded more. They were deserted, at that moment, by all the talent and the respectability which had given them the absolute dominion of the country. The concession of their just rights operated like a talisman in separating the patriotic from the factious; and when the latter attempted to invade the lofty regions of legitimate government, they were smitten with instantaneous discord and confusion, and speedily dispersed and annihilated from the face of the land. These events are big with instruction to the times that have come after; and read an impressive lesson to those who have now to deal with discontents and conventions in the same country.

In the little sketch we have now given of this most interesting epoch of Irish history, we have said, that the salvation of that country was owing to the mild, liberal, and enlightened councils of the Rockingham administration; and it is delightful to see,

in some of the private letters which Mr Hardy has printed in the volume before us, how cordially the sentiments professed by this ministry were adopted by the eminent men who presided over its formation. There are letters to Lord Charlemont, both from Lord Rockingham and Mr Fox, which would almost reconcile one to a belief in the possibility of ministerial fairness and sincerity. We should like to give the whole of them here; but as our limits will not admit of that, we must content ourselves with some extracts from Mr Fox's first letter after the new ministry was formed,—for the tone and style of which, we fear, few precedents have been left in the office of the Secretary of State.

'My dear Lord—If I had had occasion to write to you a month ago, I should have written with great confidence that you would believe me perfectly sincere, and would receive any thing that came from me with the partiality of an old acquaintance, and one who acted upon the same political principles. I hope you will now consider me in the same light; but I own I write with much more diffidence, as I am much more sure of your kindness to me personally, than of your inclination to listen with favour to any thing that comes from a Secretary of State. The principal business of this letter is to inform you, that the Duke of Portland is appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Colonel Fitzpatrick his secretary; and, when I have said this, I need not add, that I feel myself, on every private as well as public account, most peculiarly interested in the success of their administration. That their persons and characters are not disagreeable to your Lordship, I may venture to assure myself, without being too sanguine; and I think myself equally certain, that there are not in the world two men whose general way of thinking upon political subjects is more exactly consonant to your own. It is not, therefore, too much to desire and hope, that you will at least look upon the administration of such men with rather a more favourable eye, and incline to trust them rather more than you could do most of those who have been their predecessors.'—'The particular time of year at which this change happens, is productive of many great inconveniences, especially as it will be very difficult for the Duke of Portland to be at Dublin before your Parliament meets; but I cannot help hoping that all reasonable men will concur in removing some of these difficulties, and that a short adjournment will not be denied, if asked. I do not throw out this as knowing from any authority that it will be proposed, but as an idea that suggests itself to me; and in order to show that I wish to talk with you, and consult with you in the same frank manner in which I should have done before I was in this situation, so very new to me. I have been so used to think ill of all the ministers whom I did know, and to suspect those whom I did not, that when I am obliged to call myself a minister, I feel as if I put myself into a very suspicious character;

character; but I do assure you I am the very same man, in all respects, that I was when you knew me, and honoured me with some share in your esteem—that I maintain the same opinions, and act with the same people.

'Pray make my best compliments to Mr Grattan, and tell him, that the Duke of Portland and Fitzpatrick are thoroughly impressed with the consequence of his approbation, and will do all they can to deserve it. I do most sincerely hope, that he may hit upon some line that may be drawn honourably and advantageously for both countries; and that, when that is done, he will show the world that there may be a government in Ireland, of which he is not ashamed to make a part. That country can never prosper, where, what should be the ambition of men of honour, is considered as a disgrace.' p. 217–219.

The history of the Regency in 1789, and of the contradictory proceedings of the English and the Irish Parliaments on that occasion, is sufficiently known. It was an awkward collision, no doubt; and pointed out, in a manner sufficiently striking, the possibility of more perplexing differences;—but, in itself, we will confess, we have never been able to regard it as a very alarming occurrence; and trust, that all the substantial benefits of our constitution might be enjoyed by both kingdoms, in spite of a more formidable anomaly, than that the Prince Regent should be liable to restrictions for six months in England, and not liable to any in Ireland.

The agitations and dissensions of the French Revolution followed hard upon those of the Regency. The following letter from Mr Burke in the end of 1789, will be read with more interest, when it is recollected that he published his celebrated Reflections on the French Revolution a few months thereafter.

'My dearest Lord—I think your Lordship has acted with your usual zeal and judgment in establishing a Whig club in Dublin. These meetings prevent the evaporation of principle in individuals, and give them joint force, and enliven their exertions by emulation. You see the matter in its true light, and with your usual discernment. Party is absolutely necessary at this time. I thought it always so in this country, ever since I have had any thing to do in public business; and I rather fear, that there is not virtue enough in this period to support party, than that party should become necessary, on account of the want of virtue to support itself by individual exertions. As to us here, our thoughts of every thing at home are suspended by our astonishment at the wonderful spectacle which is exhibited in a neighbouring and rival country. What spectators, and what actors! England gazing with astonishment at a French struggle for liberty, and not knowing whether to blame, or to applaud. The thing, indeed, though I thought I saw something like it in progress for several years, has still somewhat in it paradoxical

doxical and mysterious. The spirit it is impossible not to admire; but the old Parisian ferocity has broken out in a shocking manner. It is true, that this may be no more than a sudden explosion; if so, no indication can be taken from it; but if it should be *character*, rather than accident, then that people are not fit for liberty, and must have a strong hand, like that of their former masters, to coerce them. Men must have a certain fund of natural moderation to qualify them for freedom, else it becomes noxious to themselves, and a perfect nuisance to every body else. What will be the event, it is hard, I think, still to say. To form a solid constitution, requires wisdom as well as spirit; and whether the French have wise heads among them, or, if they possess such, whether they have authority equal to their wisdom, is yet to be seen. In the mean time, the progress of this whole affair is one of the most curious matters of speculation that ever was exhibited.' p. 321, 322.

We cannot resist adding another paragraph from the same hand,—upon a subject which must ever be interesting and painful to all the admirers of genius and lovers of goodness. It forms part of the last letter that Mr Hardy has alluded to, as addressed by Mr Burke to Lord Charlemont.

'Your Lordship is very good, in lamenting the difference which politics had made between Mr Fox and me. Your condolence was truly kind; for my loss has been truly great, in the cessation of the partiality of a man of his wonderful abilities and amiable dispositions. Your Lordship is a little angry at politics that can dissolve friendships. If it should please God to lend me a little longer life, they will not, I hope, cause me to lose the few friends I have left; for I have left all politics, I think, for ever.' p. 336.

Of Lord Fitzwilliam's conciliating administration, and miserable recal, we cannot bring ourselves to say any thing. Sir Lawrence Parsons (now Earl of Ross), though by no means among the devoted followers of that nobleman, made use, upon that occasion, of the following prophetic expression. 'Never 'was infatuation like that by which the minister is led. If he 'persevere, the army must be increased to myriads; and every 'man must have five or six dragoons in his house.' Lord Charlemont's opinion upon this fatal measure was not less decided.

'He often, and in terms the least measured, declared that it was utterly ruinous. *His* opinion was not influenced by the sudden dereliction of the Catholic question. But he well knew, that, to the discontents of the Catholics, and the mortification of the hopes of every constitutional man throughout the kingdom, would be added the malign joy of each agitator and fomenter of discord, to whom such an event as this would, of all others, convey the most untoward satisfaction. He well knew that the cry would soon be raised, and louder than ever, against British influence; and he had less now to oppose to that cry, than he had two months before.

'To

'To Mr Forbes and Mr Ponsonby he said—"In spite of every wicked machination, we had the mass of the people with us last New Year's Day; and, if we do not make some exertion, next Christmas day may see them in the hands of the United Irishmen." That Lord Fitzwilliam's viceroyalty would have banished all discontent, I cannot suppose; but that, if the Catholic claims had then been settled, or some parliamentary reform taken place, rebellion would not have reared its head, I am willing to believe.' p. 377.

Of that rebellion we cannot, and we will not say any thing. The subject is sickening and humiliating, beyond any that is furnished, by the page even of recent history; and, guilty as many of those were, on whom the heavy vengeance of the government descended, it is melancholy to think that they were not the most guilty. We give the following paragraph, as containing a striking picture of the temper of the predominating party in Ireland in 1797, and a favourable specimen of those liberal sentiments by which Mr Hardy is always distinguished.

'The last effort in favour of a parliamentary reform, was made in the House of Commons by Mr Ponsonby. The opposition insisted, that, if even then adopted, it might be the means of drawing off and reconciling numbers. The ministers, on the contrary, alleged, that the report precluded all expectations of that sort, which, in the North, might possibly be true; and some gentlemen added, "that the people should be *subdued*, before they were relieved." Idle and inconsiderate words! The mass of the people could not be called traitors; and, though Parliamentary reform could not tranquillize, as far as might be wished, such language was calculated to throw all conciliation to an immeasurable distance. That some reform, or some effort towards conciliation, was not made, is surely to be deplored; but a stranger to the history of these countries might, from the language now held in both Houses, be led to imagine, that a parliamentary reform was never before heard of, except from traitors, when, in truth, a defect in the representation had already engaged the attention of the most enlightened men in the country. From his academic chair at Oxford, Blackstone had pointed it out to the rising youth of the country. It had been glanced at by the resistless eloquence of Lord Chatham; and, after a long interval, given the richest colouring to the dawn of his son's political life. Mr Fox had uniformly supported it,—Sir George Savile,—and some of the best and wisest men in Great Britain and Ireland. If a measure, good in itself, is to be for ever exiled from Parliament, and frowned out of society, because it may be perverted by mischievous and designing men, what is to become of us? The conduct of some potentates and legislatures was at this time not a little singular. The coalesced powers went forth, as they said, to combat for order, good government, and to extirpate usurpation. As a proof of their sincerity, some of them massacred the Poles,

Poles, and divided Poland among themselves, utterly extinguishing it as a kingdom. The legislature of Ireland went forth very properly in defence of the constitution against the United Irishmen; and almost constantly talked, and too often acted, as if there was no constitution whatever.' p. 395–6.

Of the Union, also, which closed the turbulent scene of Irish parliamentary contention, we shall say but little. We can make allowance for the nationality of an Irishman, and for the sanguine hopes of one, in whose time, and by whose aid, so much had been gained for that country;—but we imagine the time is almost come, when no rational man will allow himself to doubt of the policy of that great measure; and when it will be as easy to find advocates for dividing England again into its antient Heptarchy, as persons who seriously think that it would be for the benefit of the two kingdoms to be put under the dominion of separate and independent legislatures. Laying out of view the hazard of opposite determinations as to the succession of the common Sovereign, or as to fundamental points in the foreign policy or internal constitution of the two countries, all of which we regard as very distant and unlikely contingencies,—we own that it appears to us, that there was no human probability of making the Irish Parliament independent of the English cabinet, or of preventing it from exhibiting a more disgusting scene of profligacy and violence than can ever be displayed by a legislature that is really and substantially supreme. Till the Catholics were admitted to the full benefit of the constitution, there could be nothing like a fair representation of the people; and it was more perhaps than could have been expected from any Protestant legislature, to admit the Catholics to a numerical ascendancy over their own body. One great argument, indeed, for the Union was, that it took away all pretext for the dread of such an ascendancy; and it was obvious, at the same time, that by identifying the two countries, it put an end to all that partiality, or love of domineering, which must always have been kept alive in the stronger, by the assertion of independence. The laws made in the Imperial Parliament may sometimes press more heavily upon Ireland than upon England—in the same way as they may sometimes press heavier upon the West of England than upon the North; but, in general, and upon a large scale, they can scarcely fail to be equitable; and, at all events, are much more likely to be so, than when the power of dictating them was substantially vested in a delegation of the English cabinet, at the same time that the English Parliament held itself dispensed from taking into fair consideration the interests of Ireland, and sometimes even allowed itself to regard them as rival interests

interests to its own. It is a bad sign of Ireland, we think, if the Union be really unpopular in that country: for there are only two descriptions of persons with whose interests it is really inconsistent; —the one, the profligate and jobbing proprietors of boroughs and seats in Parliament, whom it has deprived of their market, and of all the consequence they derived from the command of it; and the other, the desperate and designing men who wish to shake off all connexion with England, and to erect Ireland into a separate and independent kingdom—a project which would begin with a civil and religious war of unexampled ferocity, and end most probably in the subjugation of both countries by the exterminating sword of France. The sentiments of Mr Hardy are not quite so decided as ours; but they are conceived in a right temper; and are well entitled to regard, as the sentiments of one who has ever been zealous for the honour and independence of his country.

'Many a novel scene, and many a change, must take place, before the durability of this new legislative fabric can be said to be fairly tried. Would that the mode, by which that fabric was raised, could be for ever effaced from the memory! But as that cannot be, let us endeavour to hope the best. Let us, in many instances, aspire to a higher policy than has hitherto fallen to the lot or the wisdom of both countries to pursue; that policy which alone merits such an epithet, the melioration of the condition of our peasantry; the eternal exile of all proscribing systems from this country; the union, not of legislatures merely, which would be found only in the statute book, but of hearts, of men, of Britons, of Irishmen, under whatever denomination, civil or religious, they may be now distinguished. So acting, the spirit of that good man, whose memory I have endeavoured, though with no cunning hand, to embalm, may be said to walk abroad, and live among us still; so acting, we shall prosper; so shall "pale invasion come with half a heart," and the well-ordered motto of the knighthood of St Patrick extend beyond the shield of that chivalry, and for ever encircle both countries. *Quis separabit?*' p. 427, 428.

We should now take our leave of Mr Hardy;—and yet it would not be fair to dismiss him from the scene entirely, without giving our readers one or two specimens of his gift of drawing characters; in the exercise of which he generally rises to a sort of quaint and brilliant conciseness, and displays a degree of acuteness and fine observation that are not to be found in the other parts of his writing. His greatest fault is, that he does not abuse any body,—even where the dignity of history and of virtue call loudly for such an infliction. Yet there is something in the tone of all his delineations, that satisfies us that there is nothing worse than extreme good nature at the bottom

of this forbearance. Of Philip Tisdall, who was Attorney-general when Lord Charlemont first came into Parliament, he says,

'He had an admirable and most superior understanding; an understanding matured by years—by long experience—by habits with the best company from his youth—with the bar, with Parliament, with the State. To this strength of intellect was added a constitutional philosophy, or apathy, which never suffered him to be carried away by attachment to any party, even his own. He saw men and things so clearly; he understood so well the whole farce and fallacy of life, that it passed before him like a scenic representation; and, till almost the close of his days, he went through the world with a constant sunshine of soul, and an inexorable gravity of feature. His countenance was never gay, and his mind was never gloomy. He was an able speaker, as well at the bar as in the House of Commons, though his diction was very indifferent. He did not speak so much at length as many of his parliamentary coadjutors, though he knew the whole of the subject much better than they did. He was not only a good speaker in Parliament, but an excellent manager of the House of Commons. He never said too much. He had great merit in what he did not say; for Government was never committed by him. He plunged into no difficulty; nor did he ever suffer his antagonist to escape from one.' p. 78, 79.

Of Hussey Burgh, afterwards Lord Chief Baron, he observes,

'His speeches, when he first entered the House of Commons, were very brilliant, very figurative, and far more remarkable for that elegant, poetic taste, which had highly distinguished him when a member of the university, than any logical illustration, or depth of argument. But as he was blessed with great endowments, every session took away somewhat from the unnecessary splendour and redundancy of his harangues. To make use of a phrase of Cicero, in speaking of his own improvement in eloquence, his orations were gradually deprived of all fever. To those who never heard him, as the fashion of this world, in eloquence as in all things, soon passes away, it may be no easy matter to convey a just idea of his style of speaking. It differed totally from the models which have been presented to us by some of the great masters of rhetoric in later days. It was sustained by great ingenuity, great rapidity of intellect, luminous and piercing satire; in refinement abundant, in simplicity sterile. The classical allusions of this orator, for he was most truly one, were so apposite, they followed each other in such bright and varied succession, and, at times, spread such an unexpected and triumphant blaze around his subject, that all persons, who were in the least tinged with literature, could never be tired of listening to him; and when Hussey Burgh, in the splendid days of the Volunteer Association, alluding to some coercive English laws, and to that institution, then in its proudest array, said in the House of Commons, "That such laws were sown like dragons' teeth, and sprung up in

armed

armed men," the applause which followed, and the glow of enthusiasm which he kindled in every mind, far exceed my powers of description.' p. 140, 141.

His account of Flood is not very discriminating—

'He came into Parliament,' he says, 'and spoke during the administration of the Earl of Halifax. Hamilton's success, as a speaker, drew him instantly forward; and his first parliamentary essay was brilliant and imposing. Hutchinson, who was at that time with the Court, replied to him, but with many compliments; and, as has been already observed, he was almost generally applauded, except by Primate Stone. He was a consummate member of Parliament. Active, ardent, and persevering, his industry was without limits. In advancing, and, according to the parliamentary phrase, driving a question, he was unrivalled; as, for instance, his dissertations, for such they were, on the law of Poynings and similar topics. He was in himself an Opposition, and possessed the talent (in political warfare a most formidable one) of tormenting a minister, and every day adding to his disquietude. When attacked, he was always most successful: and, to form an accurate idea of his excellence, it was necessary to be present when he was engaged in such contests; for his introductory, or formal speeches, were often heavy and laboured, yet still replete with just argument; and through the whole were diffused a certain pathos, and apparent public care, with which a popular assembly is almost always in unison. His taste was not the most correct; and his studied manner was slow, harsh, and austere; the very reverse of Hamilton, whose trophies first pointed the way to Flood's genius, and whom he avowedly attempted to emulate, But in skirmishing, in returning with rapidity to the charge, though at first shaken, and nearly discomfited, his quickness, his address, his powers of retort and of insinuation, were never exceeded in Parliament.' p. 143, 144.

Of Gerard Hamilton, Mr Hardy gives us the following characteristic anecdotes.

'The uncommon splendour of his eloquence, which was succeeded by such inflexible taciturnity in St Stephen's Chapel, became the subject, as might be supposed, of much, and idle speculation. The truth is, that all his speeches, whether delivered in London or Dublin, were not only prepared, but studied, with a minuteness and exactitude, of which those who are only used to the carelessness of modern debating, can scarcely form any idea. Lord Charlemont, who had been long and intimately acquainted with him, previous to his coming to Ireland, often mentioned that he was the only speaker, among the many he had heard, of whom he could say, with certainty, that all his speeches, however long, were written and got by heart. A gentleman, well known to his Lordship and Hamilton, assured him, that he heard Hamilton repeat, no less than three times, an oration, which he afterwards spoke in the House of Commons, and lasted almost three hours. As a debater, therefore, he became

became as useless to his political patrons as Addison was to Lord Sunderland; and, if possible, he was more scrupulous in composition than even that eminent man. Addison would stop the press to correct the most trivial error in a large publication; and Hamilton, as I can assert, on indubitable authority, would recal the footman, if, on recollection, any word, in his opinion, was misplaced or improper, in the slightest note to a familiar acquaintance.' p. 60, 61.

No name is mentioned in these pages with higher or more uniform applause, than that of Henry Grattan. But that distinguished person still lives; and Mr Hardy's delicacy has prevented him from attempting any delineation, either of his character or his eloquence. We respect his forbearance, and shall follow his example:—Yet we cannot deny ourselves the gratification of extracting one sentence from a letter of Lord Charlemont, in relation to that parliamentary grant, by which an honour was conferred on an individual patriot, without place or official situation of any kind, and merely for his personal merits and exertions, which has in other cases been held to be the peculiar and appropriate reward of triumphant generals and commanders. When the mild and equable temperament of Lord Charlemont's mind is recollected, as well as the caution with which all his opinions were expressed, we do not know that a wise ambition would wish for a prouder or more honourable testimony than is contained in the following short sentences.

'Respecting the grant, I know with certainty that Grattan, though he felt himself flattered by the *intention*, looked upon the act with the deepest concern, and did all in his power to deprecate it. As it was found impossible to defeat the design, all his friends, and I among others, were employed to lessen the sum. It was accordingly decreased by one half, and that principally by his positive declaration, through us, that, if the whole were insisted on, he would refuse all but a few hundreds, which he would retain as an honourable mark of the goodness of his country. By some, who look only into themselves for information concerning human nature, this conduct will probably be construed into hypocrisy. To such, the excellence and preeminency of virtue, and the character of Grattan, are as invisible and incomprehensible, as the brightness of the sun to a man born blind.' p. 237.

ART.

ART. V. *The West Indians defended against the Accusations of their Calumniators; or, Facts* versus *Prejudices.* By a Gentleman. pp. 40. Bath. London. Mawman. 1811.

The present Ruinous Situation of the West India Islands, submitted to the People of the British Empire; with a few Brief Remarks upon the Imposition and Oppressions under which the Merchants and Planters of those Islands have long suffered. By a Native of Jamaica. 8vo. pp. 42. London. Sherwood. 1811.

The Trial of Arthur Hodge esq. (late one of the Members of his Majesty's Council for the Virgin Islands) at the Island of Tortola, on the 25th of April 1811, *and adjourned to the 29th of the same Month, for the Murder of his Negro Man Slave, named Prosper.* Stereographically taken by A. M. Belisario esq., one of the Grand Jury who found the Bill of Indictment; and certified to be impartial and correct, by Richard Hetherington esq., President of the Virgin Islands, and President of the Court on the Trial. pp. 190. London. Harding. 1811.

WE do not intend, upon the present occasion, to detain our readers very long in the too painful field of West Indian politics; because we shall probably have occasion, at no distant period, to resume the subject more fully. But there are several topics and facts, without which the discussions in some of our last Numbers would be extremely imperfect, and especially those arising out of the remarkable trial mentioned in the title to this article. Before entering upon them, however, we must say a word or two upon the first singular publication in defence of the West Indians.

This tract is in the form of a letter to a friend; and, what is rather odd, considering the careful concealment of the author's name in the title-page under the designation of '*A Gentleman*,' we find it signed by the real name at full length, which turns out to be *Edward White*. Now, utterly ignorant as we are of this '*Gentleman*,' we will venture to say, a bolder one is not to be found in all controversy. For the reader must not suppose, that Mr White only supports the cause of the planters against those who attack the sugar system, and particularly the treatment of the slaves, or that he merely maintains the cause of the colonists as it at present stands in debate with rival interests or principles in this country. But, will it be

credited, that, at this time of day, we should have a regular defence of the slave trade, published in England?—a defence, too, of that traffic, upon the highest and most untenable grounds ever occupied by its advocates in the earliest stages of the question, in 1788, while, as yet, no one durst hope to see it put down by law. This, we believe, is a piece of heroism altogether unexpected. That abominable commerce had been abandoned to the mercy of its enemies by all its supporters, a few traders only excepted. It was declared—solemnly declared—illegal by the government of this country. Every one who had defended it now gave up the cause; and, some from principle, others from shame, joined in the invectives universally bestowed upon it.—Then the Legislature treated it, in resolutions and addresses, as a crime;—and at length the law made it a felony:—Whereupon 'A Gentleman' comes forth in its defence; and, regretting those good old times, in which a man might steal a few hundreds of his fellow-creatures—and, after killing a part of them, torture the rest into muscovado sugar, without being transported to Botany Bay himself, revives all the hundred times refuted tales of the traffic being necessary for the wellbeing of the Africans, the improvement of Africa, and the fulfilment of the divine precepts delivered in the Gospel. Nor is there any symptom of derangement in Mr White's book: it is written very coherently—rather dully indeed—and with small pretensions to reason; but not like the production of one wholly irrational—if we except the strangeness of the attempt to make that pass for an act of virtue and religion, which the law has, without one dissentient voice, in or out of Parliament, pronounced to be felonious.

It may seem a very idle waste of our own and our readers' time, to enter at all into this publication; yet we cannot dismiss it without giving a few specimens of its contents. It is fit that we should let the world see what sort of topics the West Indians now resort to in their defence; and if this '*Gentleman*' and his coadjutor really speak their sentiments in reviving the defence of the slave-felony, we feel it necessary to expose such attempts to the indignation of the community. Experience may teach us not to be too hasty in despising efforts of this description. Many an error has been introduced among mankind, from a culpable neglect in the friends of truth; and the interested advocates of the slave system, however despicable in some respects, are far from contemptible as adversaries, whether we regard their great activity, or their little scrupulousness in the choice of means.

The '*Gentleman*' is very candid in explaining the origin of

of his publication. It seems, that the case of Mr Hodge, and the various reports and papers circulated in consequence of it, have produced an impression unfavourable to the West Indians; and therefore, 'the author thinks *an antidote thereto a very 'desireable thing* at the present moment.' We believe, every one will agree with him hereupon;—for, by an *antidote*, we should understand, an authentic statement, proving the falsehood of the Parliamentary and other documents relative to this subject,—proving that the West Indian planters, always tender of the lives and comforts of the unhappy beings entrusted to their care, had redoubled their anxiety in this respect, since the Abolition made it their interest, as well as their duty;—proving that they were sensible how beneficial to them, as well as just and humane towards the Africans, this great measure had been;—and that they, of all men, were the last to throw obstacles in the way of its full execution.

It turns out, however, that this is very wide of our author's use of the word. The antidote which he furnishes, is disclosed in the first sentence of his tract;—it is the antient, established, regular, tropical proposition, that 'the condition of the negroes in the 'West Indies is preferable to their state in their own coun-'try;'—followed of course by its usual corollaries—that no sort of blame can attach to those who work them like cattle, since, in truth, such labour is luxury and rest, compared with what they would have been enduring at home;—and that they who carry them over to the West Indies, somewhat against their will, by a kind of *douce violence*—or beguile them of their liberty by the soft arts of love, as it were;—far from meriting blame for such conduct, must be regarded as the protectors and benefactors of the African race. Our author forgets to grapple with the question, whether the West Indian treatment is cruel or not;—he forgets, that even if, in a moment of mental alienation, one were to admit the condition of the negroes in Africa to be worse than their lot in the New World, this could be no earthly excuse for those who treat them with any degree of unnecessary cruelty. His whole tract is made up of scraps from writers long since discredited, to paint the wretchedness of the negroes in their own country. After attempting to show that the whole inhabitants of Africa are certainly employed in murdering one another,—and renewing the thousand times refuted story, of the bulk of them being *slaves*, (a term applicable to them in one sense, indeed, but not in its West Indian acceptation)—the '*Gentleman*' proceeds to offer a few remarks on the happy state of what he gently calls '*an emigrated African;*'

meaning, by this soft phrase, a negro who has been kidnapped, or caught in a snare, or seized in a plundering expedition, or wounded, and so taken—carried from his family—hurried aboard a vessel loaded with his fellow-sufferers—and carried in irons over to the dominion of the cartwhip, in the hands of such as Mr Huggins and Mr Hodge in the West Indies. Let us, however, listen to the tender strains in which the happiness of this 'emigrated African' is celebrated.

'By being transplanted to a new soil and a more civilized country, these people become more humanized, more enlightened, and they are enabled to distinguish between the good treatment they received, and the arbitrary and unrelenting mandates of the petty kings and princes in their own country. Better, sure, are the Africans under the West India planters, protected as they are by the Colonial laws, transplanted into a new settlement, where their industry and talents will make them useful members of society, than abandoned to the cruel and rude tyranny of an uncivilized master in their own country, where they were accustomed to harder toil and less regular meals, and where they are subject to be butchered like a parcel of swine. It was formerly thought necessary for the preservation of good discipline on estates, to correct negroes for every fault which was committed; different measures have since been adopted, of which experience fully authorises a continuance, both from the salutary effects they have had upon the negroes, and from their being more congenial to the feelings of British subjects; who, though they have been stigmatized with the appellation of men dealers, have yet retained those innate principles of humanity and virtue, which induce them to seek every opportunity and occasion to ameliorate the situation of their dependants. Faults are now corrected and punishments inflicted by personal deprivations, according to the extent of the misdemeanour; instead of being flogged, they are debarred their daily portion of rum, or their weekly allowance of tobacco; and in case of the crime being of such importance as to require a severer punishment, they are confined on Sunday in the stocks, and prevented enjoying the comfort of their friends, or forbid from joining in the merry dance which takes place every Saturday night on the estates. Though most of the negroes are enabled to purchase their freedom by making articles for several trades, and in keeping poultry, fowls, pigs, goats, and growing garden stuff, yet Bolinbroke says, the generality of them prefer decorating their persons to doing so. The proprietor, lodges, feeds, clothes, supplies rum and tobacco, and takes the produce of nine or ten hours labour a day. For what British labourer pays for his *labour*, his *food*, his *raiment*, and his *alehouse bill*, with the sacrifice of a smaller portion of his time? I shall close my transcription from Mr Bolinbroke's account of the treatment of the negroes, with stating,

stating, that the English planters were frequently told, that by following up their *mild measures,* and discountenancing all severity towards the labourers, they would in a short time bring the colonies into a state of insurrection. Sir William Young says, " the negroes seem under a most mild discipline, "—" and in Tobago," he says, " they are treated as favourite children. " p. 16—18.

We question if the history of human controversy can produce any thing to match this. During the whole discussion of the abolition question, no such assertion was ever made—no one ever ventured to deny that the negroes were flogged. It was reserved for the present day, for the age of Mr Huggins, whose negroes were torn in pieces under the nose of the magistracy, at noon-day, in a market town, and within sight of the market place, without any one caring, or daring to interfere. It was reserved for the age of Mr Hodge, who murdered above a hundred of his wretched slaves by the lash, before any one thought of calling him to account—for such times was it reserved, to produce a broad denial of the use of flogging, and a picture of the condition of the negroes, more resembling that of creatures in some fairy island, than even the happiest of free human beings. ' Hitherto' (proceeds our author—and the assertion is as correct as what we have been reading), ' hitherto I have studiously avoided touching on the subject of the slave trade; but if ' I have been successful in showing the state of the Africans to ' be far better in the West Indies than in their own country, a ' conclusion of such importance must necessarily follow, that, ' although my end is accomplished without it, I should hardly ' be justified in omitting the mention of it altogether. It is, ' that *the slave trade*, being the means of rescuing a large portion of our fellow-creatures from a most miserable and abject ' state, and placing them in an infinitely better one, *should be ' applauded and encouraged*, instead of being stigmatized in ' the manner it is. Nor do I see that the merits of the case are ' in anywise altered, because pecuniary advantages accrue to ' the performers while they are thus benefiting their fellow-creatures. For few, if any of our actions, will bear the test ' of perfect disinterestedness. Some of us are urged to the performance of good deeds in the hope of present, others in expectation of future reward.' Then follow a number of the hackneyed arguments, which we really had thought were now forgotten, in favour of the slave trade. We certainly shall not stop to expose these; but content ourselves with observing, that as there is a more than common effrontery in advancing such topics at this day, so, the author uses them in an unusually

feeble and inconsistent manner, of which it may be a sufficient specimen if we state, that, within the compass of two pages, he ascribes to the Africans such a bloodthirstiness, as induces them to murder their prisoners, rather than sell them ' at a great price to slave vessels lying in the road ;' and attributes to the slave trade the ' saving of thousands and thousands of lives,' by preventing ' the prisoners taken in war from being put to death.'

The ' Gentleman's ' tract proceeds directly to defend the West Indians from the charge of cruel treatment ;—and this, which should, properly speaking, have been the main object of the work, is singularly enough condensed into about a page and a half—of which a considerable portion is filled with a defence against two charges, certainly not very much dwelt upon by their opponents, that they brand the negroes with hot irons, and give them very abusive epithets. The former accusation he *disproves* by the evidence of ' persons who have resided many years in the West Indies.' The latter, he judiciously observes, is of no great moment ; and, in this, we fancy few will differ with him. The charge of using the whip, however, is not so easily got over. Recourse must therefore be had to a little assertion ; and accordingly, we are told, that the *laws of the colonies* restrict the number of lashes to forty. Now, in the first place, this is not true. The laws of some of the islands do indeed contain such a restriction, but it is not general. And, in the second place, Nevis is one of those islands ; and yet the butcheries of Mr Huggins were all performed in open day, in a public street of the capital of Nevis, in the presence of the magistrates and clergy of the island. As facts are the fashion upon this question, we are willing to give a fact on our part, from time to time ; and we leave *this fact* to the reader.

The ' Gentleman ' then has recourse to the hackneyed topic of the flogging in our army and navy,—a topic on which we shall presently say a few words. He closes his piece with a defence of the legality of slavery. Now, no one denies its legality. Unfortunately it has been recognized by the laws and the practice of all nations—in some shape or other by every country in the world at one time ; and, in its West Indian acceptation, (which we must always recollect is a thing altogether different from slavery in the European, or even Asiatic sense of the word), by every nation having dominions in America. This may suffice for the legality of the practice ; and no man is insane enough, in these times, to speak of emancipating the slaves. Nevertheless, Mr White must needs go a little further, and

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vindicate slavery out of the Holy Scriptures. This has been often attempted before, perhaps with success; but our author is not satisfied with showing that it is permitted,—he must prove it to be positively enjoined by Scripture. His proofs are such passages as these. 'Thy bondsmen and thy bondsmaids which 'thou *shalt* have,' &c. 'Of the children of the stranger that 'do sojourn among you, of them *shall* ye buy, and of their 'families that are with you, which they beget in your land, and 'they *shall* be in your possession.' And elsewhere, 'Ye shall 'take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to 'inherit them for a possession; they *shall* be your bondsmen 'for ever:' So that the slave traffic is *enjoined* by the Bible, and we are *commanded* to go to Africa, and seize and carry over negroes!—But, as to the treatment of them in the plantations, another text is requisite—and therefore we have the 21st chapter of Exodus 'speaking of the treatment a slave may receive from 'his master;'—it says, in so many words, '*he is his money.*' 'Thus' (adds our author) 'stood the old law, which, our Sa- 'viour tells us, he came, not to destroy, but to fulfil.' We really hope there is no intention of raising a religious cry, and making the 'church in danger' from the abolition. That great measure has indeed been chiefly carried through by Dissenters: like the new system for educating the poor—like the admirable institution for distributing the Scriptures among the ignorant of this and other countries. The Abolition Societies have wisely disclaimed all tests, and opened their doors to men of all persuasions. They have succeeded;—as the friends of education and religious instruction, are at this moment successfully going on in their virtuous and enlightened labours. But, after what we have recently witnessed—after the attempts so unremittingly made by the friends of ignorance, and the jealous enemies of liberty of conscience—who shall venture to assure us that the pretended champions of the Establishment may not step forth, and, if they dare not openly counteract the abolitionists—if they fear the just vengeance of all mankind, should they venture to restore the slave traffic—who shall with any certainty affirm, that those ecclesiastical intriguers may not endeavour to get the management of the cause into their own hands, and to scare weak men from associating in the support of it, with such as differ in their religious professions?

We now come to the '*Gentleman*'s' coadjutor, the '*Native of Jamaica*,' if indeed he be not the Gentleman himself in disguise, as the striking coincidence of their arguments inclines us to suspect. The professed object of his pamphlet is to de-

scribe the distresses of the West Indians, and the grievances under which they labour. This is indeed a pretty fruitful field, if we enter it honestly with our eyes open. But, instead of looking fairly at the subject, or even of pointing out those circumstances to which the West Indian body in general have (we think quite erroneously) imputed their misfortunes, the writer, after a few general remarks, and some invectives against the people of this country for not drinking more coffee, and against the Legislature for not offering rewards to such as should discover new methods of increasing the consumption of it, he comes to the chief object of his pamphlet, the abolition of the slave-trade; from which he apprehends the ruin of the West India islands to be inevitable. This leads to a discussion of the slave-trade, exactly on the same grounds with the writer of the last-mentioned tract;—only, that he mixes his matter up with a more liberal abuse of Mr Wilberforce and the other visionaries who have to answer for the ruin of the colonies. One charge against them is, the regular and established one of being *theorists*. In this capacity they do not, it seems, *speak* in Parliament;—they *chatter;* and accordingly, they are afterwards termed *Parliamentary magpies*. Again—they do not go abroad, and witness the abuses they describe, but "*keep snugly at home.*" Then, it seems, Mr Wilberforce, 'if he wished to be the great patri-'arch of the rights of mankind, should have turned his eyes 'upon the Eastern World, where he would behold organized 'injustice, trampling on the territories of innocent men, and 'depriving them of their possessions to enrich the plunderers 'who come among them as friends.' So that Mr Wilberforce may not feel for the oppressed in the West, because there are oppressions in the East also. This we take to be the amount of the sneer;—argument we cannot call it: For had he applied himself to the East Indian abuses, their authors would have said, why don't you abolish the slave-trade?—and it would be rather too much to ask of one man, that he should reform both 'The East and Western Ind' at once. If, indeed, this distinguished person had ever shown himself slow to examine other abuses;—if he had seemed so much absorbed in his grand work, as to have no feelings for any other than West Indian misery;—if, while occupied himself in bringing the first of all our national enormities to light, he had either thwarted, or withheld his countenance from those who were engaged in the discovery and redress of other evils; there might have been some ground for this often repeated attack. But this is altogether the reverse of the truth. No man has shown himself more ready, or more zealous,

zealous, or given more effectual assistance to all other inquiries, than Mr Wilberforce. On the very question alluded to by this *well-informed* and accurate author—the East Indian abuses—he has uniformly taken the side of justice and sound policy;—he has stood forward as the advocate of peace;—he has shown himself the friend of reform—we mean Parliamentary reform. —And, what some of our readers may think of still greater importance—what prejudiced persons are too apt to forget—to Mr Wilberforce, in a great measure, was owing that signal victory over corruption, the downfal of Lord Melville—the first of those triumphs which the popular party has gained since the French Revolution—that triumph which, more than any other event, has fostered a spirit of inquiry, and kept alive whatever yet remains of official responsibility.

Another topic of the same kind, dwelt upon by this author, and taken from the 'Gentleman,' has always been a favourite with the West Indians, though now it has lost most of its force. We allude to the mode of defending the treatment of the negroes, by referring to our own military punishments. 'In Europe,' says he, 'among free men, and by a court of free 'men, a seaman and a soldier are sometimes sentenced to re-'ceive 100 to 1000 lashes; *men who have fought their battles,* '*and protected their liberty.* A master, in the West Indies, 'cannot, without answering to the laws for it, nor can a ma-'gistrate, by the settled laws of the country, give or sentence 'a slave to receive more at one infliction than 40 lashes. 'Would not an idiot perceive on which side *humanity lyes?*' We must, in passing, recommend it to our author to curb his feelings a little more carefully, when touching such delicate ground; otherwise he may be noticed in a certain work, under the management of a far less indulgent critic than ourselves;—we mean, those periodical papers published by the Attorney-General, and in which the topic of military punishment, and indeed every thing relating to the army, form a leading article. But as to the charge itself;—without stopping to expose the gross misstatements on which it proceeds—without reminding the reader that the law is not as above described in all the islands—and the practice is so in none of them;—without taking the pains to show how different—how totally different from military flogging the use of the cartwhip is, as a stimulus to work—not as a punishment;—we shall content ourselves with saying, that even if the cases were the same, it could in nowise alter the matter. Who now defends military floggings? Does any one (except the public prosecutor) *argue* in their favour? Does even *he* defend

fend them, except by the argument *ex officio?* Is there any one, of *feelings* so hardened, as not to be horror-struck at the bare description of this barbarous practice? Is there any one, of such confined intellect, as not to perceive its gross unfitness to answer any of the ends of punishment? The public mind is made up on the question;—there is no difference of opinion;—the abuse is condemned;—it cannot survive its sentence many months. Among its enemies—among those who have exposed, and written, and spoken it down—the Abolitionists have borne a very active part; and it is at this time, and under these circumstances, that the defenders of the West Indian cruelties come forward to palliate the torture of negroes, by comparing it with that of soldiers; and to sneer at the friends of the Abolition, as if they had been caught in the inconsistency of condemning the one cruelty and vindicating the other! The two questions are unconnected; and we do not wilfully mix them together; but, if called upon to view them in the same light, we have nothing whatever to fear from the comparison; and we feel confident, that the friends of humanity will rise from the contemplation of either of these enormous outrages upon all right feeling and principle, with their minds more firmly determined against the continuance of the other. It will be as vain, therefore, to expect any favour towards the evils in the West Indian system, from an appeal to the military punishments, which will continue, we trust, but for a short season to disgrace our army—as it would be ridiculous to expect those who are working the abolition of flogging, to change their opinion of it, by seeing it lawfully applied to the unhappy negroes.

Much as we may seem to have thrown away our time in adverting to these topics, it is right to take warning from this being advanced, and to be on our guard against the evident designs of the slave-dealers in thus reviving them. We have no manner of doubt, that, in the approaching Session of Parliament they will meet us in various shapes, and that the dealers, under the mask of defending the planters, will continue their attack on the real grievance under which they are smarting—the loss of their execrable traffic. Whether the author of this tract belongs to, or is in any way connected with this reputable and industrious class of the community, we know not; but certainly there is a vehemence in his horror of the Abolition, which seems not to be wholly speculative or gratuitous. We cannot refrain from giving our readers a short specimen of his honest indignation. The terms in which it finds vent, indeed, are not of the most decorous, considering that he is attacking

a measure solemnly sanctioned by repeated unanimous resolutions of the legislature, and by acts of Parliament deliberately passed, in one instance without a single dissentient voice in either House. Indeed, according to the modern practice in matters of libel, it would not be safe to apply such epithets to any *other* law or measure of Government, to any *political* or *party* proceeding. We should be unwilling, however, to see the Abolition defended by such means as those we are alluding to.

'Now, the deſtruction to the Planters, and to the intereſted in general, of the Iſlands, will happen through the infamous Abolition, in this manner. At the time of the Abolition, about four years ago, every planter muſt have conſidered himſelf poſſeſſing as many Negroes as he would ever want, or could ever procure. If one party ſells to the other, he diminiſhes his to increaſe the purchaſer's number. What then happens from this? Why, the ſource of cultivation and improvement is entirely deſtroyed. The induſtrious are kept back, and the indolent are encouraged in their certain ruin.

'Much has been ſaid concerning the increaſe of the Negroes, and that they ſhould ſtrengthen, yearly, the number upon the plantations. I ſay, that it will never give much help; for the native ſlave Negroes are naturally more delicate in conſtitution than the imported Africans. And again, who can anſwer for the ravages of diſeaſe, which may ſweep away numbers? *No European will now go out to the West Indies*, as the principal reſource to the cultivation of thoſe countries is prohibited. This very Abolition, which preaches humanity, deſtroys, in the breaſt of the poor ſlaves, the cheering hope and expectation of ever meeting again their neareſt ties.

'How can ever the Abolitioniſts atone and ſilence their own conſciences, for the horrid maſſacres which the Africans are now committing upon one another? How muſt they feel, when truth tells them that many will have to execrate their names for being the original agents of their ruin! Thoſe who have ungeneroufly thrown out ſome general obloquy upon the treatment of the Weſt Indians to their ſlaves, I paſs over with contempt. Whenever men make uſe of general abuſe for individual exceſſes, I think, it is loſt time even to remember it.' p. 35—37.

The course of this article has now brought us to the trial of Mr Hodge, which we have already alluded to in a general way, but which is well deserving of a much more minute consideration. If any one is desirous of studying the practical effects of the slave system, and estimating the amount of its operation on white men in the colonies—if he wishes to inquire into the constitution of free society there, and to ascertain whether its members may safely be trusted (we were going to say with the execution, but we shall only add) with the formation of laws respecting the rights of enslaved Negroes, he will do well to study this authentic document—to read the history of this case, as contained

contained in the papers laid before Parliament, and the report of the trial published by authority. After this perusal, in which we venture to foretell that whatever feelings he may have will be tortured at each sentence, he must do a further violence to his ideas of probability:—he must believe (for the truth is so), that the West Indians appeal to this very history in their own vindication, and would draw from it a proof of the protection afforded to the suffering African in the sugar islands. We shall begin with an abstract of the affidavits on the table of the House of Commons, relating the circumstances which led, it is said, to Mr Hodge's trial, but which had long been known in the island of Tortola, before any one thought them worthy of further investigation. In this abridgment, we can assure our readers, their feelings are as much as possible consulted, and many frightful and offensive circumstances are passed over, which appear upon the face of the affidavits. Notwithstanding this, we fear the picture is still so horrible as to require pretty strong nerves to bear it.

'1. In January, 1806, a slave named Welcome, belonging to Mr Hodge, was employed by him as a hunter to go in quest of runaway slaves. After hunting for four or five days, he returned home unsuccessful; in consequence of which he was laid down by Hodge's order, and severely cart-whipped. He was *immediately* sent out to hunt a second time, and in a few days again returned unsuccessful; when, with his old wounds uncured, he was a second time, by Hodge's order, laid down, and severely cart-whipped. Welcome was immediately sent out hunting a third time; and returning in a few days, with the same success as before, he was again severely cart-whipped by Hodge's order, and put in very heavy irons, with a pudding on each leg, and a crook round his neck; and in the night-time was confined in the bilboes or stocks. He was at the same time allowed little or no food, and consequently became so weak, that he could scarcely walk. In this condition, with dreadful sores, occasioned by his former whippings, he was ordered to go to a neighbouring estate; but being unable to proceed, he fell down on the road, and, being carried home, he was again cart-whipped, and died in consequence the same night.—2. Mr Hodge having suspected two female slaves, Margaret his cook, and Else a washer-woman, of a design to poison Mrs Hodge and his children, he poured a quantity of boiling water down their throats; and having, after this, severely cart-whipped them and chained them together, he sent them, in a state of entire nakedness, to work in the field. Both these slaves languished for a short time in a miserable condition, and then died. On the day that Margaret died, one of the deponents going into the kitchen and observing she was stupid, asked her what was the matter; on which she pulled a handkerchief from her head, and showed two very severe wounds, which, she said, Mr Hodge had given her. She soon after

fell

fell on her face, and, being carried to the sick-house, died that evening. Mr Hodge had been heard to say, that he was resolved neither of these women should live long.—3. Some time before the death of Margaret, one of the deponents saw, in the sick-house, a child about ten years of age, named Tamsen, with the skin entirely off. The deponent asked the sick-nurse what was the matter with the child; but the sick-nurse refused to give an answer, and seemed afraid, lest her master should know that the child had been seen. On inquiry, it appeared, that the child had been dipped, by Hodge's order, into a copper of boiling liquor.—4. In the year 1807, a slave called Tom Boiler, a stout, hale, hearty man, was by Hodge's order, and in his presence, laid down and flogged without intermission, for at least an hour. After this infliction, he attempted to rise, but could not. He was taken up and carried to the sick-house, whence he never came out, but died in about a week. No doctor was called to attend him. —5. Soon after the death of Tom Boiler, another slave named Prosper, was, by Hodge's order, and in his presence, laid down, and for more than an hour cart-whipped without intermission. He was then taken up by Hodge's order, and, with his hands tied behind his back, lashed to a tree. Hodge then ordered the driver to use "close quarters,"—meaning by this expression a more cruel and severe cart-whipping than is ordinarily used, the whip in this case being shortened, and going all round the body, cutting every part, particularly the stomach and belly, and making at the same time comparatively little noise. In this situation, Prosper was beaten till he fainted, his head hanging down backwards, and was no longer able to bawl. He was then carried to the sick-house, where, within a fortnight, he died.—6. A slave named Jupiter, about nineteen years of age, was, by Hodge's orders, severely cart-whipped, put in heavy irons, crook puddings, &c. and allowed little or nothing to eat. He was also burnt in the mouth with a hot iron. He shortly after died. —7. On the 27th March, 1807, a new negro slave belonging to Hodge was cart-whipped, in his master's presence, in the most cruel manner. He died in two or three days after. When his body was carried out on a board to be buried, it was seen by one of the witnesses in a shockingly lacerated state.—8. A free man, named Peter, was hired by Hodge as a cooper, at two joes per month. This man, though free, was repeatedly cart-whipped at close quarters, and in every other way, by order, and in the presence of Hodge, who also put chains upon him, and had him worked with the field negroes. Peter soon died.—In 1808, a young slave named Cuffy, was, by order of Hodge, and in his presence, severely, and repeatedly cart-whipped, chained, &c. "He was cut to pieces," and had hardly any black skin remaining. After a cart-whipping, which lasted upwards of an hour, he was carried to the sick-house, where he died within a week.—10. Mr Hodge frequently caused the children on his estate, about nine years of age, to be taken up by the heels, and dipped into tubs of water with their heads downwards, and kept there,

there till stifled, then taken out and suffered to recover and breathe, when they were again treated in the same manner, and so repeatedly, until they have been seen to stagger and fall. On this, Mr Hodge has ordered them to be taken up and suspended to a tree by their hands tied together, and in this situation cart-whipped for some time at close quarters. Among others, a mulatto child, reputed to be his own, named Bella, was repeatedly cart-whipped by his order; and he was also seen repeatedly to strike the child with a stick on the head, so as to break her head; and also to kick her so violently as to send her several feet on the ground.—11. A slave, named Cudjoe, a smart active fellow, was so severely and repeatedly cart-whipped, and otherwise ill treated by Hodge, that he died. Another slave named Gift, who had also previously been in good health, after having been severely cart-whipped and chained, was again, with his wounds unhealed, subjected to a further severe cart-whipping, and died the same night. One of the deponents saw the body carried out for burial in a dreadful state of laceration.—12. A negro woman named Violet, belonging to Mr Hodge, was confined and severely flogged and cut by him for the alleged crime of stealing candles. She died in consequence. A boy, a son of this woman, run away through his master's flogging him. When brought back, he was put in chains, and so severely flogged, that he died. One of the deponents saw the boy a week before he died, and perceived, from his swelled and lacerated state, that he could not possibly recover.—13. A boy named Dick, whom Mr Hodge charged with having stolen his geese, was very often flogged severely and in quick succession, at close quarters and otherwise; in consequence of which he died. He had also been put in chains, and had his mouth burnt with a hot iron.—14. One of the deponents, besides swearing to several of the above facts, stated, that for several years during which the deponent resided on Mr Hodge's estate, Mr H. had been guilty of repeated and excessive acts of cruelty towards his slaves. Another deponent, who had lived, at different periods, as a manager on the estate of Mr Hodge, called Belle Vue, and who was also a witness to many of the atrocities detailed above, swore, that at most of the numerous and severe cart-whippings inflicted by Mr Hodge on his slaves, he was not actually present, Mr Hodge generally choosing to inflict them without the presence of any competent witness; but that, in addition to the instances at which he happened to be present, and which are mentioned above, there were many others where he saw only the effects of Hodge's cruelty, in the lacerations, burnt mouths, &c. of the slaves. He was satisfied these cruelties were inflicted by Hodge himself, as otherwise he should have heard him inquire, and complain, concerning these marks of suffering in his own negroes. It was scarcely possible to remain in the sick-house, on account of the offensive smell proceeding from the corrupted wounds of cart-whipped slaves. When this deponent first went to live on Hodge's estate, there was upon it a fine gang of upwards 100 able

negroes;

negroes; but when the last wife of Hodge died, in 1808, that number was so reduced by cruelty, and absconding in consequence of cruelty, that negroes enough were not to be found on the estate to dig her grave; and therefore, the deponent and Daniel Ross, esq. one of the magistrates who signed his deposition, assisted in digging it. He could not remember the names of all the negroes who had died in consequence of the cruelties of Hodge; but he knew the number to be great: sometimes three and four have died in the course of a day and night. On such occasions, no doctor was ever called in. He lived in all about three years with Mr Hodge; and in that time he was satisfied that Hodge lost 60 negroes, at least, by the severity of his punishments; and he believed that only one negro died a natural death during the same period.' p. 14—16.

Such was Mr Hodge—such was his life; and these are specimens of the scenes which his plantations exhibited. In the small island and confined society of Tortola, every particular of his conduct was well known. And yet, we are told, the prevailing idea was, that he had a '*comical*' way with his slaves, but, on the whole, was a good man! (Trial, p. 102.) No one shunned his society. Not a thought was ever harboured of turning him out of the council, in which he held his rank till the day of his arrest. Still less did any one entertain the romantic idea, of bringing him to trial for cruelty to black negroes. Such a thing would have been held as ridiculous in Tortola, as it would be in this country to prosecute a man for maiming his dog. Laws it is true existed, by which he was liable to punishment; but, like many obsolete penal statutes in this country, they were never thought of, and only remained on the books, to be quoted against abolitionists as proofs that the West Indian jurisprudence required no reformation, or to be made the handle for gratifying a private spite, when any one happened to conceive it, and wished to skulk behind the forms of justice in giving it vent. At length, Mr Hodge became the object of some political animosities, and a disposition to effect his ruin was entertained. Still, this would, in all probability, never have found vent; for it is an established principle in the West Indies, to unite as one man against the negroes, and to bury all animosities in oblivion, rather than let the negro interests benefit by the dissensions of their oppressors. But, unluckily for Hodge, he had been cruel to white as well as to black men, and, being a noted duellist, was held in some dread by those against whom he conceived a spite. It happened that, in this class, there was found a person invested with a judicial character—one who had always protected Hodge, and who had even frustrated attempts to bring his conduct under review. A challenge had been given, or threats amounting to such a defiance,—and Mr Hodge must either be tried, or his antagonist

antagonist must fight him. The law was now resorted to. It was no longer a dead letter. Depositions were taken—Mr Hodge was arrested—application was made to bring him to trial, for murders notoriously committed four or five years before, and every effort was used to obtain a conviction. We have carefully perused the report of the trial, and have indeed been struck with the irregularity which seems to prevail in the administration of West Indian justice—with the vile eloquence of the bar—the hasty and crude arguments on points of evidence—the total want of order and precision in the arrangement of the business. But ample evidence to convict was no doubt adduced, and evidence wholly unimpeached by the case for the defendant. We shall not load our pages with any specimens of the speeches; but shall confine our attention to a few things which came out accidentally in the course of the cause, and may serve as samples of the feelings and principles common among our white brethren of the islands, on matters of no higher concernment than negro life and rights. One juror is challenged, because he admits that he is prejudiced against the prosecution, thinking it '*would be hurtful to the West India islands*, '*and make the negroes saucy.*' (p. 21.) When the person was brought up by a writ of *habeas corpus*, it was asserted in open court, that the offence whereof he stood accused (the murder of his slaves) was bailable at law; nay, it was boldly stated, 'that a negro being property, it was no greater offence in law 'for his owner to kill him, than it would be to kill his dog.' (p. 39.) And though the counsel for the prosecution stoutly deny this doctrine, the Court not only permitted it to be used, but thought it so far deserving of notice at least, that they allowed a very full and elaborate answer to be made to it, with a variety of cases and quotations from the law books. This point, indeed, is most anxiously maintained by all the counsel for the prosecution; and though we may, at first sight, be inclined to set down, to the account of bad taste, their explanations of the criminality of murder, by reference to the history of Cain, David, Joab, Jezebel, Athaliah; yet, their careful illustration of this point—their quotations of authorities, &c. from the decalogue, down to the Melioration act—their drawing the indictment with a count for statute, and another for common law—make it abundantly manifest, that they entertained no small fear of being *turned round* by the prejudices of the jury on this point of their case. Were they wrong in feeling such apprehensions? The case, such as we have seen—horrible beyond all ordinary crimes—proved by indisputable evidence—coming home, one should have thought, to the bosom of

of every man, whose bosom contained a heart—was left to the jury; who, after deliberating an hour and a half, returned a verdict of guilty; but, by a majority of their number, recommended this wretch to mercy!—No attention was indeed paid to this marvellous recommendation; but when the time came for putting the sentence of the law in execution, Governor Elliot, who had been obliged to repair to Tortola in person, for the purpose of being ready in case of accidents, felt himself under the necessity of calling out the militia, and proclaiming martial law, in order to awe the turbulent islanders into quiet, under the novel visitation of such punishment inflicted for the murder of a slave. 'The state of irritation,' (he adds, in his despatch,) 'and I may almost say of anarchy in which I have 'found this colony, rendered the above measures indispensable 'for the preservation of tranquillity, and for insuring the due 'execution of the fatal sentence of the law against the late Arthur 'Hodge. Indeed it is but too probable, that, without my pre'sence here as commander-in-chief, in a conjuncture so re'plete with party animosity, unpleasant occurrences might have 'ensued.' Such are the courts, the juries and the people of those islands, which jealously assert their exclusive right to legislate for themselves, on the interests of the whole negro population, without giving its members, or their protectors, any voice whatever in their deliberations; and, possessing that mockery of justice, a trial of blacks by white juries, white judges, and white witnesses, would extend the same opprobrium of British colonial policy to settlements where it is as yet happily unknown.

It is always painful, and it often seems ungenerous, to make reflections injurious to the character of whole classes or communities of men. In treating, however, of the present question, no man can faithfully discharge his duty, without doing this violence to his feelings, and exposing himself to a charge of this description. The constitution of West Indian society,—the habits of the whites,—the influence of slavery on their characters and ideas,—all the effects inevitably produced upon the social relations of men in those countries, by the mixed population which inhabit them, and the unequal rights which regulate the enjoyment of property, power, and personal security,—these lye at the foundation of every discussion that can be raised, touching the internal administration of the slave colonies. In giving to these circumstances the consideration which they demand, we are very far from wishing to fling blame on our fellow-citizens of the Islands,—still less is it our inclination to cast odium on individuals. No class of men, we cheerfully admit,

has shown a better spirit than they have as a body, on every question unconnected with the negro slavery, and its necessary consequences;—no class has sacrificed more largely to the interests of the empire, which, in its turn, has so lavishly protected them;—no class has produced more estimable examples of individual virtue surmounting the influence of local prejudices and impurities. But the tendency of their situation is unquestionable;—the habits of thinking which it engenders and roots in the mind, are proved, beyond all dispute, to be wholly incompatible with any thing like a fair consideration of any questions relating to the condition of the lower orders in the colonial society. Nothing can eradicate from their minds (we speak of the bulk of the community), the idea that the negro is an inferior animal;—that his sufferings should not affect the heart like those of a human being;—that his comforts, his rights, his enjoyments, may be sported with, and yet no violence be done to notions of honour, nor any sting reach the conscience. Even those Creoles who are the least under the influence of such prejudices, have very different feelings upon the matter, from those which their ancestors carried out of Europe;—and persons, repairing to the colonies for a part of their lives, too generally learn to imitate the hard-heartedness towards this unhappy race, which is indigenous to the soil. Negro-slavery brings with it this excuse, at least, for those whom it corrupts, that it begins with the head, before reaching the heart; and seldom renders the feelings callous, without first perverting the intellect. He who ill treats, or permits the oppression of his slave, under the influence of those perverse notions of his being something between a man and a beast, can scarcely be so much blamed, as he who, with his eyes open, torments a being whom he knows and feels to be his fellow.

This consideration, however, if it palliates, in some sort, the cruelties of the system with respect to their actors, should operate with a tenfold force to deter such as are happily above the delusions of West Indian habits, from entrusting those who labour under them with the uncontrolled management of the negro population. For this they are utterly unfit. They have been tried with it in every shape, and in all the stages of the discussion;—they have promised, and broken their faith;—they have pretended to meliorate the condition of their slaves, and the pretence has been constantly detected;—they have passed laws for this purpose, and they have been clearly convicted of passing them, only to deceive the mother country. Affecting to be indignant at her interference,—asserting, most loudly, that their disposition to reform themselves was as earnest as their power of doing so

was exclusive,—insisting upon Parliament leaving the corrective in their hands,—what have they ever done, or even attempted? In their prosperity, when produce was dear, and cultivation easy, —when the infernal traffic with Africa gave them an inexhaustible and unlimited supply of victims,—to what were their whole efforts directed? To the protection of that horrible traffic, and the unbounded speculations which it facilitated, by the wholesale destruction of negro life. In the decline of their affairs, when, from their own trading in slaves and produce, their profits began to fall off, and it was manifest that the diminution of culture, and a more temperate use of the African trade could alone save them,—what was their course? A continuance of the same traffic!—the same speculations, as far as their means would allow, without any respite to Africa, or any intermission of West Indian suffering. And even now, when at last in spite of their clamours, and from a well-grounded distrust of their pretences, the Parliament of England stepped forward, and put down the slave-trade;—when, from the supply being cut off, one might naturally have expected a better treatment of the stock on hand, and, from the glut of the markets, there was reason to expect that some rest would have been afforded by avarice (if pity was out of the question) to the wretched arms from whence the too abundant load of those markets was wrung,—what change has been effected? Look at the trials of Huggins and Hodge, and the despatches of Mr Elliot, to be convinced, if this sad truth is not already sent home to the mind, that no improvement in the lot of slave—no regulations for his safety even, much less for his comfort—can be expected from the spontaneous efforts of the White oligarchy.

What, then, it may be asked, do we propose?—Are we for stirring the question of internal legislation, and for embroiling the mother country and the colonies in a new contest?—Without feeling the necessity of answering this question, we must frankly say, it carries nothing scaring or alarming to us:—on the contrary, we conceive, few things can be pictured more ridiculous, than the notion of apprehending danger, or even embarrassment, from an assertion of the right—the unquestioned and undeniable right of Parliament to legislate for the colonies;—a right never yet abandoned, except in so far as regards taxation alone,—exercised in a variety of important particulars every day,—and which the conduct of the Islands has rendered it absolutely incumbent on Parliament to exert with respect to the present question, if no other means can be devised of effectually reforming the abuses of the slave system, and carrying the abolition of the traffic into full execution. But, waving for the present this

question, we shall beg leave to suggest the line of conduct, by steady perseverance in which, we conceive it will be possible to effect a great deal of good, under the laws as they at present stand, and by the sincere exertions of the government.

The careful selection of governors and military commanders, is one of the most obvious improvements, and, we lament to say, one of those most wanted. To hint at this subject is perhaps sufficient; but we cannot avoid particularizing a certain most essential qualification, of a negative kind, which ought to be made a *sine quâ non* in every such appointment. The persons so chosen should have no colonial property, and should not have power, directly or indirectly, to acquire any such interest. If possible, they should even have no colonial connexions; and this qualification should be extended, without exception, to every considerable officer on the West Indian establishments. It is unfortunately the present usage (and, we admit, not a very unnatural one), to chuse such functionaries upon the very contrary principles—the consequences of which are too manifest to require enumeration.

A similar degree of care should be shown in the choice of persons to fill judicial and other legal situations; nor do we perceive any thing in the trials and papers now before us to render this suggestion less necessary than the former. It would evidently be proper to extend to those officers also the qualification with respect to property.

A more constant intercourse by correspondence should be maintained with the government at home; and others, as well as the chiefs of the civil and military departments, should be encouraged to correspond. If this branch too much increases the labour of the colonial office, let it be transferred to some other department, or let some other additional assistance be obtained for a short time, until the business has got into a more manageable shape. The strictest attention should of course be paid by government to investigate, instantly, every case of inattention or misconduct, and to make the most striking examples of persons behaving either negligently or blameably in their official capacities. On the other hand, proper encouragement should be held out, not merely to propriety of conduct, but to zeal and activity displayed in the cause of humanity, and particularly to the effectual investigation and punishment of cruelty and other delinquencies.

Much might even be effected by a vigorous and zealous administration in the islands, watched, encouraged and supported by the government at home, towards improving the feelings of the colonial legislatures as they are called, and obtaining from

from them amendments of the existing laws. It is scarcely possible that these should be the only assemblies in which the Crown has no influence; at least when some boon is craved for the cause of humanity and justice.

It is unnecessary to enlarge further on the beneficial effects which may be expected from a firm determination on the part of government to act upon such principles as these. Of this we are quite sure, that, if some reform be not effected, either by the interference of the executive, or of the legislative branch of the government, we shall learn in the colonies, even before the lesson is taught us at home, that the enemies of reform are the true abettors of revolution.

Art. VI. *Papers on Toleration.* By the Reverend C. Wyvill. Ridgeway.

This is an excellent book, written by an excellent man;—a manly statement of the absurdity of intolerance, and an earnest effort to awaken his fellow-subjects to a proper sense of the importance of religious liberty.

We have never, we hope, lost any opportunity of expressing our sentiments in favour of toleration in general; but as the great question agitated since the commencement of our labours, has been that of the Catholics, we have not hitherto paid any attention to the state of the Protestant Dissenters, or examined the nature and utility of those penalties, to which they are exposed in consequence of their dissent from the Established Church of England. In order to do this effectually, we shall give a slight historical sketch of the penal laws to which Protestant Dissenters are subjected,—specify the present state of those laws,—and then examine their utility for the preservation of the Established Church.

The first *law*, by which any person was bound to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Anglican Church, is that of the 3d of James I, c. 4. This was not intended against Protestant Dissenters, but against Papists; for Protestant Dissenters then thought it sinful to separate from the Established Church; and occasional conformity always existed between the different reformed churches. The old Puritans, indeed, were dreadfully afraid of falling into the crime of schism; and in 1587, one of the rules they imposed upon themselves was, that they should endeavour to wipe off the imputation of that crime, 'inasmuch

as *the brethren communicate with the Church in word and sacraments*, and in all other things except their corruptions.' The nonconformists in general continued to communicate (at least occasionally) till the year 1645, when the Presbyterian form of worship was established. After the Restoration, and even after the act of uniformity, most of the Presbyterians, and many of the other sects, communicated occasionally with the Episcopal establishment. In the very year that the Corporation Act passed, out of fifty-six known Presbyterian members of Parliament, there were only two who had any scruples to obey the order of the House, and receive the communion after the manner of the Church of England. Occasional conformity indeed was so prevalent about this time, that in 1663, the year after the Presbyterians were turned out by the act of uniformity, Mr Baxter proposed, at a meeting of their ministers, that they should consider how far it was lawful, or their duty, to communicate with the parish churches in the liturgy and sacraments; and used many arguments to prove, that it was lawful: And this opinion of Mr Baxter met with no sort of opposition from his brethren. And at another meeting held in 1666, it was agreed, *that communion with the Established Church was in itself lawful and good.* Bishop Stillingfleet, accordingly, dates the separation of the Dissenters from the Church, only from the time of the King's declaration of indulgence, issued 1671–2; in consequence of which, they built meetinghouses for themselves, and continued ever afterwards to keep up separate congregations. The practice, however, of conformity continued to a considerable extent among the Presbyterians, as Bishop Stillingfleet tells us in his preface to his book on Separation, published in 1681; but he adds, 'when they were earnestly pressed by those in authority to join in communion, they refused it, and have been 'more and more backward, ever since, till now.' Occasional conformity has been upon the decline since Bishop Stillingfleet wrote; but there has been no period in which it has not been practised.

The majority of every House of Commons throughout the reign of Charles the Second, had a rooted dread and hatred of Popery; and although, at the beginning of the first Parliament, they fell in with the resentments of the King and Church, yet in a few years they discovered their error, and the danger to which they were exposing the country. The latter part of this reign was therefore passed in continual disputes between the House of Commons and the Crown;—the latter struggling hard to protect Papists from persecution, and the former pressing for further

further severities against them. In the year 1671, Charles the Second, in order to secure the nonconformists, issued a proclamation, suspending, by a dispensing power, all the penal laws, and granting to the Protestant nonconformists public places of worship—to Papists, freedom of religion in their own houses. This usurpation of power roused the drooping spirit of liberty; and the common danger united Protestants of all descriptions. The Dissenters accepted the indulgence, but provoked the resentment of the Court, by reprobating that exercise of prerogative by which it was bestowed. Charles opened the session, by declaring, in high terms, his resolution to maintain his declaration of indulgence. The unprincipled firmness of the King, however, gave way to the virtuous firmness of his Parliament; and the indulgence was withdrawn. The Parliament, not content with this, proceeded to incapacitate Catholics from holding any place of trust in the kingdom; and, in their zeal to enforce *that* object, tacked on the present Test act to the Bill of Supplies, and by that means got it passed.

The Test act provides, that *every person who shall take any office, civil or military*, or shall receive any salary, pay, fee, or wages, by reason of any patent of his Majesty, or shall be admitted into the family of his Majesty, shall receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper after the manner of the Church of England, within three months after their admittance into the said office. Any person convicted of offending against this act, *is disabled from ever after suing in any court,—from becoming guardian, executor, or administrator,—from profiting by any legacy or deed of gift, or from bearing any office within England or Wales,—and, in addition to these incapacities, is to forfeit 500l.* Noncommissioned officers in the navy, petty constables, overseers of the poor, and such like small civil offices, are exempted from the operation of the bill,—the preamble of which expressly states the design of the act to be, for preventing any dangers which may happen from *Popish recusants.*

To conciliate the affections of a people divided by religious distinctions, Charles the Second, immediately before his restoration, had published the declaration of Breda. '*We do* '*declare,*' he says, '*a liberty to tender consciences, and that no* '*man shall be disquieted and called in question for matters of* '*religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and* '*that we shall consent to such an act of Parliament as, upon ma-*'*ture deliberation, shall be offered unto us for the full granting* '*that indulgence.*' This declaration was made in 1660. Copies were sent over to both Houses of Parliament; and it contributed materially to gain the support and assistance of the Dissenters. In 1661, however, the Corporation act was passed, by which

it was enacted, that 'no person *shall ever hereafter be placed, elected, or chosen, into any corporation, that shall not, within one year next before such election, have taken the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England.*' After the Corporation act, came the Act of Uniformity, which compelled two thousand ministers, who could not comply with the tests it required, to quit their livings. 'This bill (says Hume) reinstated the Church in the same condition 'in which it was before the commencement of the civil wars; 'and, as the old persecuting laws of Queen Elizabeth still subsisted in their full vigour, and new clauses of a like nature 'were now added, all the King's promises of toleration, and of 'indulgence to tender consciences, were thereby eluded and 'broken.'— Hume, vol. vii. 386.

In this way, the Corporation and Test Acts were passed; and, since their enaction, several efforts have been made for the relief of the Protestant Dissenters. In October 1673, a bill was brought in to distinguish between Protestants and Catholics, but was lost by prorogation of Parliament. The next year, the same bill was lost by the same means. Two other bills of the same nature were lost in 1680, by the same manœuvre of the Court. Before their adjournment, however, the Commons had passed two strong resolutions in favour of the Dissenters.* In 1678–9, a test was provided, which admitted Protestant Dissenters into Parliament, but excluded Catholics.

The high authority of King William himself, was unsuccessfully employed to procure a repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. 'I hope,' said he, in his speech to Parliament in March 1689, 'you are sensible there is a necessity of some law to settle 'the oaths to be taken by all persons to be admitted to such 'places. I recommend it to your care, to make a speedy pro'vision for it; and as I doubt not but that you will sufficiently 'provide against Papists, so I hope you will leave room for the 'admission of all Protestants that are able and willing to serve. 'This conjunction in my service will tend to the better uniting 'you amongyourselves, and strengthening you against your com'mon adversaries.'

Nothing

* Resolved, *nem. con.*—'It is the opinion of this House, that the 'prosecution of Protestant Dissenters is at this time grievous to the 'subject, a weakening of the Protestant interest, an encouragement 'to Popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.' (Com. Jour vol. 9. 704.)—Resolved, *nem. con.*—'It is the opinion of this 'House, that the Acts of Parliament made in the reigns of Queen 'Anne, Elizabeth, and King James, against Popish Recusants, 'ought not to be extended against Protestant Dissenters.' Com. Jour. vol. 9. 704.

Nothing, however, was done, either in that or the succeeding reign; and in 1711, an act passed, requiring all persons who should accept of offices, not only to take the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but to conform strictly to the worship of the Church of England, during all the time they held them. In 1718 this act was repealed. A motion was made in the House of Commons for the repeal of the Test Act, on the 12th of March 1735–6, and lost by 251 to 123. On a similar question in 1739, the numbers were 188 to 89. In 1787, the majority against the Dissenters was 78; in 1789, only 20; but in 1790, they were repulsed by a very great majority.

But though the Dissenters have not been able to procure a direct repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, their condition has been extremely ameliorated (if the inconveniences which they complain of have not indeed been totally removed) by the annual Indemnity Bills, which, since the year 1743, have constantly passed, in favour of all offences against these statutes. Each bill of indemnity pardons all past offences, if the test is taken before a certain day; and then another indemnity act succeeds, covering afresh offenders from the last mentioned day: so that the original Test and Corporation Acts, the existence of which is considered by both sides to be of such extreme importance, which by one is complained of as so intolerable a grievance, and by the other cherished as such an impregnable bulwark of safety, have really had no sort of operation, nor been once carried into effect for more than 68 years.

From one of the greatest evils which grew out of the Corporation and Test Acts, the Dissenters have been relieved by the decision of a court of justice. They used, for a long time, to be nominated to corporate offices, because it was known they could not qualify to execute them; and by-laws, inflicting penalties on those who refused to serve, were expressly made to enrich corporations at their expense. The produce of these unjust exactions served, or nearly served, to build the mansion-house of the city of London. In 1736, it appears that no less a sum than 20,700*l.* had been raised from fines paid by persons to be excused serving the office of Sheriff; and out of that money it was resolved to erect the mansion-house, the first stone of which was laid in 1739. At length, this system of oppression was overthrown. An action was brought by the Chamberlain of London against Allen Evans esq., a Dissenter, for the penalty of 600*l.* for refusing to serve the office of Sheriff of the city of London; but the House of Lords, to whose tribunal it was carried in the last resort, determined, *unanimously*, in 1767, that Dissenters who could not conscientiously take the Sacrament,

ment, in obedience to the test laws, were excused from serving corporate offices. Upon that occasion, Lord Mansfield did himself the highest honour, by his defence of religious liberty;—evincing a hatred of oppression, a reluctance to indulge the bad passions of the multitude, and a zeal for the rights of mankind, which human beings generally lose, in proportion as they become old, rich, powerful, and famous.

Since that period, the Dissenters have suffered little or no practical oppression. A series of amnesties, for more than 60 years, has made them quite regardless of the penalties of taking office. Several corporations are in their hands; and the decision in Evans's case has established, that they are not punishable for declining the performance of duties to which they cannot conscientiously submit.

This is a short sketch of the history of the penal laws made against the Protestant Dissenters, and of the present state of these laws. It remains that we say something upon their expediency.

In the first place, we begin with a perfect admission of the right of the Legislature to exclude any description of men from civil offices, in consequence of their religious opinions—provided they are satisfied that such an exclusion is essential to the general wellbeing of the community. The Government has a right to do any thing that is for the good of the governed; and it is *possible* that a particular religious sect may be so notorious for dangerous political opinions, that their faith may be taken as a test, or mark, of their doctrines upon government. In the changes and chances of the world, Socinian doctrines may be firmly united to republican habits,—as dependence on the See of Rome may be combined with the love of despotism; and then it does not seem very unreasonable, that religious creeds, in themselves innocent, and not the subject of punishment, should become so, from their accidental alliance with dangerous opinions upon subjects purely secular. Cases might be put, where it would be insanity in any government not to distinguish its enemies by any mark, religious, physical, or moral, that chanced to present itself. It is quite idle, then, to argue this question as a question of general right; and in all debates and publications on this subject, which have fallen into our hands, we have observed that manifest advantages have been gained over the Dissenters, by their adopting this method of arguing the question. They have been completely defeated, in the mere metaphysical part of the dispute, and by these means occasioned a great prejudice against the practical part of their case. We therefore give up the question of right as indefensible,—or not worth defending;

fending: and shall argue the question merely upon grounds of expediency.

Admitting the right of Government to punish their own subjects, it will easily be allowed, that they ought not to be punished without reason; that no man ought to be cast into prison, to be put to death, to pain, or inconvenience, unless public utility requires it. A government that neglected such plain and obvious notions as these, would be universally execrated, and speedily destroyed.

The love of power is natural to Man; and great and useful exertions are made to obtain it. Government, too, has a right to say who shall, and who shall not, possess power; but that right may be justly or oppressively, wisely or foolishly exercised. It would be absurd and vexatious, if all the offices of the state were confined to persons born in the northern parts of the island. It would be equally absurd and capricious, if they were conferred only upon the sons of clergymen. Though the right to exclude is admitted, there must be a sound reason for each particular act of exclusion: to exclude from offices, without such reason, is a tyrannical and foolish exercise of a right. It remains then to be seen, by what arguments the exclusion of the Dissenters can be justified; and whether the right possessed by the Legislature has, in this instance, been exercised under a sound discretion.

Bishop Warburton calls the exclusion from offices a restraint, and not a punishment; and builds (as many have done after him) a great deal of useless reasoning upon this supposed distinction. Be it a restraint or a punishment, or let it receive any other modified appellation, it is *an evil* to those who are excluded; and, if no sort of reason exists why the Dissenters should suffer this evil, it ought not to be inflicted. Whether such reasons do, or do not exist, is the question before us.

Mere dissent from the dogmas of the Established Church, without the profession of any dangerous opinions in religion or politics, does not appear to us to be a sufficient reason for exclusion from civil offices. The first and readiest pretext is, that, by such wholesome inflictions, the Dissenters will be frightened back into the pale of the Church. This, however, is a pretext, which experience has long ago refuted. Mankind have shown themselves invincible upon religious topics, under much greater sufferings than any which the Corporation and Test acts pretend to inflict upon them. The governments of all countries have, at one time or another, made death and cruelty the punishment for heterodox opinions; but, after long experience, have been compelled to give up the attempt as utterly hopeless. But, if men will brave death

death and pain in the preservation of their religious liberties, it does seem an hopeless undertaking to attempt to reclaim them by privation from civil offices. There is no man of sense, we believe, who does not regret extremely the torrent of fanaticism which is setting in upon this country; yet it would be the extreme of absurdity to attempt to arrest its progress, or to reclaim men to the bosom of the Church, by telling them they should never be mayors and aldermen if they did not give up their religious tenets. The Church of Ireland, in spite of test laws, amounted, before their repeal, only to one fourth of the population of the whole island. Scotland has preserved its Chuch without Test laws. France lost its commerce, manufactures and population, the moment they were established by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. We much doubt, if any one single convert to the Church has ever been made by them. They have slumbered for seventy years. If, at this moment, when the Church of England is losing ground so fast to the sectaries, they should be revived and carried into strict execution,—is there any man so mad as to suppose, that such a remedy would not increase, rather than diminish, the evil?

But, though the penal laws against Protestant Dissenters may not be calculated to gain proselytes to the Established Church, they may be considered, perhaps, as useful in guarding against its already existing opponents, and rendering them less formidable, by depriving them of the power they would gain by the exercise of civil offices. It may be considered as a solid and necessary barrier to an Establishment, that those who cannot assent to its doctrines should be prevented from exercising authority over their fellow subjects. Now, if it were quite clear that those who differed from the Establishment wished to destroy the Establishment, there might be some justice in such a provision. But it is a very conceivable case, that a sect may be contented with the free exercise of its own worship, without having any desire to destroy the established religion of the country. There is nothing in the creed of any protestant sect existing among us, which necessarily implies such a supposition, or makes the destruction of any other sect any part of their duty. We know of no general meeting of any dissenting ministers, where any resolutions or opinions to that effect have been professed, or even hinted at. The laws against Protestant Dissenters have been uniformly suspended for seventy years,—which we should presume they would not have been, had any such practices existed; and if the opinions of sects are to be gathered from the opinions of a few fanatical members, the Church of England must be subjected to the same rule, and be charged with plans and intentions

tions against the Dissenters, which every respectable churchman, we are convinced, would disown. To disapprove the doctrines of a Church is one thing,—to wish its destruction, and to attempt to subvert it, is another. The Protestant Dissenters have, however, had an opportunity of showing how they would act towards Episcopalians, when the power was placed in their own hands. After the power of England ceased in America, they have shown, in the northern and middle colonies of that country, that they have been falsely accused of objecting to the introduction of bishops; and, in New England, where the legislative bodies are almost to a man Dissenters from the Church of England, there is no test to prevent churchmen holding offices. The sons of churchmen have the full benefit of the Universities; and the taxes for support of public worship, when paid by churchmen, are given to the Episcopal ministers. All this would not have been so, if the Dissenters really entertained that violent hatred against Bishops and Episcopalians, of which they are suspected in this country.

We are utterly unacquainted with any thing like an attempt against the safety of the Church or State, made by Protestant Dissenters, for this century and an half last past. The Corporation and Test acts were certainly passed for no such reason. At the period at which they were enacted, there was but one general feeling of suspicion and hatred against the Catholics. Every thing that was Protestant was highly popular in that Parliament. At that period, it was only the most rigid Dissenters who made it a matter of conscience not to receive the communion after the manner of the Church of England; and any inconvenience which they might suffer, was by themselves personally waved, in order to promote the great object of guarding against the Catholics. Alderman Sire, member for the city of London, and a most rigid Dissenter, declared, in the debate upon the Test act, that 'it was his wish that a most effectual 'security might be found against Popery, and that nothing 'might interpose till that was done. At present, they were 'willing to lye under the severity of the laws, rather than clog 'a more necessary work with their concerns.' And, not a month before the Test act was brought in, a bill passed the Commons, to give to the Dissenters a legal and constitutional toleration. 'As the Dissenters (says Hume) had seconded the efforts 'of the Commons against the King's declaration of indulgence, 'and seemed resolute to accept of no toleration in an illegal 'manner, they had acquired great favour with the Parliament; 'and a project was adopted, to unite the whole Protestant in-'terest against the common enemy, who now began to appear 'formidable.

'formidable. A bill passed the Commons for the ease and relief of the Protestant Nonconformists,' &c. &c. &c. (Hume, vol. vii. 8vo. p. 506.)

The arguments derived from the history of the Test laws are not, to be sure, of any great efficacy: they are merely adduced to show, that if such laws are necessary to defend the Church from Protestant Dissenters, such necessity is inferred from general reasoning, not from any actual proof of danger existing when such laws were enacted. They were enacted, most unquestionably, not to guard the Church from Protestant Dissenters; but they were passed, by the assistance of Protestant Dissenters, to guard the Church from the Catholics. The Church of England requires, for its safety, that all Dissenters from its doctrines should be excluded from civil offices; and yet, all those who elect to civil offices, may be Dissenters. A mayor or an alderman may be chosen by burgesses, not one of whom belongs to the Church of England; and why (if dissent is so dangerous to the Church) are Dissenters in Parliament? In that situation, where they can do the most mischief, they are left entirely undisturbed. A man may be a member of Parliament if he dissents—but not an alderman. It is extremely difficult to fix a limit to such sort of defences to any Establishment. If a Church is to weaken its opponents by depriving them of civil power, why not, by depriving them (as was done twenty years ago in Ireland) of the right of acquiring property, disposing of their estates by will? &c. &c. If an Establishment, in short, is to be preserved by any other means than those of paying for its support, and then leaving it to the effect of opinion, we are quite at a loss to know where these means are to end. If men are to be driven into the national churches by the fear of losing their chance of civil offices, then the fear of losing their liberty, their limbs, or their lives, would be still a more powerful motive; and the spirit of antient persecution has been unwisely permitted to sleep.

We must remember, too, that when these laws were passed, restricting the Crown from selecting, for the greater number of civil offices, any but members of the Church of England, the King of England might legally be of any religion, and that he was actually a Catholic. The King of England must now not only be a Protestant, but a member of the Church of England. There is no reason, therefore, why the restriction placed upon the royal prerogative, of choosing, should be any longer continued.—There is a Test law, it is indeed said, for the King;—the first magistrate of the country must belong to the Established Church.—Why are subordinate magistrates to consider themselves

themselves as aggrieved by submission to the same restraints? In the first place, we have very little belief in the dangers of a Dissenting King. But, if the necessity of his conformity be proved, can the necessity of conformity in every public functionary be inferred from it? Are there no reasons which make it necessary for a King of England to be an Episcopalian, which fly over the heads of customhouse-officers and tidewaiters, and leave even mayors and burgesses untouched? If it were an evil to be submitted to for the good of the country, the example of the King would silence the murmurs of the suffering subject; but many thousand persons, subjected to useless restraints, cannot possibly be consoled, by the instance of one person who submits to the same restraints, where they are useful and proper.

We have already endeavoured to show, that the Corporation and Test acts are very badly calculated to make proselytes to the Church; and if their principal use is to guard the church from the hostility of those who must be considered as enemies because they are Dissenters, then these laws are extremely ill calculated for this purpose;—*first*, because they give no real security against this enmity;—and, *secondly*, because they do a great deal more than there is occasion for, by compelling Dissenters to worship after a method of which they disapprove. It would be much better, in both points of view, that a Dissenter, before he took office, should merely make *oath that he would enter into no plan or conspiracy for the destruction of the Church of England* —an oath that would be more fair and rational than a test, and which, we are convinced, no Dissenter would object to take. This security, slight as it may appear, would be quite as effectual to the Church as the taking of the sacrament—for they are both religious ties of equal strength, where they are ties at all;—and in many instances the taking the sacrament is no tie;—for there are some very serious and honourable men among the Dissenters, who would make no scruple to take it after the manner of the Church of England, and yet might think themselves entitled, if opportunity offered, to deprive the Church of her privileges. The Corporation and Test acts, therefore, are not direct or effectual safeguards against this imaginary danger, which this sort of oath would be, as far as any religious obligations are binding upon mankind. But if the basis of all these reasonings is sound—if, in all countries where there is an established church, there is to be an exclusion of dissenters from civil and political offices—and no man is to serve the State who cannot think with the Church—this is to divide the human race into two parts, and to make them irreconcileable enemies to each other. The reasoning must be as good any where else as in England. Scotland should exclude Episcopalian Christians—Aus-

tria Protestant Christians—Sweden Catholic Christians—Russia both Catholic and Protestant Christians. What a rich fund of animosity is here!

Eheu quantus equis, quantus adest virîs
Sudor! Quanta moves funera!

We have a very high respect for established churches, and think them wise institutions for preserving the purity of religion; but if they are to carry with them all these fruitful principles of hatred and persecution, it would be better for mankind that they had never existed at all. The real enemies to religious establishments are those who disfigure them with all the odious and unnatural apparatus of penalty and exclusion,—who take away from a bishop his mild paraphernalia of crosier and chaplain, and place a common informer at his heels, and a cat-o-nine-tails in his hand.

It may, however, be very fairly doubted, whether the Church of England would not lose, instead of gaining any thing in the number of its proselytes and the extent of its power, if these Corporation and Test Acts were really carried into execution. If men are let alone, religious fanaticism dies away,—or one folly chases out another. If there be no fanaticism, but only a rational difference of opinion from the Established Church, this slight difference (if it be not assisted by disqualification or persecution) would scarcely hold out against the superior fashion and *eclat* of the Established Church. But where men are told, that they must not be elected to offices, because they cannot believe in this or that speculative dogma of religion, they immediately become attached to their opinions; and the question between them and the Church becomes, not a languid question of reason, but a lively question of passion. Men meet together, and talk of their wrongs and their persecutions; till dissent gets from the skin into the bone, circulates with the blood, and becomes incurable. If the laws against the Dissenters were really put into execution, the enemies of the Church would only be rendered more formidable, because they would be made more angry, and therefore more enterprising and more active. The mass of mankind, in this country at least, love peace, and love to follow their own occupations. If they had only to pay a few pounds every year, to a church in which they did not believe, this would pass over tranquilly enough; but when, in addition to this, they were oppressed and insulted by severe disqualifications and exclusions, the *vis inertiæ* would be overcome; and every Dissenter from the Church would be plotting against its existence. This appears to be the precise effect which these laws are calculated to produce:—*They contain an admirable receipt for converting all those who cannot agree with the doctrines*

of the Church, into the furious and implacable enemies of its existence. Luckily for the Church, they are too foolish to be acted upon.

All that we have now said respecting the Corporation and Test Acts, is upon the supposition that they were enforced. But as an annual Indemnity bill passes to protect all offenders under these acts, and to prevent any punishment that may follow upon the transgression; either these acts have no effect at all in protecting the Church, and are already as if they did not exist; or the good they do to the Church must be from a dread entertained by Dissenters, that the laws so suspended may at any period be enforced; and that a punishment is always awaiting them, in case of misconduct. If the first of these suppositions be true, and these laws produce no effect at all, then we presume that no human being can object to their abolition. And if they are supposed to protect the Church, not by any actual privation to the Dissenters, but by menaces of that evil, then all the arguments we have used against the punishment, apply with redoubled force to the threat: For a law which punishes dissent from an established religion, must aid that established religion (if at all), either by preventing the increase of Dissenters by making proselytes to the Church, or by checking mischievous combinations for the destruction of the Church. And, if it be true, as we have already contended, that actual exclusion from civil offices will neither bring men back to the Church, nor prevent them from quitting the Church, it must also be true, that the mere threat of exclusion will never produce those effects; and, though fewer enemies are made to the Church, and more civil power is granted to the Dissenters by connivance, than if it never were actually withheld,—still a great degree of irritation is excited; and the very essence of the law (which was meant to deny civil power to heterodoxy) is destroyed.

There may be some utility and meaning in keeping penal laws suspended over the heads of justly suspected sectaries for some short time. But when laws have been suspended for seventy years, and the Legislature has not found it necessary to let loose their terrors in one single instance for all that period, this does seem to be a probation which ought to satisfy the most vigilant and jealous Orthodoxy: and, to talk of the ruin which must ensue to an establishment, from such an abolition, is really an offence against the common understanding of mankind. But the threat is an idle threat. The fact is, that it would be quite impossible to carry the Corporation and Test Acts into execution. The infliction would be far too sweeping and comprehensive to be tolerated. Prosecutions would lye against all Dissenters who had any concern

in the Bank of England, the East India, Russia, or South Sea Companies, or in any of the Insurance companies;—against the officers of many hospitals and other charitable institutions. Dissenters would be sometimes excluded from being vestrymen, and from managing almshouses. They would not be permitted, in some places, to govern workhouses, poorhouses, and houses of industry. They could not be keepers of madhouses or lazarettoes; and would be prohibited, in most cases, from acting as commissioners or trustees of any sort. It was doubted by the Court of King's Bench, when Lord Chief Justice Hall presided, whether the Censors of the College of Physicians were not obliged to take the test.—All persons acting under royal charters are certainly obliged to do so. All non-commissioned officers, and the commissioned officers in the army, must receive the communion. All excisemen, customhouse officers, tidewaiters; all those who hold offices of inheritance. The Postmaster-general, the Lord Chancellor, the proprietors of mail coaches, all retailers of perfumery, venders of quack medicines, persons letting out post horses, are all persons holding places of *trust under his Majesty, or those deriving authority from him*, and must therefore all appear at the altar, before they enter upon their respective functions. Those who had licenses to sell ale were formerly compelled to receive the Sacrament, according to the Church of England; as Mr Locke, in his Second Letter on Toleration, p. 360, informs us. No Dissenters can be governors of hospitals, assisted by act of Parliament; nor commissioners for window-taxes, nor maids of honour, nor the meanest officers in corporations; nor could the King confer a pension, nor any other reward, upon the most meritorious Protestant Dissenter, who scrupled to receive the Sacrament.*

But

* All Scotchmen settled in England, and holding any offices there (a pretty numerous band), would be subjected to the penalties of these laws. A member of the Church of England has full and free access to all the offices of Scotland; while a member of the Church of Scotland is incapacitated from holding one in England. By the Act of Union, the two kingdoms are incorporated into one. There is to be one army, one navy, one parliament, and one privy council; and yet the members of the Scotch Church—who are not Dissenters, but appertain to a church recognized and established by our laws,—are cut off from all enjoyment of offices in England. The different predicaments in which the two countries are placed, show, ludicrously enough, how little the state of any country is to be judged of from its laws. The Scotch are prohibited, by the severest penalties, from bearing offices in England; and the English permitted, with the most generous magnanimity, to share in all the wealth and patronage of

But the execution of these laws is impossible, not only from their ridiculously extensive operation, but, from the enormity and atrocity of the punishments which they enact. He who offends against them *is deprived of the right to sue in any court of law or equity. He cannot be guardian to any child, or administrator or executor to any person. He can neither take a legacy, nor deed of gift, nor bear any office in England, Wales, or Berwick upon Tweed.* The pecuniary penalty for the offence is equally enormous.—L. 500 would be the price to an exciseman or corporal of the army for his transgression.—No lapse of time bars prosecution for this class of offences. A man may be prosecuted to-morrow for not receiving the sacrament forty years ago. How is it possible to execute such laws as these? And what advantage can it be to the Church to continue a threat of enforcing laws which are so extravagantly and preposterously cruel, that every man of common sense must know they are extinguished for ever? Last year Lord Sidmouth made a slight scratch in the epidermis of the Dissenting Church. Of the extraordinary consequences, we were all witnesses; and yet there are persons who may think it possible to revive the execution of the Test Acts! If there are no such extravagant persons, why may not those laws be repealed? And never let it be forgotten, against what species of men they have been enacted—against men who have run greater risks, and with greater unanimity, to preserve the

 free

of Scotland. It is curious to observe, how intrepidly the one nation exposes itself to danger, and how constantly the other abstains from advantage. A very favourite argument, in support of the Corporation and Test Acts, is, that their repeal would be contrary to that article of the Scotish Union, which enacts, that all acts existing at the period of that Union, for the establishment and preservation of the Church of England, its doctrines, worship, discipline, and government, are to remain in full force for ever. It is very wrong, in important subjects, to leave weak arguments unanswered; for it is impossible to conceive any too weak to produce an effect, in topics where many understandings interfere. We have to observe, therefore, that it is a folly to talk of the eternity of any human laws. If both nations wished one of the articles of Union to be altered, it ought to be altered. And as the power of altering it must exist somewhere, there is no other practical method of carrying such alteration into effect, than by act of Parliament, as in any common case. And next, we wish to observe, that the Corporation and Test Acts have nothing to do with the establishment, doctrine, worship, and discipline of the Church of England; and that, instead of contributing to the preservation of that Church, they add to the number, and inflame the animosity of its enemies, and therefore render its destruction more probable.

free government and constitution of this country, than any other set of men whatever. During the reign of Charles II, the small remains of liberty were chiefly preserved and cherished by them. They resisted, with effect, the arbitrary designs of Charles and James II, when their own immediate interest would have led them to an unconditional submission. They joined cordially in the Revolution, and exposed themselves to the resentment of a bigotted princess and an infatuated people, to secure the succession of the House of Hanover. In two rebellions, the Dissenters, without the exception of a single individual, showed a steady attachment to the present government; and they have, at all times and seasons, (and when such praise was by no means due to the Church of England), proved themselves the steady friends of that mild, moderate, and tolerant race of Kings, by which we have been governed for the last century.

The third monarch of that race is now declining into extreme old age, and oppressed by infirmities of mind and body, from which, unfortunately, there appears but little chance that he should ever escape. His successor, we sincerely believe to be in his heart a friend to every species of toleration, and of an understanding elevated far above any feelings of religious bigotry. It would be a great and a virtuous part in him, to lend his power to abolish these childish and unworthy remnants of English persecution. If he were steadily to pursue this high policy, the Church, delicately alive to the opinions of Royalty, would soon mitigate its opposition, and consent to strengthen its real interests; and the persecution which had been abolished, would in a few years be universally reprobated as cruel aud unjust. In the dangers that are coming to the world, all the men of this empire would be loyal; and the author of such good would go down to posterity, not as one whom timid ecclesiastics could render as timid as themselves, but as a wise and magnanimous prince, who clearly saw the great interests of his people, and steadily pursued them.

ART. VII. *Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne. Par Alexandre de Humboldt; les quatre derniers livraisons, en 4to; avec un Atlas Geographique et Physique, en folio.* Paris. 1809–10–11.

SINCE the appearance of our former article on this valuable and instructive work, a great, and, for the present at least, a lamentable revolution has taken place in the countries which it describes. Colonies, which were at that time the abode of peace and industry, have now become the seat of violence

lence and desolation. From one extremity of Spanish America to the other, the ancient bonds of subordination have been loosened. A civil war, attended with various success, but every where marked with cruelty and desolation, has divided the colonists, and armed them for their mutual destruction. Blood has been shed profusely in the field, and unmercifully on the scaffold. Flourishing countries, that were advancing rapidly in wealth and civilization, have suffered alike from the assertors of their liberties, and from the enemies of their independence. The revolutionists and the partisans of the mother country have been equally bloody in their vengeance, and equally regardless of justice and consistency, in exacting obedience to their decrees.

To what causes these calamities are to be attributed, and what effects are likely to result from them, are questions worth our consideration. Our information, with all the pains we have taken to increase it, is no doubt scanty and imperfect; but the subject merits all our attention. It is only by knowing the causes of these troubles, that we can judge whether there be any hope of appeasing them; and it is only by examining the consequences to which they lead, that we can know what to wish or to expect as to their termination. That a war with her colonies must be ruinous to Spain, is abundantly clear; but that a voluntary separation from the mother country is best for America may not be equally certain. If a settlement could be made, which should relieve the colonies from oppression, redress their grievances, and secure them from becoming the victims either of domestic tyranny or of foreign usurpation, would it be any drawback from such an arrangement, that it extinguished the flames of civil war, and composed the dissensions that gave rise to it? If a peaceable accommodation, founded on principles of justice and moderation, could procure to the mother country the assistance of her colonies, in aid of her own exertions against France, would it not be preferable to the chance of war, uncertain in its issue, ruinous in its progress, and, even if successful, destructive of its object? With these views of the question before us, we shall begin with a short account of the disturbances which at present agitate and desolate America, and proceed afterwards to the more pleasing task of following Humboldt in his description of the wealth and prosperity of those countries, before they were visited with that calamity.

When the Central Junta promulgated the decrees in favour of the Spanish colonies, referred to in our former article, * they were aware, that a spirit of disaffection existed in America, and was fast increasing. They knew, by intercepted letters, that

* Vol. II. p. 91.

French agents were busily employed in working upon the colonists, and tempting them with offers of independence; and thought, by the equity and liberality of their concessions, to counteract these machinations of the enemy. But, unfortunately, they forgot, that empty declarations of abstract rights are not sufficient to allay discontents engendered by the sense of actual oppression. If there had been no alienation in the colonies, but that excited by the artifices of France, the decrees which they passed might have answered their purpose. But the colonists sought relief from real grievances, and were not satisfied with the removal of speculative wrongs. Magnificent in promise, but poor in performance, the decrees of the Junta served only to raise expectations, and to infuse distrust. The colonies were told, that they had the same rights with the mother country; but those who addressed them in that language, treated them as if they had none. At no time, not even under the Prince of the Peace, had they ever seen justice more corrupt, peculation more active, authority more insolent and despotic, rapacity and oppression more secure from punishment, than in the interval between the declaration of war against France, and the commencement of the troubles in America. *

It had been always one of their principal grievances, that they were excluded from offices of trust and emolument in their own country. Instead of removing this cause of discontent, the provisional governments of Spain sent out to them shoals of Europeans, ruined in their fortunes, and balked in their prospects, by the convulsions of the mother country, to find a recompense for their losses at home in places and emoluments in America, which the natives thought in justice due to themselves. Even the cessation of hostilities brought with it new causes of discontent. The war with England, which had lasted, with little intermission, for more than twelve years, had but slightly and partially affected the commercial prosperity of the colonies, and, latterly, not at all. Neutrals, sailing under double licenses from London and Madrid, had carried on their commerce; and, where licenses could not be obtained, their necessities had been amply relieved by a contraband trade, which, in time of war, the Spanish government had not the power to check. The restoration of peace revived the commercial monopoly of the mother country in all its rigour, and nearly annihilated the trade of the colonies. Spain could not afford a market for their productions, or even supply them with vessels to convey their produce to

* See debates of the Cortes on the 9th and 11th January 1811;—and more especially the speeches of Lisperguer, Felipl, and Valcarcel.

to Europe. Cuba, Caracas, and Buenos Ayres, which raise bulky and perishable articles, requiring a large tonnage to export them, and liable to spoil if not brought speedily to market, were the greatest sufferers by this change. Cuba, from its situation, could best relieve itself by contraband, the natural check of impolicy and injustice in matters of commerce: But even Cuba was loud in its complaints of restrictions; which appeared intolerable, when it became manifest that no one was benefited by them except the merchants of Cadiz. Buenos Ayres and Caracas made similar representations; but no effect was produced by their remonstrances.

In this situation of affairs, the news arrived in America of the irruption of the French into Andalusia, and of the dispersion of the Central Junta, loaded with the execrations and contempt of the people. Among the charges against that body, was the accusation of having betrayed their country to France, and secretly favoured the progress of her arms. We believe the charge to have been most unjust; but it cannot be denied, that the central government had made an unskilful use of the resources of the country entrusted to its hands; that it had lost the confidence of its subjects, by the want of openness and candour, as much as by want of vigour and success; and that it had alienated its allies by unworthy suspicions, pettifogging altercations, and ruinous delays. When America had first received intelligence of the war with France, the colonists had expressed the greatest ardour in the cause of the mother country, and had manifested the sincerity of their zeal, by the readiness of their obedience to her provisional governments, and by the liberality of their contributions in her support. But when every wind from Europe brought tidings of defeats and disasters, with complaints of misconduct, and accusations of treachery, they became more sparing of their donations, and less disposed to give their confidence, or intrust their destinies, to those who had the administration of her affairs. They recollected, with jealousy and distrust, that, in most parts of America, and universally in Europe, *the people*, and not their governors, had first expressed apprehensions of the designs of France, and taken up arms to oppose them. They could not forget, that when the first account of the transactions at Bayonne, and insurrection of Seville, reached Caracas, the governors of the colony had affected to disbelieve the intelligence, and were only compelled, by their fears of the populace, to declare war on France, and swear fidelity to Ferdinand VII. They knew also, that at Buenos Ayres, Liniers had forfeited the esteem and confidence of a people, so much and so justly beholden to him for his past services, by preaching up to them the duty of waiting for events in the Peninsula;

and, as their fathers had done in the Succession War, of following the fortunes of the conqueror. There prevailed, therefore, in the minds of all Spanish Americans, who were incensed with French aggression, or attached to the name and glory of their country, a general and not unnatural suspicion, that the persons possessed of authority among them were not deserving of their confidence. Creatures of Godoy, as the greater part of those in the service of government necessarily were, they shared in the odium attached to his name. Old Spaniards, as they almost universally were, they were suspected of being more anxious to maintain the connexion with the mother country, than to defend American Spain from foreign usurpation.

Such was the state of the public mind at Caracas, when news arrived of the loss of Seville, and dissolution of the central government. Those who were afraid of French domination, were seized with fresh alarm. Those who had suffered from the monopoly and restrictive regulations of the mother country, were glad of the opportunity to take the redress of grievances into their own hands. The government, destitute of popularity, and abandoned by the military, yielded to this combination, and, after a feeble resistance, permitted a provisional Junta to intrude into its place, and exercise its functions.* Those who secretly aspired to independence disguised their sentiments, and joined with the others in swearing fidelity to Ferdinand VII, and professing attachment to the mother country; till subsequent events gave strength to their party, and encouraged them, first to avow, and afterwards to effectuate their designs. Their reserve and dissimulation at the commencement of the insurrection, afford, however, the strongest proof, that when Caracas first rejected the authority of the Regency, the majority of its leaders were either sincere in their professions of adherence to the mother country, or afraid to declare their real intentions, because the people were not yet prepared to enter into their schemes.

It was not long, however, before the Regency furnished them with materials to exasperate the people against the mother country, if not with grounds to justify views of complete separation and absolute independence. Though the Central Junta had declared, that the transatlantic possessions of Spain had equal rights with its European provinces, the Regency continued to govern them on the footing of dependent colonies. An order was given, that no persons should be permitted to land in America, without a passport from the government at home, or from some of its agents abroad, as if the Americans were not fit to be trusted out of the pupillage in which they had been hitherto confined.

* April 19th, 1810.

confined. Viceroys, Captains-general, Judges, and other officers, were sent out to them from Spain, with such powers and instructions as the old government had been accustomed to transmit to its servants. Many of the persons entrusted with these commissions were of doubtful fidelity, and some of them had voluntarily taken an oath of allegiance to Joseph, and actually received from him the same appointments in the colonies which they afterwards obtained from the Regency of Cadiz. But the transaction, which made the deepest impression on the colonies, was the revocation of the decree in favour of their commerce. The remonstrances of Cuba had at length awakened the Regency from its torpor, and procured a decree, * permitting the colonies to trade with foreign nations in articles of their own production, for which they had no market at home. This decree was just, equitable, and necessary; but it was contrary to the interests, and offensive to the prejudices of the merchants of Cadiz; and, on that account, after an interval of five weeks, † it was recalled, and declared to have been a forgery and imposition on the public. No inquiry, however, was made into the origin, nor punishment inflicted on the authors of this pious fraud; and therefore no credit was given to the declaration, that it was spurious, and had been published without authority. No one could believe, that a forgery of this nature had been committed, with impunity, in the offices of government; or that a spurious decree, in name of the Regency, had been suffered to circulate for weeks, in the place of its residence, without challenge or contradiction. The second decree was therefore attributed to the influence of the Junta and merchants of Cadiz, who had extorted, from the weakness and necessities of the Regency, the denial of an act, which its members had not courage to vindicate, or justice to maintain. We may judge whether, after conduct so mean, so dastardly and so dishonest, any man of sense or spirit in America could respect a government, which had acted a part so timid, so shuffling, and so fraudulent.

While this impression was still fresh at Caracas, intelligence arrived, that all who adhered to the late revolutionary proceedings were proclaimed traitors, and that the ports of the colony were declared to be in a state of blockade, till it should acknowledge the Regency at Cadiz as the true and legitimate representation of Ferdinand VII. This measure, fruit of the imbecile haughtiness of the government and disappointed avarice of the merchants, would have been of doubtful policy, could it have been followed up by powerful fleets and numerous armies. But, instead

* May 17th, 1810. † June 27th, 1810.

instead of a Duke of Alva or Duke of Parma to enforce its orders, the Regency sent out a lawyer to wrangle with the colonists, and argue them into obedience. Mr Cortavarria, for so he was called, fixed his residence at Puerto Rico, and from that secure station commenced a regular fire of tedious proclamations against Caracas; to which Caracas replied with the same innocent weapons;—till at length, provoked with their obstinacy, and worsted in the argument, he fulminated against them a decree, * confirming the blockade ordered by the Regency six months before; † but with strict injunctions to his blockading squadron, where such could be found, not to molest English or Portuguese vessels upon the coast, though these were the only ships he could expect to meet with. A piratical war had already commenced, which cost the people of Caracas the loss of some fishing boats and miserable coasters, but was attended with no other consequence; and failed entirely in reducing the colony to submission.

Irritated by this petty warfare, and enraged at the contumelious epithets which the mother country and her partizans continued to lavish upon them, the leaders of Caracas executed at length a design, which they had early announced, of assembling a general congress of delegates from all the principal towns and districts which had espoused their cause. This congress met at Caracas on the 2d of March, 1811, and began with renewing the oath of fidelity to Ferdinand VII, and repeating the former declarations of attachment to the mother country. But a different spirit from that of the first insurgents had now arisen, and acquired an unhappy ascendancy in the colony. A refugee from America, whose lifetime has been spent in stirring up enemies to Spain, had been permitted, by the English government, to return to Caracas, and had there contrived to get himself elected member of congress by one of the most inconsiderable towns of the province. A patriotic club was got together, and a newspaper set on foot, with the imposing title of the 'Patriot of Venezuela;' having for its professed object to discredit and destroy the system of moderation on which the leaders of the insurrection had hitherto proceeded. These arts were as usual successful. On the 5th of July, 1811, the deputies who had so lately renewed their oaths to Ferdinand, abjured his authority, declared themselves absolved from all allegiance to the Crown of Spain, and constituted the provinces which they represented into free and independent states, with the title of United Provinces of Venezuela.

These violent changes have been followed by the consequences

* January 21st, 1811. † July 31st, 1810.

ces it was natural to expect from them. An antirevolutionary party has sprung up, and excited alarm even within the city of Caracas. The adherents of the mother country have, in their turn, been proscribed, and punished by the same summary justice, which, if the stronger party, they would have inflicted on their opponents. If the accounts we have received are correct, many persons have been arrested on suspicion, and thrown into prison; some banished, and not a few put to death; and, to strike greater terror into the disaffected, the heads of the sufferers have been fixed on poles at the gates of the city, as a warning to the unwary, not to question the legitimate authority exercised by the free and independent states of Venezuela.—Such are the happy auspices under which South American regeneration has commenced, and such the benefits of a leader experienced in revolutions! Valencia, a town of the interior, not far distant from Caracas, and inhabited by some of the oldest and most respectable Creole families of the province, had originally taken part with the insurgents, and sent deputies to their congress; but, on the declaration of independence, it fell off from their party; on which Miranda was sent against the unhappy town with a body of forces; and, by the last accounts, he has punished it most severely for its disobedience. Coro and Maracaybo, however, still hold out; and continue, as they have done from the beginning of the revolution, stedfast in the interest of the mother country.

The provinces in the south and the west have not been more fortunate or more pacific. On the first breaking out of the disturbances at Caracas, the Viceroy of Santa Fé de Bogota gave the strictest orders to cut off all communication between the provinces subject to his jurisdiction and those occupied by the insurgents. But the same grievances and the same fears, which had excited Caracas to rise against its government, existed in New Grenada. The rashness and violence of the Corregidor of Socorro, who made the troops under his command fire upon a mutinous, but unarmed populace, became the signal for insurrection. Attacked by an immense multitude from the neighbouring country, he was besieged in a convent to which he had retired for protection, and starved into surrendering. * Socorro immediately appointed its junta, and sent to the Audiencia of Santa Fé a vindication of its proceedings. The Viceroy, finding it in vain to oppose the general inclinations of the people, which had been strongly manifested in a tumult that occurred in the capital, but desirous to retain at least the semblance of authority, yielded to their wishes, and indulged them with a junta, of

* July 9. 1810.

of which, in return, he was declared president. He even succeeded in persuading them to recognise the Regency as the legitimate representatives of Ferdinand VII. in Europe; † but his influence was of short duration. The massacre, at Quito, of many of the principal Creoles of that city, by a body of troops in the service of the Viceroy of Lima, excited universal detestation throughout America, and increased all the former jealousies and apprehensions entertained of the officers and servants of the mother country. The Viceroy of Santa Fé was deprived of his authority; and from that time, the rich and extensive kingdom of New Grenada has followed the example, and trod, as nearly as possible, in the footsteps of Caracas. In spring of the present year, a general congress was held at Santa Fé de Bogota, which abjured the provisional governments of Spain, but acknowledged Ferdinand VII. as the lawful King and Sovereign of Cundinamarca; for such is the new appellation they have chosen for their country. An angry reply has appeared from Caracas, abusing them for adhering to Ferdinand, and declaring that Caracas will never submit to a kingly government, or adopt any form of civil policy, but one manufactured for its own use by its own representatives. How Cundinamarca has received this rebuke, has not yet appeared.

The insurgents of Buenos Ayres began with an appearance of moderation, which, unless we are greatly misinformed, was very far from corresponding with the real sentiments of their hearts. No part of America, it must be confessed, had greater provocations than Buenos Ayres, or stronger inducements to shake off the yoke of the mother country. Nowhere was the partiality of the government in favour of Europeans more exclusive, or less justifiable. Vagabonds from Old Spain, without education, merit or talents, were preferred in every department of the public service, to Creoles of the highest rank and consideration. No town of America is more commercial than Buenos Ayres, or depends more absolutely and directly on its trade. Its chief population consists of merchants; and its importance is derived entirely from its situation as the staple of the Rio Plata with Europe. The articles which it exports are of a perishable nature; and consequently every suspension of commerce is doubly injurious to it. No place had therefore suffered more severely from the rigid enforcement of the monopoly of the mother country, or from the heavy duties upon trade which the commissioners of the Central Junta had the folly to impose. Of these grievances, Buenos Ayres had made loud

† July 23. 1810.

loud complaints to the government of Spain; but no attention had been given to its remonstrances.

In the town of Buenos Ayres the revolution was accomplished without difficulty. * The Viceroy made no resistance to the people, and yielded his authority without a struggle. But in other parts of the viceroyalty a formidable opposition declared itself. Montevideo was induced, by the influence of the Spanish marine, to recognize the Regency of Cadiz. † Cordova, an inland town, about 500 miles from Buenos Ayres, became the seat of a counter-revolution under Liniers and other adherents of Spain. As it was from this quarter that the greatest danger was to be apprehended, the leaders of the revolution despatched a body of forces against Cordova. Doubtful of the fidelity of the people, the chiefs of the counter-revolution fled at the approach of the army of Buenos Ayres, ‡ and endeavoured to escape across the plains of Tucuman, and reach the frontiers of Peru. But they were pursued and taken; § and, without any form of process, barbarously murdered. Liniers, whose humanity to the English after the recapture of Buenos Ayres, entitles him to our regret, was deliberately shot through the head, some days after his surrender, by two of the opposite faction, on whom he had conferred the rank of officers for their services on that occasion. His popularity at Buenos Ayres was the true cause of this atrocious act. When the revolutionists found it impossible to gain him over to their party, they determined on his death, as the only effectual security against his opposition.

After the suppression of the counter-revolutionists at Cordova, the revolutionary army proceeded towards the Andez, to oppose a force which the Viceroy of Lima was making against them. An action took place at Suipacha, ‖ in which the insurgents were victorious; and, as the price of their victory, they obtained possession of Potosi, and of the greater part of the upper provinces. But the army of Peru rallied; and, in a subsequent action at Desaguadero, ** the troops of Buenos Ayres were totally defeated and dispersed. An insurrection at Arequipa, on the South Sea, is supposed to be the reason why the Peruvian forces have not pursued their advantage, and totally expelled them from the upper country.

Another detachment of the revolutionary army was sent into Paraguay to secure the Portuguese frontier, and to compel the indolent and unwilling inhabitants of that vast region to embrace

* May 25. 1810.
† June 6. 1810.
‡ August 2. 1810.
§ August 5. 1810.
‖ Nov. 7. 1810.
** June 10. 1811.

brace the cause of independence. This expedition had no enemies to encounter, nor difficulties to overcome, but what arose from the immensity of the regions they had to traverse, and from the passive averseness of the inhabitants to change the condition in which they were born.

A more formidable opposition was established at Montevideo. The party of the mother country, which was predominant in that place, had the superiority at sea, and could therefore interrupt at pleasure the navigation of the river. But the influence of the English kept both parties within bounds, till the arrival of Elio, * an officer of the marine, who was sent out to the Rio Plata with the commission of viceroy of the province. After trying in vain to persuade the Junta of Buenos Ayres to recognise his authority, Elio declared war against them, attacked their ships, destroyed their commerce, and threatened to bombard their town, and to call in a Portuguese army from Rio de Janeiro to punish their rebellion. The Junta, provoked by his hostilities, and alarmed at his secret intrigues in Buenos Ayres, ordered all Europeans into banishment, † who could not find security for their behaviour; and recalling their army from Paraguay, sent it against Montevideo. Elio, driven within the walls of that fortress, had recourse to the bombardment of Buenos Ayres, and renewed his threats of calling in the assistance of the Portuguese. An armistice has been since concluded; and, were Elio of a less violent character, this suspension of arms might possibly lead to a permanent accommodation.

In Chili, the authority of the mother country has been superseded by the aristocracy of the colony. The government has fallen, peaceably and without resistance, into the hands of the great Creole families, who seem hitherto to have used their power with temper and moderation.

Very different has been the fate of Mexico. In no part of Spanish America have the flames of civil discord raged with such destructive activity as in that kingdom. Nowhere has so much blood been spilt, or such irreparable mischief committed. Six months ago it was calculated, that more than 60,000 persons had already perished in the contest; and though the party of the mother country was then triumphant, the insurgents had been dispersed, but were not pacified. Numerous parties of *guerrillas* occupied the mountains and infested the high roads, so as to interrupt all internal commerce, and render the communication of one city with another insecure. Hatred and

* January 15. 1811. † March 23. 1811.

and discontent were as strong as ever. The rigorous punishments inflicted by the conqueror, though they terrified for the moment, increased the alienation of the vanquished. The disdainful refusal of all redress of grievances, as derogatory from the dignity of government, removed to a distance all hope of concord or conciliation.

Our information concerning this war is exceedingly defective. The revolutionary party have published no declarations to justify their insurrection, or explain their views; or, if they did, their manifestoes have not reached Europe. It appears, however, from a short account of the commencement of these troubles, published in that excellent but much calumniated periodical work, the *Espanol*, * that the arrest and deposal of the viceroy, Harrigaray, in 1808, had divided the Mexicans into two parties, exceedingly inflamed against each other; and that the favour shown by the Central Junta to those who arrested him, had converted the opposite party into determined enemies of the mother country. Nor were other causes of discontent wanting. The same faults were committed in New Spain as in other parts of America. The Creoles were first buoyed up with extravagant expectations, and then disappointed and disgusted. Every new viceroy and servant of government that arrived from Europe, brought with him a fresh importation of jobs. The measures taken for the benefit of the country were dictated by ignorance, or suggested by prejudice and malevolence. The reverses in Spain lessened the respect for the mother country, and inspired distrust of the wisdom or the honesty that directed her councils.

An extensive conspiracy had been formed, which was on the eve of breaking out, when a violent and mistaken exercise of authority at Queretaro occasioned it suddenly to explode. In an instant, more than half the kingdom of New Spain was in arms. The insurrection began at Dolores, † in the province of Guanaxuato, in the centre of the mining country, and spread with incredible velocity in every direction. The ringleaders were chiefly priests; but many lawyers and military officers joined with them; and, what was most alarming of all, some regiments of militia. Their forces rapidly increased to armies of 30 or 40,000 men, and more; and, so popular was their cause, that, after the severest defeats, they reassembled in a short time with undiminished numbers. At this critical moment, the viceroy Venegas arrived from Spain; and to the activity, firmness and energy, which he displayed on this occasion, his country is indebted for the preservation of Mexico.

The

* Vol. III. p. 19. † September 15th, 1810.

The insurgents having taken by assault the populous town of Guanaxuato, * in which they found immense booty, advanced to Valladolid, where they were received † with demonstrations of joy; and, gathering strength as they proceeded, they passed through Toluca, and entered the plain of Mexico ‡ with an army of more than 40,000 men. Hidalgo, Allende, and their other chiefs, had great expectations from the spirit of disaffection in the capital; but the prudence of Venegas disconcerted all their schemes. Their friends within the city were deterred from showing themselves, by the disposition which he made of his forces; and many were detached from their cause, by the sentence of excommunication which the Archbishop, at his instigation, fulminated against them. After waiting some hours, without daring to attack the troops, who remained in their entrenchments, they retired without attempting any thing; showing upon this, as upon other occasions, a miserable want of enterprise and deficiency of military skill. After their failure in this attempt, they were pursued by a succession of disasters. The judicious movements and well concerted attacks of Venegas baffled all their plans, and drove them from one end of the kingdom to the other. After innumerable defeats, the chiefs of the insurrection were at length surprised at Saltillo, § in endeavouring to make their escape into the internal provinces. Still, however, the country was not pacified. A month after the affair of Saltillo, a body of 12,000 insurgents were in arms in the neighbourhood of Queretaro, and were then defeated. ‖ Such, indeed, is the scantiness of our information with regard to this war, that it is only from the official accounts of victories, that we know of the progress or continuance of the insurrection.

The praise which Venegas has justly merited for his prudence and steadiness, in circumstances of great difficulty and alarm, we are concerned to add he has, in our opinion, forfeited, by the cruelty and severity of his punishments against the insurgents. In some places, we are told, he has decimated the inhabitants; and where he has spared the lives of his Indian prisoners, we have heard, that he has impressed upon them what they consider an indelible mark of ignominy, by depriving them of their ears. It is alleged, on the other side, that the insurgents had been equally cruel; and that, in many places, they had spared no European who fell into their hands. The charge of inhumanity is probably true on both sides. Civil wars are proverbially savage; and we have only to look back

* September 29th.
† October 20th.
‡ November 1st.
§ March 21st, 1811.
‖ April 20th, 1811.

to the situation of Ireland some few years ago, to be convinced how much they are aggravated, where the question lyes between the native-born inhabitants of a country, and those who claim a right from conquest, to hold them in subjection. The mutual hatred of Creole and European, has been nowhere so strongly exemplified as in the insurrection of Mexico; and the consequence of their fury has been, the ruin and desolation of the country. Plantations have been wantonly laid waste, houses plundered and burned, and the works of the mines ruined and destroyed. No class, indeed, of the community has suffered so severely from the war, as the proprietors of the mines. The insurrection broke out in the mining districts; and the two principal cities of the miners, Guanaxuato and Zacatecas, were for a long time in the hands of the rebels. But, whether they have been greatest sufferers, from the blind and inconsiderate fury of the insurgents, or from the fierce and unrelenting vengeance of the conqueror, it would be difficult to determine. We understand, that the mines are not only abandoned for the present, but, from the destruction of the miners, and ruin of the works, that it will be no easy matter to restore them to their former activity. In the mean time, what sums the government could spare, have been applied to the restoration of this important branch of national industry.

After this historical review, which we have endeavoured to make as concise as possible, consistent with our object of pointing out the nature, extent and causes of the present troubles in America, we shall, in a few words, state our reasons for thinking, that it is not for the interest of the Spanish colonies to declare themselves independent, or to separate entirely from the mother country, unless compelled to it by the unreasonable obstinacy of the government of Cadiz, or by the complete conquest of Spain by the arms of France.

In the first place, it is clear, that independence of the mother country is not to be attained at present by the colonies, without a civil war and all its consequences—such as the devastation and destruction of the country, the interruption of all peaceful industry, divisions and animosities among the inhabitants, military tyranny and usurpation, or, what is worse, subserviency to some foreign power, not less rapacious than Spain, and more jealous of her dependencies. The numbers of Europeans in America, who would resist so great a revolution, unless forced upon them by necessity; the power which they possess; the union that subsists among them; the influence they derive from property, from intermarriages and other connexions with Creole families; their activity and habits of business; the respect in

which they are held by the inferior casts, and by the Creoles themselves; and even the ideas of their own superiority, in which they have been accustomed to indulge; render them, though the smaller party, a formidable body, which ought not in prudence to be exasperated. Oppression may be so galling, and grievances so intolerable, as to overcome all these considerations; but an empty name is not worth the purchasing with present war and future discord.

In the second place, the sudden change from dependent colonies to sovereign states, is a transition too great and too abrupt to be unattended with danger. The Spanish colonies have never been entrusted with any part of their internal administration; and are therefore quite unpractised in the government of their affairs. A nation may be compelled by circumstances to pass at once from the custody of a master, to the free and absolute direction of its own concerns. But there will be less hazard in the change, if the steps that lead to it are gradual. Freedom, to be well enjoyed, must not be seized upon immaturely. The way to profit of conjunctures favourable to liberty, is not to do all that is possible at the moment, but to attempt no more than the necessities of the time require, and the state of public opinion warrants.

Lastly, the character and composition of society in America greatly increase the difficulty and augment the danger of a thorough revolution in its government. The property of the country is chiefly in the hands of Creoles and Europeans; while the majority of the population consists of Indians, Mulattoes, and Mestizoes. These casts are not more distinguished from one another by differences of physical constitution and appearance, than alienated by sentiments of mutual prejudice and aversion. The Court of Madrid, with that narrow policy which so long distinguished it, sought to preserve, rather than to extinguish, these differences; and with regret we observe, in the late proceedings of the Cortes, a disposition in some of its members to perpetuate them. * But, supposing the contrary system adopted, and the most effectual means employed for eradicating every cause of antipathy and discontent from the colonies, it must be a work of time to consolidate such mixed and discordant materials as compose the present population of America. In the mean while, will the pride of the Creole admit the Indian and Mulatto to a real equality with himself? Will the hatred and jealousy

* See the speech of Quintana, and the proposition of Arguelles, on the representation of the colonies in Cortes.

jealousy of the inferior casts suffer the political power of the state to become the exclusive patrimony of the Whites? On what foundations shall we raise the new political structures that are to adorn America? If property is made the sole basis of political power, how will the subordinate casts be reconciled to a system which will leave them, naked and unprotected, at the mercy of their old taskmasters and oppressors? If population is preferred, and mere numbers regulate the government, what security against the gross ignorance and blind fury of an uneducated multitude, invested with the whole political power of the state? So far from wishing to see America totally independent of the mother country, we are convinced that nothing is so essential to her welfare, as an authority respected by her inhabitants, because it does not emanate directly from themselves.

The dangers of discord and division, arising from the mixed population of America, are greatly aggravated by the discussions in which the revolutionists have imprudently indulged, in support and vindication of their independence. Will it be believed, that among the charges against the mother country by Caracas, her advocates have urged the excesses committed by the Weltzers in the 16th century? If such old accounts are still open, what a reckoning have the Creoles to settle with the posterity of Atahualpa and Guatimozin? The revolutionists justify their resistance to the mother country, by appealing to the natural right of freemen to chuse their government. We shall not enter into a discussion with them about the limits or application of that principle, but merely ask them, whether, after insisting on such arguments, they mean to accommodate their practice to their theory. If they should have recourse to artifice or chicane for the purpose of excluding their sable or copper-coloured brethren from an equal participation of political power, do they suppose that, fresh from these lessons of natural right, the degraded casts will submit quietly to the disfranchisement? And, superior as these are in numerical population, if admitted to a political equality with the whites, will they not in effect be their masters? That the practice and theory of the revolutionists may be found at variance, when they come to settle their governments, is a supposition not altogether gratuitous, but probable from many parts of their conduct. Principles urged with the greatest confidence against the mother country, appear to them to have lost their virtue, when directed against themselves. The first Junta of Buenos Ayres exclaimed against the Regency of Cadiz as an illegitimate and usurped authority, but endeavoured by trick and delay to prolong its own dominion over the distant towns of the Rio Plata.

If the principles of natural right make it lawful for the people of Caracas to separate from Spain, why have not the people of Valencia an equal right to separate from Caracas? What right has Caracas to form a constitution for herself, that does not equally belong to Coro and Maracaybo? Such, however, is the inconsistency of human conduct, that the leaders of Caracas who plead their natural rights against Spain, have punished the Valencians as rebels, and are collecting and equipping armies to reduce Coro and Maracaybo to subscribe to their confederation.

The eager friends of American independence will accuse us of partiality to the mother country in these remarks. We fear the politicians of Cadiz will be still more offended with us for the observations that are to follow.

Anxiously, then, as we desire that the connexion between Spain and her American dominions should not be dissolved, while Spain maintains her struggle for independence, we are so thoroughly convinced, that America is entitled to a full and complete redress of her grievances, that if the mother country obstinately refuses to comply with her just petitions, we think the colonists ought to persevere in their insurrection, and obtain by force that redress for the past, and security for the future, which pride and avarice withhold from them. That independence will be the natural result of such a conflict, if successful on the part of the colonists, we too plainly see; and it is for that reason we entreat those who have authority in Spain, while it is yet time, to stop the progress of war, by just concessions to their subjects.

These concessions, however, if they are meant to be a suitable offering to America, must neither be few nor inconsiderable. In the first place, her government must be placed in such hands, that whatever may be the fate of Spain, the independence of America will be secure. The majority of persons in the service of the state, in the army, in the law, in the church, in the collection of revenue and other subordinate departments of government, must be native Americans, or Europeans long settled in the country, who have an interest in its safety and welfare equal to that of its native inhabitants. In the second place, the commerce of America must be free. The Americans must have a right to trade directly with all countries in amity with the crown of Spain, paying such duties as their own provincial assemblies, and not the Cortes at Cadiz, shall impose. Protecting duties may be necessary in some parts of America for her own manufactures; but these will vary in their nature and amount, according to the circumstances of the different provinces, of which none can judge

so well as their local legislatures. It moves our indignation to hear the hypocritical lamentations of the merchants of Cadiz over the ruined manufactures of America,—compassion for whom, they would persuade us, is their chief reason for withholding freedom of trade from the colonies. We hardly dare ask ourselves, whether these are the same persons who used to procure orders from Madrid to root out the vines and burn the looms of America, lest they should interfere with the lucrative commerce of the mother country. In the third place, the malversations and corruptions of the courts of law, and the abuses and excesses of the executive branches of administration, must be corrected and punished in America, by tribunals independent of the Crown. In the fourth place, America must impose her own taxes; grant and appropriate her own revenue; receive an account of its expenditure from the servants of the Crown; and increase or diminish its amount at the discretion of her representatives.

To carry this system of conciliation into effect, there must be provincial legislatures in America, invested with the sole power of imposing taxes; and, with the consent of the Crown, of making laws. These assemblies will be chosen by the people, but summoned by the King. Annual taxes and an annual meeting bill will secure their regular convocation. A representation, founded on property, will not exclude the inferior casts from political power and consideration, and yet leave, in fact, to the whites, where it can best be lodged, a preponderance in the Legislature; while the authority and influence of the Crown will secure to the Indians and Mulattoes, a protection and defence against oppression. The visionary and impracticable scheme of representing America in the Cortes of Spain must be abandoned, and with it all pretensions to legislative authority, in the mother country, over her colonies. The Crown will, in that case, be the sole bond of political union between Spain and America; and in return for so many sacrifices from the mother country,—America must consent, that, till the exercise of the royal authority shall be restored in the person of the monarch, the executive power established in the peninsula shall be recognised in the colonies. The connexion of Spain with America will be the same with that of Great Britain and Ireland, before the Union,—supposing a law to have been passed in Ireland, as was once proposed, that whoever was Regent of Great Britain should, *ipso facto*, be Regent of Ireland. Such a connexion is, perhaps, not the most desireable form of government for either party; but, in the present circumstances of both, it is preferable to a complete separation and civil war. Let the ex-

periment be tried in Mexico, Peru and Goatemala, where the mother country still retains her authority, though it rests on slippery and precarious foundations. Let the same conditions be offered to the insurgent provinces; and if they refuse such reasonable terms of accommodation, let war be made upon them: but, in the mean time, let Spain reserve her troops in Gallicia for a different enemy. To pursue the subject farther, would be to abuse the patience of our readers. We shall therefore proceed, without more delay, to the analysis of Mr Humboldt's work.

Of the three first books, we have given an account in a former Number. The fourth is dedicated to the Agriculture of New Spain, and to its Mines.

The backwardness of agriculture in Spanish America has been usually attributed to its mines of gold and silver. This error Mr Humboldt successfully refutes. He admits, that in some districts, as in Choco and other parts of New Grenada, the people leave their fields uncultivated, while they mispend their time in searching for gold dust in the beds of rivers. It is also true, that in Cuba, Caracas, and Goatemala, where there are no mines, many highly cultivated tracts of country are to be found. But, on the other hand, the agriculture of Peru is not inferior to that of Cumana or Guayana; and, in Mexico, the best cultivated district is the territory extending from Salamanca to Guanaxuato and Leon, in the midst of the most productive mines of the world. So far from mining being prejudicial to agriculture, no sooner is a mine discovered and wrought, than cultivation is seen in its neighbourhood. Towns and villages are built. Provisions are wanted for the workmen, and subsistence for the cattle employed in the mine. Whatever the surrounding country can be made to produce, is raised from it in abundance. A flourishing agriculture is established, which not unfrequently survives the prosperity of the mines, to which it was indebted for its origin. The husbandman remains and cultivates his fields, after the miner, who had at first set him to work, is gone to another district, in search of a more abundant or less exhausted vein. The Indians, in particular, who prefer a mountainous situation to living in the plains, seldom quit the farms they have established, though the mines are abandoned, which were, perhaps, their original inducement for settling there. Indian villages and farms are continually found in the valleys, and amidst the precipices of the highest mountains. In the same manner, the agriculture of Lombardy and Flanders continues to flourish, though the manufacturing industry of these countries has been long extinguished.

In his account of the agriculture of New Spain, Mr Humboldt

boldt enters into many curious and interesting details concerning the origin, natural history, and cultivation of the different vegetable productions of that kingdom, in which our limits will not permit us to follow him. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to a few extracts from this part of his work.

Of all the vegetable productions cultivated for the use of man, there is none which affords so much food from the same quantity of land, as the Plantain or Banana tree. A field of 100 square *metres* in plantain trees affords 4000 lib. weight of food; —the same field in wheat will produce about 30 lib.—and in potatoes 90 lib. The quantity of food from the plantain tree is, therefore, to the quantity of food from wheat as 133 to 1;—and to the quantity from potatoes as 44 to 1. The quantities of nourishment, it must be owned, are not proportioned to the weights; for the fruit of the plantain tree contains a greater portion of mucilaginous juice than the seeds of the Cerealia. An *arpent*, covered with plantain trees, will maintain 50 persons;—the same quantity of ground sown with wheat will not support two individuals. The plantain tree does not thrive where the medium temperature is below 24° (Centign. Therm., or 75°.2 F.); but there are 50,000 square leagues of the Mexican territory in that situation. The fruit of the plantain tree is farinaceous, but contains a small portion of vegetable gluten, and a great quantity of saccharine matter. Mr Humboldt remarks, that, in all tropical countries, saccharine matter is considered to be eminently nutritious.

The same country that affords the plantain tree, produces the Cassava root. The farina of the cassava root, called *manioc*, is made into bread; which the natives, to distinguish it from the bread of maize, call *pan de tierra caliente*. The flour of manioc has this inestimable advantage, that, when dried and toasted, it is secure from the depredations of worms and other insects. It contains, besides farinaceous fecula, a saccharine matter, and a viscous substance resembling caoutchouc. The cassava root is not cultivated in New Spain at a greater height than 600 or 800 metres above the level of the sea. Its poisonous juice becomes harmless by boiling, and separating the scum that rises to the top; and is then used by the natives for seasoning their food. The original inhabitants of Haité, after the conquest of their country by the Spaniards, used to poison themselves with this juice, and for that purpose assembled in parties of fifty or more to take it together.

Maize is the chief food of the inhabitants of New Spain. It is cultivated, from the coast, to the height of 2800 metres above the sea. In very fertile lands, and in very good years, it gives

a return of 800 for 1;—but the average return for the intra-tropical part of the country is not more than 150 for 1;—and in New California, it is from 70 to 80. In very hot and moist districts, two or three crops are obtained in the year;—but, in most parts of the country, only one is taken. No crop is more uncertain than maize; and as it is seldom equally good in every part of the kingdom, the transport of maize comes to be the principal branch of internal commerce. A general failure of the crop is followed by scarcity, or even famine. Its price varies from 2½ livres to 25 livres the fanega;* and when it exceeds 10 livres for a length of time, the common people are forced to use other and less wholesome nourishment. The annual produce of New Spain in maize is estimated at 17 millions of fanegas annually. It may be preserved for three years at Mexico; and in colder climates for six years or seven. The Indians prepare a fermented liquor from maize; and, before the arrival of the Spaniards, they extracted sugar from its stalks.

It appears, that a species of wheat and a species of barley were cultivated in Chili before the arrival of the Spaniards;—but none of the Cerealia of the old Continent were known in America when it was first discovered. The Cerealia are not cultivated in the intra-tropical part of Mexico at a lower elevation than 800 or 900 metres above the level of the sea, and in very small quantity at a less height than 1200 or 1300.—At a greater elevation than 3500 or 4000 metres, neither wheat nor rye come to maturity, though the medium temperature of these regions is higher than in parts of Siberia and Norway, where both plants are cultivated with success. But then, the heat in the latter countries is very great for a month or six weeks in the middle of summer; while, in the former, the thermometer never rises for a whole day above 10° or 12° (50° or 52°.6 F.) The Mexican wheat is of excellent quality; and the medium return throughout the kingdom is from 22 to 25 for 1. In some places, it gives from 30 to 40 for 1;—and, in New California, only 17 or 18. Much wheat is exported from Vera Cruz to Cuba. Barley and rye thrive very well in New Spain;—oats are very little cultivated. The potatoe is a great object of culture in the high and cold parts of the country. Rice is but little attended to, though well adapted for the marshy lands on the coast.

The Spanish government has always discouraged in its colonies the cultivation of the vine, the olive, the mulberry tree, and the plants producing hemp and flax. While Humboldt was in New Spain, an order came from Madrid to grub up all the stocks of

* The Spanish fanega is equal to 1.52, or about 1½ English bushels.

of vines in the northern part of the kingdom, where they had been cultivated with so much success as to give alarm to the merchants of Cadiz, by the diminished consumption of wine from the mother country. There is but one olive plantation in New Spain, and that belongs to the Archbishop of Mexico. Tobacco is another branch of culture, which has been in a great measure sacrificed to political considerations. Since 1764, when the royal monopoly was established, no tobacco can be planted, except in particular districts, and none can be sold, except to the King's officers. Parties of soldiers are employed to go about the country in search of tobacco fields; and where they find one on forbidden ground, they impose a fine on the owner, and direct the plantation to be destroyed. This odious and vexatious monopoly produces to the King of Spain, in Mexico alone, a clear revenue of more than 20 millions of livres annually.

In one of our former Numbers, * an account was given of the Pita, or American aloe, and of the Pulque, or fermented liquor prepared from its sap. Pulque is the favourite drink of all the nations that speak the Aztetic tongue. It tastes like cider, but has an offensive smell of meat in a state of putrefaction. The ardent spirit distilled from it is strictly prohibited by law, lest it should interfere with the sale of Spanish brandy; but great quantities of it are clandestinely made. The pita also furnishes thread; and the ancient Mexicans prepared from it a sort of paper. Next to the maize and potatoe, Mr Humboldt considers it the most useful production bestowed by nature on the mountainous countries of America, situated within the tropics.

Of sugar, Vera Cruz exports annually more than half a million of arrobas; † and Mr Humboldt estimates the consumption of that article in New Spain at more than twice as much. Cuba, as he informs us, exported in 1803, 2,576,000 arrobas of sugar, and used for her internal consumption 440,000 more. We have seen a statement of the export of sugar from the Havana, from 1801 to 1810 inclusive, by which it appears, that the average for the last ten years has been 2,850,000 arrobas, or about 644,000 cwt. a year. Cotton, indigo, coffee and cacao, are not cultivated to any extent in New Spain; though the Mexicans, like all other Spaniards, are great consumers of chocolate. Mr Humboldt was at pains to ascertain the quantity of cacao exported annually from the Spanish settlements; and, taking the average of four years, from 1799 to 1803, he found it as follows:—From Venezuela and Maracaybo,

* No. 31. Art. 10.

† The Arroba is equal to 25.3475 lib. avoirdupois.

caybo, 145,000 fanegas; from Cumana, 18,000; from New Barcelona, 5000; and from Guayaquil, 600,000; total, 228,000: But in this calculation he omits the cacao of Goatemala, which is the most esteemed of all. The whole of the Vanilla consumed in Europe, comes from the provinces of Oaxaca and Vera Cruz in New Spain. Mr Humboldt gives a minute account of the cultivation of this plant, which had not been formerly described. Great care and nicety are required in drying it. The demand for it is less than we should have expected. The quantity annually prepared for use, does not much exceed 900,000 pods, the value of which, at Vera Cruz, is from 30,000 to 40,000 dollars. Cochineal is another article of commerce, which till lately was the sole production of New Spain. According to Mr Humboldt's information, the province of Oaxaca furnishes, annually, 32,000 arrobas of cochineal, which, at seventy-five dollars, are worth 2,400,000 dollars.

The whole of the annual produce of the agriculture of New Spain, is valued by Mr Humboldt at twenty-nine millions of dollars; and as this calculation is founded on accurate returns of the amount of the tithes, and has been revised and corrected by a very intelligent body, the municipality of Valladolid, it may be considered as a near approximation to the truth. The value of the precious metals, annually extracted from the mines of the same kingdom, may be estimated at about twenty-two millions of dollars; and consequently, the wealth which New Spain derives from agriculture, exceeds the wealth which it derives from the extraction of the precious metals in the proportion of 29 to 22, or nearly in that of 4 to 3.

The obstacles to the improvement of Agriculture, are partly derived from nature, and partly from positive institution. Of the first class, the principal is the excessive dryness of the climate, and want of moisture in the ground. This evil has been increased since the arrival of the Spaniards, who have cut down the forests in the interior of the country, and have thereby exposed the soil to the stronger action of the rays of the sun, which in that attenuated atmosphere, possess an extraordinary power of evaporation, as Mr Humboldt ascertained by experiments. The dry season, on the table land of Mexico, lasts from the beginning of October to the end of May, without any interruption from showers. Towards the end of that period the verdure of the fields disappears, and the crops, particularly those of wheat, begin to suffer; and if the rains are delayed much beyond their usual time, nothing can save them but artificial irrigation, where that is practicable. Plantations of trees,

trees, and a general system of irrigation, are the remedies for this evil.

The obstacles from positive institution, are chiefly the vast accumulations of landed property in the hands of a few persons, held under all the strictness of Spanish entails, and the extensive tracts of country possessed in common, and therefore ill-cultivated and neglected. The church lands are inconsiderable in extent, the fee simple of them not being valued at more than two or three millions of dollars. But in addition to the landed estate of the clergy, ecclesiastical bodies have mortgages on land to the amout of 44½ millions of dollars, for which the proprietors of the land pay them an annual interest. In 1804, the greedy and necessitous Court of Madrid, hearing of this immense capital belonging to the church, ordained the whole of it to be seized upon for the benefit of the State, and directed its court of Exchequer at Mexico, to exact payment, not as heretofore of the interest, but of the principal itself, and to remit it by the first opportunity to the mother country, to be there paid into the sinking fund established for the extinction of the *vales* or paper money, with which the kingdom was then inundated. The execution of this order, which must have ruined the greater part of the landed proprietors of New Spain, by withdrawing from them so large a portion of their capital, was attempted by the Mexican exchequer, but with so little success, that, in June 1806, they had not received payment of more than 1,200,000 dollars of the sum demanded.

The wages of labour in New Spain are 2½ reals de plata a day, on the coast, and 2 reals de plata, or ¼ dollar, on the table land. The average price of maize on the table land, where it is the principal food of the people, is estimated by Mr Humboldt at 5 livres the fanega. The fanega is somewhat more than 1½ bushel; and consequently a labourer, on the table land of Mexico, earns about 1⅔ pecks of Indian corn a day. The ordinary price paid for wheat upon the farm, in New Spain, is about 4 or 5 dollars the *carga*, or load, which weighs 150 kilograms; but the expense of carriage raises it, in the city of Mexico, to 9 or 10 dollars; the extreme prices being 8 and 15. The ordinary price of 150 kilograms of wheat at Paris, according to Mr Humboldt, is 30 francs, or 5½ dollars. Wheat is therefore nearly twice as dear in the city of Mexico, as it is at Paris. But, on the other hand, it must be considered, that wheat is not so much an article of the first necessity in New Spain as it is in France. According to Mr Humboldt, not more than 1,300,000 persons in the kingdom of Mexico use wheat habitually as an article of subsistence. There is, to be sure, a greater proportion

tion of wheat eaters in the city of Mexico than in any other part of the kingdom; but one half of its population, and that the poorer part, consists of Indians and of mixed casts.

The chapter on the Mines, which follows that on Agriculture, gives a more comprehensive view, and contains more minute and circumstantial details concerning the mines, than any work that has yet been published on the subject. Our readers will not expect from us a complete analysis of this part of Mr Humboldt's book. We must be contented with extracting some of the results; leaving those who have curiosity to acquire information on this important subject, to examine the original work.

It will surprise the generality of our readers, to be told that the silver mines of New Spain, the most productive of any that have been ever known, are remarkable for the poverty of the mineral they contain. A quintal, or 1600 ounces of silver ore, affords, at a medium, not more than 3 or 4 ounces of pure silver. The same quantity of mineral, in the silver mines of Marienberg, in Saxony, yields from 10 to 15 ounces. It is not, therefore, the richness of the ore, but its abundance, and the facility of working it, which render the mines of New Spain so much superior to those of Europe.

The fact of the small number of persons employed in the labour of the mines, is not less contrary to the commonly received opinions on this subject. The mines of Guanaxuato, infinitely richer than those of Potosi ever were, afforded, from 1796 to 1803, near forty millions of dollars in gold and silver, or very near five millions of dollars annually; that is, somewhat less than one fourth of the whole qnantity of gold and silver from New Spain; yet these mines, productive as they were, did not employ more than 5000 workmen of every description. The labour of the mines is perfectly free in Mexico; and no species of labour is so well paid. A miner earns from 25 to 30 francs a week; that is, from 5 to 5½ dollars; while the wages of the common labourer, as we have already stated, are not more than a dollar and a half. The tenateros, or persons who carry the ore on their backs from the place where it is dug out of the mine, to the place where it is collected in heaps, receive 6 francs for a day's work of six hours. No slaves, criminals, or forced labourers, are ever employed in the Mexican mines.

Mr Humboldt, who is well acquainted with the mines of Germany, points out many defects and imperfections in those of New Spain. One of the most obvious is the clumsy, imperfect, and expensive mode of clearing them from water; in consequence of which, some of the richest mines have been overflowed and abandoned. Another great defect, is the want of arrangement

rangement in the disposition of the galleries, and absence of lateral communications, which add to the uncertainty, and increase prodigiously the expense of working the mines. No plan of the galleries is formed, and no contrivances used for abridging labour, and facilitating the transport of materials. When new works are undertaken, they are often begun without due consideration, and always conducted on a scale too large and too expensive.

More than three fourths of the silver obtained from America is extracted from the ore by means of quicksilver. The loss of quicksilver in this operation is immense. The quantity consumed in New Spain alone is about 16,000 quintals a year; and in the whole of America, about 25,000 quintals are annually expended, the cost of which, in the colonies, Mr Humboldt estimates at 6,200,000 livres. The greater part of this quicksilver has been furnished of late years by the mine of Almaden in Spain, and the residue was obtained from Istria in Carniola. In 1802, Almaden alone supplied more than 20,000 quintals. Huencavelica in Peru, which in the sixteenth century afforded for some years more than 10,000 quintals of quicksilver a year, does not yield at present quite 4000. Such being the case, it comes to be a question of infinite importance to America, how its mines are to be provided with quicksilver, if the supply from Spain and Germany should be cut off. Humboldt seems to be of opinion, that there are mines of cinnabar in America sufficient for the purpose. He enumerates several in New Spain and New Grenada, as well as in Peru; but, till they are worked or examined with greater care than they have been hitherto, it is impossible to judge what quantity of mercury they are capable of yielding. It is the supply of mercury that determines the productiveness of the silver mines; for such is the abundance of the ore, both in Mexico and Peru, that the only limit to the quantity of silver obtained from those kingdoms, is the want of mercury for amalgamation. The sale of quicksilver in the Spanish colonies has been hitherto a royal monopoly; and the distribution of it among the miners a source of influence, and possibly of profit, to the servants of the Crown. Galvez, to whom America is indebted for the system of free trade, reduced the price of quicksilver from 82 to 41 dollars the quintal, and thereby contributed most essentially to the subsequent prosperity and increase of the mines.

After concluding his account of the mines of New Spain, Mr Humboldt gives a general view of the mineral riches of the other provinces of America. In Peru, silver ore exists in as great abundance as in Mexico. The mines of Lauricocha might be made

made as productive as those of Guanaxuato. But the art of mining, and the methods of separating the silver from its ore, are still more defective in Peru than they are in New Spain. Potosi is the principal mine in the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres. Chili furnishes a small quantity of silver, and a large portion of gold. New Grenada and Brazil afford gold only.

The following table of the annual produce of the Spanish mines is calculated from the amount of the royal duties, and is therefore considerably under the truth. The gold is valued at 145 $\frac{82}{100}$ dollars, and the silver at 9 $\frac{4}{10}$ dollars the Spanish mark.

Names of the Provinces.	Pure Gold. Spanish Marks.	Pure Silver. Spanish Marks.	Value of both in Dollars.
New Spain	7,000	2,250,000	22,170,740
Peru	3,400	513,000	5,317,988
Chili	10,000	29,700	1,737,380
Buenos Ayres	2,200	414,000	4,212,404
New Grenada	18,000	very little	2,624,760
Total	40,600	3,206,700	36,063,272

To this sum Mr Humboldt adds above three millions of dollars for contraband, and somewhat less than four and a half millions for the gold of Brazil. We have no means of judging how far he is correct in the allowance which he makes for contraband. But we strongly suspect, that his estimate of the quantity of gold from Brazil (taken from the work of Correa de Serra), is greatly exaggerated. Instead of 29,900 Spanish marks of gold, the quantity which he assigns to that colony, we know, from undoubted authority, that, sixteen years ago, Brazil did not furnish 20,000 marks annually; and that, for many years preceding, the supply from it had been diminishing every year. With this remark, we lay before our readers Mr Humboldt's table.

Names of the Provinces.	Pure Gold. Spanish Marks.	Pure Silver. Spanish Marks.	Value of both in Dollars.
New Spain	7,000	2,338,220	23,000,000
Peru	3,400	611,090	6,240,000
Chili	12,212	29,700	2,060,000
Buenos Ayres	2,200	481,830	4,850,000
New Grenada	20,505	—	2,990,000
Brazil	29,900	—	4,360,000
Total	75,217	3,460, 840	43,500,000

According

According to this table, the quantity of gold annually furnished by America, is, to the quantity of silver annually furnished by the same, as 1 to 46; and the total amount of both, in English money, (valuing the dollar at 4*s.* 4½d.), is 9,515,625*l.*

Mr Humboldt proceeds next to inquire what has been the total quantity of the precious metals obtained from America since the first discovery of that continent: And, after a long discussion of the different opinions and conjectures on the subject, he concludes, that, from 1492 to 1803, the quantity of gold and silver extracted from the American mines has been equal in value to 5,706,700,000 dollars. Of this immense sum, he estimates the portion brought into Europe, including the booty made by the conquerors of America, at 5,445,000,000 dollars, which gives an average of 17½ millions a year. But this importation is far from having been constant or uniform, though, on the whole, it has been always progressive. The following table shows the amount of it at different periods, according to the inquiries and conclusions of Mr Humboldt.

	Periods.	*Annual Importation in Dollars.*
1.	From 1492 to 1500	250,000
2.	— 1500 to 1545	3,000,000
3.	— 1545 to 1600	11,000,000
4.	— 1600 to 1700	16,000,000
5.	— 1700 to 1750	22,500,000
6.	— 1750 to 1803	35,300,000

The first period was that of exchange with the natives, or of mere rapine. The second was distinguished by the conquest and plunder of Mexico, Peru and New Grenada, and by the opening of the first mines. The third began with the discovery of the rich mines of Potosi; and in the course of it the conquest of Chili was completed, and various mines opened in New Spain. It was during this period that the great rise of prices, in consequence of the discovery of America, took place throughout Europe; and it is worth remarking, that this effect of the great introduction of gold and silver from America, was felt in the little island of Majorca about the same time that it was experienced in England, that is, about 1575. At the commencement of the fourth period, the mines of Potosi began to be exhausted; but those of Lauricocha were discovered, and the produce of New Spain rose from two millions to five millions of dollars annually: The fifth period begins with the discovery of gold in Brazil: And the sixth is distinguished by the prodigious increase of the mines of New Spain, while those of every other part of America, except Brazil, have also been improving. The average of the last period would have been much higher, if Mr Humboldt, instead of taking the middle of the century,

had chosen for its commencement the year 1772, when the great increase first took place in the mines of New Spain. Of this, we may be convinced by the mere inspection of his own tables;* from which it appears, that the average of the annual produce of the mines of New Spain, from 1750 to 1799, was 16,566,909 dollars; while the average produce of the same, from 1771 to 1803, was 19,688,940. Mr Humboldt starts the question,† whether, in consequence of the great introduction of the precious metals into Europe during the last forty years, there has been any fall in their value? and decides it in the negative. We confess, we incline to the opposite opinion. The rise of price in articles of the first necessity, which we believe is general throughout Europe, seems to us to argue a general depreciation in the value of the precious metals, similar to what took place in the middle of the sixteenth century, and, as we apprehend, arising from the same cause. This depreciation, however, if it exists, is quite distinct from the peculiar depreciation of this country, arising from the local excess of a paper currency, not convertible into specie, nor exchangeable at its true value.

In his fifth book, Mr Humboldt treats of the Manufactures and Commerce of New Spain.

Spain has been less rigorous than other states of modern Europe in the prohibition of manufacturing industry in her colonies. The great extent and populousness of her foreign possessions, the remoteness of her principal settlements from the coast, the difficulty of transporting bulky commodities in the interior of America, the want of industry and commercial enterprise in her subjects at home, the exclusive attention of her government to the acquisition of the precious metals, and its indifference and ignorant contempt for other sources of opulence, have all contributed to produce this difference in her colonial policy. It may be thought, that as she was the only power in Europe which derived a direct revenue from her colonies, that consideration determined her to relax from the usual strictness of colonial discipline. For it seems but fair, that where a colony is taxed for the benefit of the mother country, its commerce and internal industry should at least be free. But no such views of justice or liberal policy actuated the Court of Madrid in this instance. In all that related to the commerce or navigation of her foreign possessions, Spain was equally jealous with other nations: and though her laws recognised the existence of many branches of manufacturing industry in her colonies, her government was ever ready to sacrifice those

* P. 580 & 581. † P. 662.

those to the real or supposed interests of the mother country. About sixty years ago, an extensive plan for the establishment of European manufactures at Quito was proposed to the Spanish ministry, and undertaken with their consent and apparent approbation, but was defeated by secret instructions given to their agents in America; and very lately a flourishing manufacture of Indian chintz, in Mexico, was prohibited by an order from Madrid, lest it should interfere with the cotton manufactures of the peninsula.

The chief manufactures of New Spain are woollens, cottons, gold and silver lace, hats, leather, soap and earthenware; but the total value of the goods which they produced, when Mr Humboldt was in the country, did not exceed seven or eight millions of dollars annually. Some manufactures of silk have been introduced since that time; and in general all the manufactures, the finer sorts especially, have increased considerably in consequence of the war with England and interruption of foreign commerce. Tobacco and gunpowder are royal manufactures and monopolies; and the former brings in to the crown a clear revenue of four millions of dollars annually. The Mexican tradesmen are remarkably skilful in works of plate and jewellery; and, like some of the Eastern nations, they have a singular turn for imitation. Very good carriages are made at Mexico, though the best coaches come from England.

There are carriage roads from Mexico to most of the principal towns of the kingdom. But the transport of commodities is chiefly effected, as in the mother country, on the backs of mules. The new road from Perote to Vera Cruz is compared by Humboldt to the roads of Simplon and Mont Cenis; and appears from his description to be equally solid, useful and magnificent.

In time of war, the indigo of Goatemala, the cacao of Guayaquil, and even the copper of Chili, pass through New Spain in their way to Europe. But during peace, there is little commercial intercourse between the coasts of Mexico and Goatemala and those of South America, on account of the slowness and uncertainty of the navigation to the southward. From Acapulco to Lima, the passage is sometimes longer than from Lima to Cadiz. Mexico and Peru, though at no great distance, are therefore incapable of maintaining any considerable commerce with each other. The chief trade of Acapulco continues still to be its commerce with Manilla. The Manilla ship arrives once a year at Acapulco, with a cargo of Indian goods valued at 12 or 1300,000 dollars, and carries back silver in exchange, with a very small quantity of American produce, and some European goods.

The commerce of New Spain with the mother country is carried on almost entirely through Vera Cruz. In time of peace, Mr Humboldt estimates the annual value of the exports, in that commerce, at twenty-two millions of dollars, and the annual value of the imports at fifteen millions. The following is his statement of the chief particulars.

EXPORTS.	*Dollars.*
Gold and silver, in coin, bullion and plate	17,000,000
Cochineal	2,400,000
Sugar	1,300,000
Flour	300,000
Indigo, being the produce of New Spain	280,000
Salt meat and other provisions	100,000
Tanned hides	80,000
Sarsaparilla	90,000
Vanilla	60,000
Jalap	60,000
Soap	50,000
Logwood	40,000
Pimiento	30,000
	21,790,000

IMPORTS.	
Bale goods, including woollens, cottons, linens & silks	9,200,000
Paper	1,000,000
Brandy	1,000,000
Cacao	1,000,000
Quicksilver	650,000
Iron, manufactured and unmanufactured	600,000
Steel	200,000
Wine	700,000
Bees wax	300,000
	14,600,000

This statement, however, must be considered as a mere approximation by Mr Humboldt, founded on the average of several years of peace,—and, therefore, more applicable to the period antecedent to 1796, when the war with England broke out, than to the present times. Whoever wish for more exact details must look to his work, p. 699–708, where they will find the accounts of the commerce of Vera Cruz, in 1802 and 1803, published by the *Consulado* of that place. It is necessary further to observe, that Mr Humboldt does not include, in this estimate, the contraband trade on the coast of New Spain; and that he has also omitted the indigo of Goatemala, and cacao of Guayaquil,

aquil, though exported at Vera Cruz; because these articles are not the produce of that kingdom.

The beneficial effects of the system of free trade, to which we have so frequently alluded, * have been experienced to a greater extent in Mexico than in any other part of Spanish America—Cuba, perhaps, excepted. This will appear evident, from a comparison of the export of produce from New Spain at different periods. The last flota, under the old system, sailed from Vera Cruz in 1778, and exported the produce of the four preceding years, which amounted in value to . *Dollars.* 2,470,022

The exports of produce in 1787–90, the four first years after the new system was completely established, were valued at..... 11,394,664

Difference of the four years..... 8,924,642

Export of produce in { 1802..... 9,188,212 / 1803..... 5,128,283

The export of 1802 is not, perhaps, a fair subject of comparison, as *that* was the first year of peace after the termination of a long war, in which the direct commerce with the mother country had been in a great measure suspended. But the same objection does not apply to 1803, the export of which was more than double that of four years under the old system, and nearly equal to the exports of two years immediately after the introduction of the free trade.

After considering the commerce of New Spain in all its branches, contraband included, Mr Humboldt gives the following estimate of its total amount.

		Dollars.
Annual importation of foreign goods.....		20,000,000
——— exportation of produce.....		6,000,000
Balance to be discharged in money.....		14,000,000
Annual produce of the mines.....		23,000,000
Export of money on account of the crown, and of private individuals residing in Spain.....	8,000,000	
Export to discharge the balance of trade.....	14,000,000	
Money added to the circulation of the colony.....	1,000,000	
		23,000,000

* No. 18. Art. 12. and No. 31. Art. 4.

We shall conclude our extracts from this part of Mr Humboldt's book with the following summary of the commerce and population of the Spanish colonies in America, taking the former without alteration from his work, but making such changes in the latter as appear to us advisable.

Colonies.	*Population.*	*Imports.* Dollars.	*Exports.* Produce. Dollars.	Specie. Dollars.
Cuba . . .	432,000 in 1804 *	11,000,000	9,000,000	. . . . .
Porto Rico	136,000 in 1794 †			
New Spain	7,800,000 in 1808 *	22,000,000	9,000,000	22,500,000
Goatemala				
N.Grenada	1,800,000 in 1808 *	5,700,000	2,000,000	3,000,000
Caracas . .	900,000 in 1808 *	5,500,000	4,000,000	. . . . .
Peru . . .	1,445,000 in 1796 ‡	11,500,000	4,000,000	8,000,000
Chili . . .	720,000 in 1806 ‖			
Bu. Ayres	972,000 in 1803 §	3,500,000	2,000,000	5,000,000
Total . . .	14,205,000	59,200,000	30,000,000	38,500,000

Total exports	68,500,000
—— imports	59,200,000
Remitted to Europe in revenue to the crown, or in rents to individuals	9,300,000

According to this estimate, the effective demand of Spanish America for foreign merchandize exceeds 15 millions Sterling annually; and that of New Spain and Goatemala alone falls little short of seven millions. The progress of domestic manufactures in those countries, so far from having a tendency to lessen this demand, will increase it by enriching the people, and enabling them to consume foreign luxuries to a greater amount. When coarse manufactures from abroad are no longer wanted in a country, because the growing industry of its inhabitants supplies it with such articles, the finer sorts and more costly commodities become the objects of request. It is not the want of desire to enjoy, but the want of ability to acquire, that limits the consumption of nations. The richer our customers become, the greater will be their demand for our merchandize. It is their poverty and sloth, not their opulence and industry, that we ought to deprecate.

In

* From Humboldt. † From Le Dru.
‡ From the Viagero Universal and Alvear y Ponce.
‖ No. 31. p. 75. § From Azara and Alvear y Ponce.

In his sixth and last book, Mr Humboldt treats of the revenue and military defence of New Spain. On these subjects we must be extremely concise.

The following tables, selected from a vast number of others, will show the progress of the revenues of New Spain, their present amount, and their general application.

(1.)

Gross revenue of New Spain in		*Dollars.*
	1712.....	3,068,400
	1763.....	5,705,876
	1780.....	15,010,974
	1783.....	19,605,574
	1802.....	20,200,000

(2.)

Gross revenue, according to the estimate of Mr Humboldt in 1804.....		20,000,000
Expense of internal government.....	10,500,000	
Remittances to the other colonies, in order to defray the expenses of their internal government.....	3,500,000	
Clear revenue remitted to Madrid...	6,000,000	
		20,000,000

The colonies, to which regular remittances are sent from New Spain, are Cuba, Porto Rico, Florida and Manilla. The government of Cuba has, besides, two millions of dollars from the revenue of the island; and that of Manilla 1,700,000. The subjects of Spain in the Philippine islands are reckoned at 1,900,000.

The appointments of the Viceroy of New Spain are inconsiderable, being only 60,000 dollars, or little more than 13,000*l.* a year. But his indirect means of amassing wealth are immense. There are viceroys, who, after a few years residence in Mexico, have retired with a fortune, which they had acquired there, of eight millions of livres, or above 320,000*l.* When we consider the fraud, injustice and extortion, with which such fortunes must have been accumulated, we cease to wonder at the detestation in which the name of Viceroy is held throughout America.

The following is Mr Humboldt's estimate of the clear revenue which the court of Madrid derives from its American possessions.

	Dollars.
From New Spain.....	6,000,000
—— Peru.....	1,000,000
—— Buenos Ayres.....	700,000
—— New Grenada.....	500,000
	8,200,000

The receipts of Goatemala, Caracas, and Chili, are consumed within the country. Cuba, Porto Rico, and Manilla, require annual remittances from Mexico. The population of the Canary islands is reckoned at 180,000 persons, and their revenue at 240,000 dollars; but the expense of their government is such, that they require an annual remittance from Spain.

The military establishment of New Spain was composed, in 1804, of 10,000 troops of the line, and 22,000 militia,—about one half of both consisting of cavalry. The light cavalry are represented as good.

ART. VIII. *Experiments to ascertain the State in which Spirit exists in Fermented Liquors; with a Table, exhibiting the relative Proportion of pure Alcohol contained in several kinds of Wine, and some other Liquors.* By William Thomas Brande, Esq. F. R. S. (From Phil. Trans. for 1811, Part II.)

An Account of a Vegetable Wax from Brazil. By the same. (From the same Work.)

WE have more than once had occasion to notice the experiments of this gentleman, by whose assistance Mr Home and other inquirers have often greatly benefited, in conducting their experimental investigations. The two papers which he has contributed to the present volume of the Transactions, are not of any very superior importance; but they deserve some attention,—the one, as throwing doubts upon a subject of considerable interest, and thus leading to further discussions—the other, as describing a new, or hitherto unnoticed substance.

The received opinion, that alcohol, though obtained by distilling wines, does not exist already formed in the wine, but is a product of the distillation, arising from a new combination of the carbon and hydrogen existing in the vinous fluid, engaged our author's attention in the first of these papers. He conceives that he has overthrown this doctrine, and established the opposite one; and as we think him a good deal more confident than his experiments warrant—or at least that, if he has overthrown the proofs of the old doctrine, he has failed in offering sufficient evidence of his own—we must attend somewhat minutely to his deductions.

The experiments of Fabroni, upon which chiefly the received opinion rested, consisted of processes by which alcohol was detected when mixed with wine, but which failed to separate any alcohol from the wine itself. In the outset, we may remark, that

that unless his experiments were confined to a very small number of wines, they are inconsistent with themselves; for, as most wines have a mixture of spirits added in the making, and as Fabroni said he could detect alcohol in so small a proportion as one hundredth when it had been added, there are very few wines indeed, in which, by his own principle, it should not have been discoverable. But Mr Brande gives a more general and satisfactory refutation, by repeating his processes. They consisted in adding dry subcarbonate of potash to the vinous fluids, so as to saturate them. Our author distilled a pint of port wine, and obtained eight ounces of spirituous fluid in the receiver. This, being mixed with the subcarbonate, gave about three fluid ounces of spirit. The same process being repeated, except the mixture of subcarbonate, the liquor in the receiver was mixed with that in the retort, and no addition of subcarbonate was found to effect any separation of alcohol. Now, by Fabroni's test, as applied to the liquor in the receiver, there was alcohol here, and thirty times more in quantity than was necessary to be detected,—and yet it escaped; so that it may safely be inferred, that he had been misled by some false appearances. Mr Brande made many other trials, with similar results. When wine was saturated with subcarbonate, a separation took place in the vessel,—the lower part being filled with a strong solution of subcarbonate, and the upper part with a gelatinous substance, 'which appeared to contain the alcohol of the wine, with the principal part of the extract tan and colouring matter, some of the subcarbonate, and a portion of water.' The same experiment being repeated with wine, to which one seventh part of its weight of alcohol was added, no separation of spirit took place, beyond that in the former trial. One third of alcohol being added to wine, and the experiment repeated, a stratum of impure spirit was separated, and floated on the top; but, when three fifths were added, a quantity of spirit readily separated on the admixture of subcarbonate, and floated on the top; while the gelatinous matter went below, and the bottom of the vessel contained solution of subcarbonate. From wine, however, in its ordinary state, or even with a considerable admixture of alcohol, this process, and all the others which our author could devise, wholly failed of separating the spirituous part. He used carbonate of lime in order to take away the acid; but still the alcohol adhered strongly to the residuum. He tried limewater, which is commonly said to separate the colouring matter, as well as the acid; but he could not effect such a separation. Distillation, therefore, was the only method; and, unfortunately, the use of it cannot decide the question: for the very

very point in dispute is, whether this process does not form, as well as show, the spirituous fluid.

In order to decide this—and it is the only direct argument which he advances—our author observes, that if the alcohol be produced by the process, and not merely drawn out by it; or, to use his own expression, if alcohol be a *product*, and not an *educt*, we may expect different proportions of it to be obtained by distilling, in different temperatures. Accordingly, he raised the boiling point of eight ounces of wine to 200° of Fahrenheit from 190°, by mixing it with muriate of lime, and distilled off four ounces of fluid. The specific gravity of this fluid was 0.96316. The experiment being repeated without any admixture of muriate, and consequently at a temperature of ten degrees lower, the same quantity of liquor in the receiver was taken, and found to have nearly the same strength, its specific gravity being 0.96311. The process being repeated in a water bath, the specific gravity of the liquor in the receiver was 0.96320; and the distillation being carried on at a temperature of only 180°, it was necessary to continue it for four or five hours daily during five days, in order to obtain the same quantity of liquor in the receiver; but its specific gravity was 0.96314. The quality of the liquor, then, does not seem to be at all affected by the heat applied in obtaining it. Thus far we admit his inference to be correct. But the argument founded upon it is by no means decisive of the question: For, to pass over other considerations, these experiments, strictly speaking, only show that a difference of twenty degrees makes no difference in the process, whatever it may be, by which alcohol is obtained from wine in distillation. Thus, if we adopt the common opinion, which Mr Brande is combating, these experiments only prove, that a heat of 180° of Fahrenheit is sufficient, though much more slowly, to effect the union of hydrogen and carbon, from which alcohol results in the decomposition of wine. A probability may arise from this circumstance, and, added to others, it might help to determine our opinion. But it is not in science, as in matters of a practical nature, where some decision must be formed; and, in default of the best evidence, we must have recourse to proofs of an inferior description, and sometimes must even act on conjecture and presumptions. In science, nothing is decided but on the highest species of proof which the kinds of inquiry severally allow; and, where those are wanting, it is fit, not that we should be satisfied with worse evidence, but that we should rest satisfied with our present state of knowledge, and abstain from drawing any new conclusions, until the proper means of demonstration shall be afforded us. If this golden rule

had

had always been attended to, what worlds of unprofitable controversy and useless theories, or rather vague hypotheses, prejudicial to the progress of knowledge, and fruitful in errors, would have been avoided!

Mr Brande endeavoured to separate the alcohol from the wine by freezing; but this only forms the wine into a spungy mass, without separating any spirit. He also froze a mixture of alcohol and water with the residuum of wine which had been evaporated; but it formed a cake as before. Where the temperature is slowly reduced, and a large quantity of wine operated on, a portion of the watery part freezes before the rest, and thus leaves that residue considerably stronger. But nothing like a separation of alcohol can be obtained in this manner; and it is evident that the freezing of the water leaves the question, of the existence of alcohol in the vinous residue, precisely where it found it.

Such being the whole amount of our author's experiments and reasonings in the first section, it is somewhat unexpectedly that we find him begin his second section with these words—'Having *ascertained* that alcohol exists in wine ready formed, and 'that it is not produced during distillation, I employed that 'process to discover the relative proportion of alcohol combined in different wines.' Now, it is quite manifest, that, so far from having *ascertained* any such thing—which would in truth have been deciding the whole question—Mr Brande has ascertained something, not unimportant indeed, but perfectly different, and which leaves the question unresolved. He has only ascertained, that part of Fabroni's experiments are erroneous, and that his inference, of consequence, is fallacious;—in other words, that the common opinion is not yet demonstrated, and the question still unsettled, which had been conceived to be determined the other way. So that, instead of saying, there is proof of alcohol being a *product* of distillation, we must now say, there is no such proof; while, on the other hand, Mr Brande has not shown that it is an *educt*. It may still be either the one or the other, for any thing we know. Really this hastiness in jumping at a conclusion, by the common process of begging the question, is somewhat unpleasant. It looks as if the inquiry in this paper had been undertaken, not so much with a view to investigate a speculative point, as for the sake of giving a comparative table of the strength of wines, in the way of making which, there stood a difficulty which must be quickly disposed of.—We now come to the Table, which is certainly curious, though its value is considerably impaired by the equivocal nature of the grounds it rests on.

His

His mode of estimating the proportion of alcohol in any given wine, was this. He distilled the wine in a glass retort, and received the product in a capacious receiver, well luted, and kept cool. The heat was so managed towards the end of the operation, as to prevent the residuum from burning, even when almost the whole fluid part was drawn off. To the fluid in the receiver, a small quantity of water was added, so as to make it up to the original bulk of the wine; and, the whole being well mixed together by agitation, its specific gravity was ascertained, by weighing it in a vessel containing one thousand grains of distilled water; then the proportion of alcohol in it was calculated by the excellent tables of Mr Gilpin and Sir Charles Blagden in the Philosophical Transactions.* The results are exhibited in a table, of which one column gives the names of the liquor,—another the specific gravity of the fluid in the receiver, after the small addition of water, in decimals, the specific gravity of distilled water being unity,—and the third column gives the proportion of alcohol in the same fluid thus mixed, by measure, in parts of a hundred; which proportion our author considers as the proportion also of alcohol in the wine, or other liquor, before distillation. In this way, we find the proportion of alcohol contained in fifty different kinds of foreign and home made wine, as well as of seven other liquors, ale, cider, brandy, &c. Referring our readers to the table itself for more full information, we shall only here remark some of the most striking results. The liquor containing most alcohol is, according to this table, rum; it contains 53.68 per cent.—brandy 53.39. The wine which comes nearest to these spirits is Marsala, a Sicilian wine, if we mistake not; it contains 25.87. Port wine does not follow at a great distance; it contains from 21.40 to 25.83. The strongest Madeira contains 24.42. Claret runs from 12.91 to 16.32. The weakest wines are Tokay, 9.88; and some kinds of Hock, 8.88, which is also the proportion contained in ale. Some made wines are among the highest. Thus, Raisin wine contains 25.77, and Currant wine 20.55. The difference in strength between some wines of the same kind is singular. Marsala varies from 17.26 to 25.87; and Hock from 8.88 to 14.37. The small proportion which the spirits added after the wine is made, bears to that quantity

* In mentioning these names, it may be permitted to the lovers of natural knowledge, to lament the death of the former excellent and deserving person; and to regret, that the name of the latter has of late years so seldom appeared in the Transactions of the Royal Society, which used to be so eminently indebted to his contributions.

quantity inherent in the wine itself, also deserves notice. The weakest Port wine in the table contains 21.40, and the next to that, 22.30; yet we take it for granted, that the former is the analysis of the Port wine mentioned in the introductory part of the paper, as having been obtained through Dr Baillie (who very naturally, as we shall presently observe, took an interest in this inquiry) 'sent from Portugal, for the express purpose of ascertaining how long it would remain sound, without any addition whatever of spirit having been made to it.' Yet we find that this wine, notwithstanding its being made without any mixture of brandy, contains not one per cent. less alcohol, or about two per cent. less brandy, than another wine of the same class, made in the ordinary way. This would appear to follow very clearly, and would not be very easily accounted for, were it not probable that a considerable part of the brandy added to wine by the peasants who make it, long before it reaches the hands of the merchant at Oporto, was added also to the wine in question.

There is a circumstance in this table somewhat startling, and which must have already suggested reflexions to the reader. Port wine and raisin wine, and some others, appear to contain about half their bulk of pure brandy; and a man, every time he drinks two bottles of strong bodied port, swallows exactly one bottle of the strongest brandy. Now, we are far from being desirous of taking away the very salutary moral inference which should be drawn from this alarming consideration; but regard to scientific truth obliges us to pause, and doubt whether this can be so, and whether an argument does not arise from this inference against the probability of Mr Brande's fundamental position, that the spirit exists ready formed in the vinous fluid. It is indubitable, that a person may continue to drink constantly very considerable quantities of the stronger wines, without materially endangering his health. That his health will be the worse for it—that in the end he will exceedingly shorten his life—that he may probably destroy his constitution fifteen or twenty years sooner than nature designed it to last, is not denied; but he may go on from the age of thirty to fifty, drinking daily about two bottles of port, including, in this calculation, all other wines and malt liquors. Let the same person attempt to drink daily one bottle of strong brandy, reduced to one half its strength by the addition of an equal quantity of water, we believe no medical man would expect to see him, even as a patient, at the end of the period. Shall we then say, that the pure water (for this is the whole difference) is less wholesome than when mixed with the tan,

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the extract, and the other vegetable matter contained in the wine? We must either suppose, that those parts of wine afford an antidote to the poison of its alcohol, or we must admit, that the existence of that alcohol in the wine, before distillation, is extremely inconsistent with the different effects produced by wine and spirits on the human constitution. The intoxicating powers of different liquors is not to be taken into the account as proving any thing distinctly—for these depend on narcotic as well as spirituous substances, and upon other ingredients which affect the stomach. But we should like to have had Dr Baillie's opinion, as well as Mr Brande's experiments upon the medical view of the subject.

The proportions of alcohol in the table are calculated from the specific gravities of the distilled fluids. But there is one experiment which might have been made with a view to ascertain the state in which the spirit exists in wine. Suppose one of the strongest wines had been taken, and a considerable portion of alcohol drawn off by distillation, and that then this same quantity being added to the liquor remaining in the retort, the specific gravity of the mixture had been examined. If it differed materially from the specific gravity of the original wine, there would be ground for inferring, that a change had been produced by the distillation; but whether by the formation of alcohol, or the new combination of other parts, would not be shown. If it continued the same, we should be authorised to infer, either that the spirit existed ready formed in the wine, or that the alteration in the specific gravity, occasioned by the formation of spirit, had been exactly balanced by an opposite alteration, occasioned by the new combinations of the other parts of the wine; and (if, after our former observations, we may speak of probability) it would be most likely that the first of these alternatives should be true. Additional light might be thrown upon the subject, by comparing the above proofs with the distillation of a known mixture of alcohol and water, and with the distillation of the residuum in the first process, when the volatile product should have been added to it.

While upon this speculative question it becomes us to suspend our opinion, there is a practical conclusion which, we trust, we shall be excused for pressing upon the reader—we mean the propriety of at least suspending the good opinion some persons entertain of the use of wine. Let those only wait until it be ascertained, whether pure brandy exists ready made in their favourite liquors, and resolve to restrict themselves, while the inquiry is going on, to a very moderate use of them. It is very possible—we think it not improbable, and Mr Brande considers

siders it as certain, that brandy does exist in them, and that port wine consists of nearly half its bulk of that most pernicious liquid. Hollands is somewhat weaker than brandy, and much less unwholesome from its diuretic qualities; but how would any one like to swallow a bottle of gin, mixed with only a bottle of water, in about four or five hours after dinner? Yet it is probable, that every one who drinks two bottles of the stronger wines, swallows as much ardent spirit, in that very proportion, with a further admixture of other unwholesome substances. This consideration at least deserves attention; and if it be the means of alarming one lover of wine, and inducing him to consult in the mean time his health and his happiness, (for, independent of the connexion between health and mental comfort, no two things can be more at variance than animal spirits and the spirits of the still), we shall think that these pages were not written in vain, and shall be the less anxious for the continuation of Mr Brande's inquiry.

Mr Brande's other paper, on the vegetable wax of Brazil, will not detain us long. A quantity of this substance having been given to Sir Joseph Banks by Lord Grenville, who was desirous of having it examined, our author was entrusted with the analysis. Lord Grenville had received it from Rio de Janeiro, and along with it a notice, that it had only been lately known in the southern parts of Brazil—that it grows in the northern provinces, and is the produce of a tree which produces two other singular substances, a gum used as food, and a body employed in fattening poultry. It is unknown in what quantities this substance is produced; but instructions have been sent from Rio Janeiro to investigate this and other particulars relating to it. It is not the vegetable wax described by Humboldt as growing in the high country of South America; for this contains only a third part of wax, the rest being resinous; whereas the Brazil product consists entirely of wax, and contains no resin. It does not appear accurately in what way the wax grows; for our author does not mention distinctly whether he had it in powder, or as it is gathered; but, by a quotation from Humboldt, we conclude it is obtained from the leaves, —though, whether as an excrescence from them, or from the substance of the leaf itself, is not mentioned.

In its rough state it is of a grey colour, and contains about forty per cent. of impurities, which may be separated by a sieve. The remainder enters into perfect fusion at 206° of Fahrenheit, and may be further purified by straining, which leaves it of a dirty green, and, on cooling, it is moderately hard, of .980 specific

specific gravity. It is sparingly soluble in alcohol, but only by boiling in it; and then it deposits the greater part on cooling, and the rest by the addition of water. The fixed oils dissolve it readily at 212°, and form compounds similar to their combinations with bees wax; and the solution of the vegetable wax in olive oil is perfectly soluble in ether. Our author takes occasion to correct a common error upon the subject of the fixed oils, which are believed to be insoluble in ether and alcohol. By a variety of experiments, which we need not particularize, as they do not relate to the object of the present paper, he found that the fixed oils are soluble in ether in considerable proportions, castor oil being soluble in any proportion; and that they are difficultly soluble in alcohol, except castor oil, which is abundantly so, where the specific gravity of the spirit is .820. The addition of water to any of these solutions, either in alcohol or ether, wholly separates the oil, which floats on the surface, unaltered by the combination which it had undergone.

In the fixed alkalis, the vegetable wax is slightly soluble; and no soapy compound is produced. In ammonia it is almost insoluble. Nitric acid makes it a deep yellow; and exposure to the light renders this lighter, till it reaches a pale straw colour, and on the surface is almost white; but our author never succeeded in perfectly bleaching it; and the same effects resulted from oxymuriatic acid. Muriatic acid, by boiling over it, destroys much of its colour. Sulphuric acid makes it brown, and, on water being added, this becomes deep red, and, when boiled in it, the acid is decomposed. Acetic acid sparingly dissolves it by the application of heat, and, on cooling, deposits it. In oxymuriatic gas it is decomposed, giving out hydrogen and oxygen; and muriatic acid, water, and charcoal are formed. Under the destructive distillation, it gives nearly the same results with common bees wax. Thus, in many particulars, this substance differs both from bees wax, and from the other species which have been examined, the wax of the myrica cerifea, and lac.

The economical properties of this substance are likely to be the most material, if it shall be found, as seems probable, that it is easily and cheaply obtained. From the above analysis we may infer, that, by a slight application of nitric acid, and long exposure to air and light, it is capable of being sufficiently bleached, though Mr Brande has not had an opportunity of subjecting it to the usual processes employed by bleachers of wax. He has, however, made it into candles, and found it to burn as completely and uniformly as bees wax. Its brittleness

may be obviated, by adding from a tenth to an eighth part of tallow, which neither gives any bad smell, nor impairs the light; and excellent candles were made with one part of bees wax, and three of the vegetable.

ART. IX. *Transactions of the* GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, *established November* 1807. Vol. I. London. 1811.

NONE of the sciences requires the cooperation of many, more than GEOLOGY. The field of investigation is of such vast extent, the multitude of the facts so immense, and the difficulty of seizing their characteristic features, and describing them with precision so great, that if many hands and many heads are not employed in the work, no progress at all can be expected. Such at least is the case if we are to regard geology as a science founded altogether on experience and observation. It is very true that this has not always been the case; and that it is only of late years that a patient and regular inquiry into facts, has been thought necessary to the formation of a theory of the earth. We are not yet far from the time when the vague and cursory information that every man might glean from the objects that were perpetually before him, when combined and magnified by a powerful imagination, was sufficient for all the purposes of geological speculation. According to this view of the matter, a man might philosophize very well by himself; it was his business not to discover, but to invent; and he stood no more in need of the assistance of others, than if he had been at work in the regions of Poetry or Romance. One might say of these geological theories, as Bacon did of the antient philosophy, '*quot Theoriæ receptæ, aut inventæ sunt, tot fabulas* '*productas et actas censemus, quæ Mundos effecerunt fictitios et* '*scenicos.*' This was particularly applicable to speculations that went professedly beyond the bounds of nature, and proposed nothing less than to explain the means by which the present constitution of the world has been established. The extravagance of such pretensions could not but lead to visionary and fantastic theories, which men, accustomed to the more sober and cautious exertions of the understanding, were careful to avoid. Geology was considered by them as a species of mental derangement, in which the patient raved continually of comets, deluges, volcanos and earthquakes; or talked of reclaiming the great wastes of the chaos, and converting them into a terraqueous and habitable globe. This unreal mockery, however, though it has endured long,

long, and continued even to the present day, is now vanishing and melting into air. Geologists appear at length to be convinced of two truths, which, though very important, are not, one would think, in themselves very difficult to be discovered, viz. that before attempting an explanation, it is best to be acquainted with the thing to be explained; and that it is in no case the province of science to go beyond the boundaries of nature, and to account for the manner in which the laws which now govern the material world, were at first established.

In this state of things, a vast collection of facts has become necessary to geology; or rather, indeed, geology is nothing else than the general laws and principles which pervade those facts. The diligence and accuracy, therefore, with which they must be observed and described, their prodigious number and variety, and the vast space over which they are scattered, all combine to render geological researches, in a peculiar manner, the objects of social and united exertion, and put it quite out of the power of an individual to proceed far, without the assistance of others. All the branches of natural philosophy are well known to owe much of their prosperity to the establishment of the academies, and other scientific bodies, which are now so numerous in Europe. There is not, however, any one of all those branches of knowledge, to which the cooperation of numbers is so essential, as that which has for its object the natural history of the globe itself.

The necessity of collecting facts from all quarters, appears very clearly from considering, that the geological theories which have hitherto succeeded one another, even when least chimerical, have been founded on facts not universal, nor applicable to the whole earth, but confined only to a small portion of its surface. The theory of Buffon, was the production of a great genius, but very imperfectly informed concerning the natural history of the mineral kingdom, and acquainted only with the phenomena of countries where the strata are nearly horizontal. There was no provision, accordingly, in his theory, for explaining the vertical strata, or those marks of disturbance that are so prevalent among primary mountains. Hence it was, that Buffon, possessing a fertility of invention that has been rarely exceeded; a power of combining facts, and bringing them to bear upon one point, by which he continually astonishes, and often convinces his reader; and adding to all this, an eloquence that has perhaps never been equalled by any author who did not treat of man, and the affairs of men,—has entirely failed in his theory of the earth. Though he has combined the powers of fire and water

in the machinery of his system, he has employed them exactly in the order where they are weakest, giving the first place to fire, and the second to water. Had he been acquainted with the phenomena of mountains, he would certainly have inverted this order, and would have seen that the vertical position of the strata announced the intrusion of some powerful agent, that had disturbed the arrangement of the watery element. Examples of this kind are very numerous. The theory of Lazzaro Moro was nearly cotemporary with that of Buffon, and was formed entirely from those principles which the volcanic countries, and Italy in particular, exhibit in a state of activity. Though it possess great ingenuity, therefore, and have a foundation in facts, it is not of general application. Even the theory of Werner, of all others the most in vogue at the present moment, though laid on foundations broader than any of the former, is in a considerable degree liable to the same censure. The order of the rocks, and the succession of formations, established by the Saxon mineralogist, are suited to the countries which he and his disciples have particularly examined; but, when extended to other parts of the earth's surface, they are continually at fault, and require additions or corrections that combine very ill with the original system. They cannot be applied to the Alps or the Pyrenees; and have been found particularly erroneous when compared with the structure and disposition of the Scottish mountains.

All this tends to show the necessity of setting many hands to work, if we would obtain a just view of the laws which guide, and have guided, the phenomena of the mineral kingdom. For attaining this object nothing is of such consequence as the description of particular countries, and an accurate exposition of the facts which they exhibit. Indeed, if the face of the earth were divided into districts, and accurately described, we have no doubt that, from the comparison of these descriptions, the true theory of the earth would spontaneously emerge without any effort of genius or invention. It would appear as an incontrovertible principle, about which all men, the moment that the facts were stated to them, must of necessity agree; and something would take place like what has happened to the opinions of philosophers concerning the origin of fountains. Instead of a hundred different theories, about which they disputed with never ending sophistry, there would be a few general maxims, in which all men of sense and information would uniformly acquiesce.

The descriptions, however, that are suited to bring about this revolution, are of a very particular nature, and have not

been often exemplified. The degree of precision and of minute detail they require, is difficult to be combined with the general views, without which they can neither be rendered interesting nor instructive. There are, accordingly, very few naturalists who can be said to have succeeded perfectly in this first and fundamental part of geological inquiry. Saussure is one of those who have done the best; his account of the face of nature in the grand scenes where his observations were made, is amusing as well as scientific. Dolomieu is another author, whose descriptions have the same charms and the same accuracy. Among living authors, we might mention Von Buch and a few others, who have succeeded in rendering the minuteness and accuracy of detail, consistent with great and comprehensive views. In their descriptions, every particular fact is seen, as connected with some general form,—some extensive picture, to which it tends to give solidity and relief. They have not been content with barely describing the rocks themselves, which, though the main objects and the foundation of all, are not the only things entitled to attention. The rivers, the mountains, the valleys, the shores, the general face of the country, must all combine to give unity and interest to a geological description.

To all this, we would wish to add the use of a precise and distinct mineralogical language, free from all ambiguity, all admixture of theory. Such a language, we regret to say, does not at present exist; and though much has lately been done to improve the nomenclature, particularly by the Wernerian School, it is still extremely imperfect, and inferior by many degrees to those of Botany and Chemistry. This throws another difficulty in the way of geological description. We are glad, therefore, to see a Society formed for the purpose of removing or surmounting those difficulties; and to observe that, in its first attempt, so considerable a portion of skill and industry is displayed.

In the account we are to give of the volume before us, we shall confine our remarks to the papers that are strictly geological, and shall pass over, though with much regret, some very interesting memoirs on the analysis or description of different minerals. The bounds within which we must confine our remarks make this restriction necessary; and we shall be glad, on some future occasion, at returning to examine the papers that appear so well entitled to attention.

The paper which begins this volume gives an account of Guernsey and the other islands which stretch across St Michael's Bay, on the coast of Normandy. These islands, we believe, have never been described by any mineralogist, and

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form, no doubt, an interesting subject of research. They appear, from Dr MacCulloch's observations, to be chiefly formed of granitic rocks, being parts of a chain which he supposes, with considerable probability, to extend from Cape La Hogue to Ushant, in a line parallel to the granitic chain that runs from Dartmoor, W. S. W. to the Scilly islands. Of the islands in St Michael's Bay, Alderney is the most northerly; Jersey is nearly south from it, and Guernsey about south-west. In Alderney, the beds of grit, of which there are several in this island, dip towards the north; as the schist of Jersey, lying on its south side, does towards the south. In the island of Sarcq, nearly in the middle between these, but somewhat to the west, the beds are represented as horizontal: In Guernsey, the strata incline to the north. There seems to be, in some of the islands, a considerable variety of rocks, most of them primitive. In Guernsey we find granite, gneiss, syenite, schist, argillaceous porphyry, &c.; but we are not enabled to determine the positions of these rocks, relatively to one another; nor the proportions of the island occupied by each. Dr MacCulloch's Survey is imperfect with respect to these particulars, and also as not describing with sufficient precision the peculiar characters of the granite, gneiss, and other rocks which it enumerates. The maps of the islands which he has given, are not calculated to give much information, as they do not express either the courses of the rivers, or the inequalities of ridges of the hills. The paper, however, is of value, as treating of countries of which the mineralogy is not at all known. We have understood that Dr MacCulloch is a skilful mineralogist. His Survey appears to have been made several years ago, merely for his own amusement; and we have no doubt that it is much less perfect than if it had been executed at a later period, and with more serious intentions. It is accompanied by several sketches made with great spirit, but which do not contribute nearly so much to the knowledge of the mineralogy of the islands, as maps would have done, in which the different kinds of rock, the rivers, and the chains of hills, had been carefully laid down.

The next descriptive paper is on the Natural History of the Rock-salt District in the county of Cheshire, by Henry Holland esq., now Dr Holland. This paper seems to us drawn up in the right style of natural history; it unites accurate detail with general views in a remarkable degree; and describes phenomena, without any contamination of hypothesis or theory. The salt mines of Cheshire are found near the centre of a large plain formed by the southern parts of Lancashire, the northern extremity of Shropshire, and the intervening

county of Cheshire. This plain is subdivided into three; the bason of the Dee on the west, of the Mersey on the north, and the Weaver in the middle. In this middle district, which may be compared to a sector of a circle, having its centre at the point where the Weaver falls into the Mersey (the circumference stretching along the borders of Flintshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire), are found the salt mines, generally not far from the banks of the Weaver and its branches. 'The salt rock was 'first discovered at Marbury, near Northwich, about a hundred and forty years ago, in searching for coal. After this 'bed of rock had been worked for more than a century, a second and inferior stratum was met with, separated by a bed 'of indurated clay from the one previously known. This lower 'stratum was ascertained to possess, at a certain depth, a great 'degree of purity and freedom from earthy admixture; on 'which account, and from the local advantages of Northwich 'for exportation, the fossil salt is now worked only in the vicinity of this place.' *Trans.* p. 45.

The thickness of the upper bed of salt varies from twenty to thirty yards: that of the lower bed has never yet been ascertained. It is a certain fact, that no marine exuviæ or organic remains are found in the strata situated over the rock-salt of Cheshire. The occurrence of gypsum in connexion with beds of fossil salt, is a fact generally observed; and it occurs in Cheshire, as well as in the salt rocks on the Continent.

"One of the most striking facts connected with the internal structure of the Northwich rock-salt, is the appearance observable in the horizontal sections of the rock, of various figures, more or less distinctly marked, and differing considerably in the forms which they assume; some appearing nearly circular, others perfectly pentagonal; and others again having an irregular polyhedral form. The lines which form the boundaries of these figures are composed of extremely pure fine salt, forming a division between the coarse red rock exterior to the figure, and the equally coarse rock included within its area. —It had been stated to me, that their form is a pyramidal one, the area enlarging by a determinate ratio of increase, as they are traced downwards: But I consider this statement as a very doubtful one, and certainly founded upon insufficient evidence."

On this subject, it happens that we ourselves can state, from observation, that this pyramidal form is quite inconsistent with what we have seen. In a perpendicular wall of the mine near the roof, where the miners had been recently working, the section of the coats above described appeared

ed as segments of circles, which succeeded one another like waves, when traced horizontally along a vertical section. They have that appearance of concentric layers which Dr Hutton has described in his Theory of the Earth, and from which he has inferred the original fluidity of these rocks.

The comparative commercial value of the English and Polish mines is best ascertained by the fact, that many thousand tons of rock salt are usually sent from Cheshire to the parts of the Prussian coast most nearly adjacent to the salt mines.

The fourth paper in this collection relates to a very interesting object, the Pitch-lake of the island of Trinidad. Dr Nugent, who had himself an opportunity of visiting this singular spot, tells us, that, on approaching it, he 'perceived a strong sulphureous and pitchy smell, like that of burning coal; and soon after had a view of the lake, which, at first sight, appeared to be an expanse of still water, frequently interrupted by clumps of dwarf trees, or islets of rushes and shrubs; but, on a nearer approach, was found to be in reality an extensive plain of mineral pitch, with frequent crevices and chasms filled with water. The surface of the lake is of the colour of ashes, and at this season was not polished or smooth so as to be slippery; the hardness or consistence was such as to bear any weight; and it was not adhesive, though it partially received the impression of the foot: it bore us without any tremulous motion whatever, and several head of cattle were browsing on it in perfect security. In the dry season, however, the surface is much more yielding, and must be in a state approaching to fluidity, as is shown by pieces of recent wood and other substances being enveloped in it. Even large branches of trees, which were a foot above the level, had in some way become enveloped in the bituminous matter. The interstices or chasms are very numerous, ramifying and joining in every direction; and in the wet season being filled with water, present the only obstacle to walking over the surface. These cavities are generally deep in proportion to their width; some being only a few inches in depth, others several feet, and many almost unfathomable: The water in them is good and uncontaminated by the pitch; the people of the neighbourhood derive their supply from this source, and refresh themselves by bathing in it. Fish are caught in it, and particularly a very good species of mullet.'

This extraordinary lake is bounded on the north and west sides by the sea;—on the south by a rocky eminence of porcelain jasper;—and on the east by the usual argillaceous soil of the country. The main body may, perhaps, be estimated at three miles in circumference:—the depth cannot be ascertained;

and no subjacent rock or soil can be discovered. Where the bitumen is slightly covered with soil, there are plantations of cassava, plantains, and pine-apples,—the last of which grow with luxuriance, and attain to great perfection.

A bit of the pitch, held at a candle, melts like sealing wax, and burns with a light flame, which is extinguished whenever it is removed; and, on cooling, the bitumen hardens again. From this it is evident, that it may be converted to many useful purposes; and it is universally used in the country wherever pitch is required. The reports of the naval officers who have tried it, are extremely favourable: It only requires to be prepared with a proportion of oil, tallow, or common tar, to give it a sufficient degree of fluidity. In this point of view it is an object of great national importance, especially to a maritime power like Britain. It is, indeed, singular, that the attention of Government should not have been more forcibly directed to a subject of such magnitude. The attempts that have hitherto been made to render it extensively useful, have, for the most part, been only feeble and injudicious, and have consequently proved abortive. This vast collection of bitumen might, in all probability, afford an inexhaustible supply of an essential article of naval stores; and, being situated on the margin of the sea, could be wrought and shipped with little inconvenience or expense. It would, however, be great injustice to Sir Alexander Cochrane, not to state explicitly, that he has, at various times, during his long and active command on the Leeward Island station, taken considerable pains to insure a fair and proper trial of this mineral production, for the highly important use of which it is generally believed to be capable.

To frame any satisfactory hypothesis on the origin of this singular mass, would require an exact examination of the neighbouring country. Immediately to the southward, the face of the country is broken and rugged, which Mr Anderson (Phil. Trans. Vol. 79.) attributes to some convulsion of nature from subterranean fires;—in which idea he is confirmed, by having found several hot springs in the neighbouring woods. The production of all bituminous substances has certainly, with plausibility, been attributed to the action of subterraneous fire on beds of coal. Dr N. was particular in his inquiries with regard to the existence of beds of coal, but could not learn that there was any certain trace of that substance in the island; and though it may exist at a great depth, it is not indicated, the Doctor says, by the strata that are in sight.

'The examination of this tract of country (he adds) could not fail to be highly gratifying to those who embrace the Huttonian

Huttonian Theory of the Earth; for they might behold the numerous branches of one of the largest rivers of the world (the Orinoco), bringing down so amazing a quantity of earthy particles, as to discolour the sea in a most remarkable manner for many leagues distant;—they might see these earthy particles deposited by the influence of powerful currents on the shores of the Gulf of Paria, and, particularly, on the western side of the Island of Trinidad;—they might there find vast collections of bituminous substances, beds of porcelain jasper, and such other bodies as may readily be supposed to arise from the modified action of heat on such vegetable and earthy materials as the waters are known actually to deposit. They would, further, perceive no very vague traces of subterranean fire, by which these changes may have been effected, and the whole tract elevated above the ordinary level of the general loose soil of the country;—as, for instance, hot springs, the frequent occurrence of earthquakes, and two singular semi-volcanic mounds at Point Icaque; which, though not very near, throw light on the general character of the country. Without pledging myself to any particular system of Geology, I confess, an explanation, similar to this, appears to me sufficiently probable, and consonant with the known phenomena of nature. A vast river, like the Orinoco, must, for ages, have rolled down great quantities of woody and vegetable bodies, which from certain causes, as the influence of currents and eddies, may have been arrested and accumulated in particular places;—they may have there undergone those transformations and chemical changes, which various vegetable substances, similarly situated, have been proved to suffer in other parts of the world. An accidental fire, such as is known to occur frequently in the bowels of the earth, may then have operated in separating and driving off the newly-formed bitumen, more or less combined with silicious and argillaceous earths; which, forcing its way through the surface, and afterwards becoming inspissated by exposure to the air, may have occasioned such scenes as I have ventured to describe. The only other country, accurately resembling this part of Trinidad, of which I recollect to have read, is that which borders on the Gulf of Taman in Crim Tartary. From the representation of travellers, springs of naphtha and petroleum equally abound; and they describe volcanic mounds precisely similar to those of Point Icaque.'

The next Geological paper is on the physical structure of Devonshire and Cornwall, by J. F. Berger, M. D. of Geneva.

No part of the Island of Great Britain affords more interesting matter of mineralogical observation than Cornwall. Its cha-

racter, as belonging to the primary or intermediate strata; the abundance of mineral veins; and the various points in which these veins and the adjoining rock have been cut into, or perforated, are all circumstances that render Cornwall a subject of curious and important inquiry. Dr Berger's attention was therefore very properly directed to this spot; and his survey (though, doubtless, imperfect) has furnished a great deal of valuable information. He is a mineralogist of the Wernerian school; and not only adopts the language of that school, but has been guided by its principles in his observations. He seems sensible, however, that the language which he employs is too theoretical;—and, in his use of the word 'formation,' though he gives a definition of the term in which nothing theoretical is implied, he allows, that the idea of time or of epoch is involved. We might add to this, that not only is epoch involved, but the agent is likewise indicated; and an identity, in the order of time and the order of position, is certainly understood.

The general remarks on what the author calls 'the Low Mountain Chain of Cornwall,' convey a very good idea of the disposition of the rocks in this western promontory, or the ridge of hills that divides the country lengthwise. The chain begins in the centre of Devonshire, where it spreads out into the elevated, or, as it is here called, the mountain plain of Dartmoor Forest. 'Like all primitive chains, he says, it stretches from N. E. to S. W.; or, more correctly, from E. N. E. to W. S. W. for the length of 115 or 119 miles. Its direction is pretty accurately represented by a line passing through the following places: Two Bridges, Lanceston, Bodmin, Redruth, &c. to the Land's End. The centre and highest part of the chain is of granite; it is formed into a *mountain plain* at the N. E. extremity, and, as it approaches the S. W., gradually contracts into a ridge, and is flanked on the right and left by grauwacke. The outline of the range is not altogether continuous: several of the rounded summits which compose it, are separated by small valleys, or ravines, of various depths. The whole chain may be said to be formed of downs, and to be in some places interrupted, but no where entirely broken off. On this passage, which, we believe, contains a correct general view of the rocks in the Cornish promontory, we cannot but remark, that the assertion that all primitive chains stretch from N. E. to S. W., seems to us much too general. The Riphean, or Ural mountains, which are undoubtedly primitive, stretch nearly from south to north. The great range of mountains in Norway has the same direction; and this is also true of the great-

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er part of the Cordeliera of the Andes, especially in the southern hemisphere. To generalize more rapidly and more extensively than actual observation authorises us to do, is as much to be guarded against as any error in philosophy, and has produced effects as hurtful to the progress of truth. Dr Berger indeed has this apology, that he has studied in the school of Werner; and we know of none where the worship of this particular idol is more strictly enjoined.

Dr Berger is the first mineralogist that has given a general name to the rocks that lye on the granite ridge of Cornwall, and has pronounced them to be Grauwacke; a rock, he says, composed of separate silicious particles, united by an argillaceous cement with a little magnesia and iron. We believe that it is true, that the Cornish rock here meant is to be referred to the tribe of the Grauwacke; at the same time we must object to the definition above, if it is to be understood as general. The particles united by the argillaceous cement of grauwacke consist often of felspar, and have the appearance of proceeding from the disintegration of porphyry. The term applied by the Cornish miners to this rock is Killas; which, on account of its better sound, we should very much wish to see substituted for the uncouth German name of Grauwacke.

Dr Berger began his survey by the valley of the Erme, which opens at Ivy Bridge. By this valley he ascended to the elevated plain of Dartmoor Forest, which occupies a considerable extent of Devonshire, and sends a number of streams to the opposite sides of the peninsula, that is, into the English, and the Bristol Channel. From thence he seems to have gone by Launceston and Bodmin to Truro, visiting Grampound, however, and the adjacent coast. From thence he examined the country about Falmouth, the Lizard, Mount's Bay, the Land's End, returning by St Ives, Redruth, and the coast of the Bristol Channel. The objects of chief curiosity in these parts he seems to have examined; and we only wonder to find him make no mention of the *Roach Rocks*, which are certainly very remarkable. *

Dr Berger takes notice of the decomposed granite in the state of Kaoline, which affords the porcelain earth so much prized for

* These rocks are situated between Bodmin and Truro, and form a singular pile of natural ruins, that has been mistaken for a druidical monument. They cover nearly an acre of ground, and rise in steep precipices on every side, to the height of about 60 feet. They are composed entirely of quartz and hornblende, very much crystallized, and the former in much the largest proportion. The size and irregularity

for the manufacture of china, and which is indeed one of the characteristic features of Cornwall. The plain in which this earth is found is some miles in extent, and belongs to the southern boundary of the granitic chain. One of the most elevated points of it, and which is in the neighbourhood of the principal quarry of the porcelain earth (china pit), is 830 feet above the level of the sea. This granite, the felspar of which forms two thirds of the mass, appeared to be less decomposed near the borders of the plain, than in the central part. In this last place, it has rather the appearance of a porphyry with a pulverulent base, of a whitish colour, in which crystals of quartz, and some plates of mica, are loosely included. It is used in this rough state in the manufacture of porcelain, in the same manner as the Chinese make use of petuntze, by mixing it in certain proportions with the porcelain earth that is obtained by washing and frequent precipitations. Crystals of a compact and earthy felspar are occasionally met with in this decomposed granite, of a much larger size than usual.

One of the rocks which Dr Berger has particularly described, is the serpentine of the Lizard Point and its vicinity.

'This rock is not homogeneous in its composition. The colour of the base is usually leaf green; it is often conchoidal, breaking into large broad flakes with sharp edges. It is also frequently striped with red, which appears to be owing to the oxide of iron. Small threads of tender yellow steatite are seen running through it, and it is often traversed by veins of whitish asbestos. Sometimes this serpentine passes into a hard steatite, disposed in curved laminæ, and having a fibrous fracture. This serpentine, though surrounded on all sides by rocks of Killas, does not appear in immediate contact with it. At the northern boundary of the serpentine, (where Dr Berger entered it), a rock intervenes, composed of felspar and diallage, or granular actynolite. On the S. S. W. of the village of the Lizard, there are some beds of mica slate, which appear *subordinate* to the serpentine.

Though the Doctor has treated, at some length, of the different formations of serpentine, and of the rocks that accompany them, he makes no mention of a circumstance that might be expected to arrest the attention of a Wernerian geologist. In the arrangement of rocks adopted in that school, if we mistake not, two formations of serpentine are admitted; one the 9th, the other the 15th of the primitive formations, counting from

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irregularity of the fragments, and the ruinous appearance of the whole, mark the destructive operations of time in stronger characters than it is usual to meet with in a country so little mountainous as Cornwall.

from the granite upwards; and neither of them belonging to the transition or intermediate rocks. In Cornwall, however, the serpentine is contained between transition rocks, which appear on both sides of it. What it rests on below, is unknown. It may lye immediately on the granite; but this much is certain, that all round it is the killas. Here, therefore, is a great anomaly in the arrangement of rocks, if there be any truth in the Wernerian system. The fact, however anomalous in respect of artificial arrangement, is not singular in nature; the coast of Ayrshire in Scotland, between Girvan and Ballintrae, affording an example of the same kind.

The next object of importance is St Michael's Mount, which, from the singularity of its figure and situation, is not less interesting to common observers than it is to mineralogists, from its composition and structure. The south side of the mount, on which the castle is situated, is nearly precipitous, and is composed, from top to bottom, of a granite split into irregular masses. At the base, and on the sides of this granite rock, lyes the killas; and a circumstance that has attracted great notice, is the number of granite veins which penetrate into the superincumbent rock, especially towards the south, where the steepness is greatest. These veins have so much the appearance of shooting from the granite into the killas, that they have appeared, to many mineralogists, a proof that the lower rock is of later formation than that which lyes above it. To this position, however, Dr Berger is unwilling to agree. 'I conceive,' says he, 'that at the 'time the grauwacke was deposited upon the granite, the water 'in which its particles were suspended, meeting with portions 'of the granite, a little more elevated than the plane of the 'surface, left them exposed, and filled up the spaces between.'

What have been called Granite veins, are therefore, on this supposition, no more than inequalities in the rugged surface of the granite, surrounded at their sides by the killas, and left bare in the more prominent parts. Dr B. must be aware, that this hypothesis admits of being confronted with the facts. If, on cutting into the rock, it is found that these apparent granitic veins do not merely proceed from the granite at one end, but are united with it for their whole extent, and only form a sort of edge rising above the rest of its surface, his opinion will have great plausibility. But, if the contrary is the case,—if the supposed veins are surrounded by the killas, above and below, and are joined to the granite only at one end where they are thickest;—in a word, if they are like the roots of a tree penetrating into the earth, his supposition falls entirely to the ground. The trials necessary

sary for determining this question have not, that we know of been made at St Michael's Mount: but they have been made in other places; and the fact has been found to be as last represented. This is true of the granite veins near New Galloway, of which, as Dr Berger remarks, Sir James Hall caused a model to be constructed.

'How comes it,' says Dr B., 'if the origin of these veins 'is to be ascribed to the action of a force from below, that they 'occur in so few places? and how comes it that the grauwacke, 'as it approaches the junction between it and the primitive rock, 'continues diminishing in thickness?'

To these two questions, we believe, it would be easy for a Huttonian geologist to reply;—in the mean time, we must observe, that the Doctor passes, in profound silence, over the obvious objections to his own hypothesis. In particular, he does not attempt to explain how such a number of thin plates of granite, as the veins at St Michael's Mount are supposed to consist of, were formed on the surface of a rock without any mould in which they could be cast, and how they remained projecting from that surface, without any support, from the time of the formation of the granite to that of the transition rocks.

Dr B. is of opinion, that the granite of Cornwall is not stratified; and he thinks, that true granite is never found possessing that character. 'The opinion,' says he, 'that granite is stra- 'tified, is one which I cannot adopt, even after having visited 'those places where Saussure thought he had discovered the 'strongest proofs in favour of it.'

In this opinion we are very much disposed to acquiesce; and we think it is valuable, in such a case, to have the judgment of one who has examined granitic rocks in such various situations, and particularly those in which their disposition into strata was thought to be most clearly ascertained.

The observations, made in the course of this survey, on the inclination and bearing of the strata, are less numerous and precise than might have been expected. The killas is, in general, represented as lying conformably on the granite on both sides of the main ridge. This, however, we believe, is not universal;—and, if we are not misinformed, is sometimes in vertical beds transverse to the ridge just mentioned. In one instance, Dr B. takes notice of a fact that is very much of this kind;—that though, on the south slope of the mountain chain of Cornwall, the strata of killas dip S. S. E., near Mount's Bay they dip N. N. W.—that is to say, they dip towards the granite, and instead of being laid upon its slope, or placed conformably, as it is called, are abutted against it.

In

In speaking of the mines, the Doctor observes, that Werner has brought forward so many facts, in support of the two fundamental positions, that veins have been originally open fissures, and that they have been filled from above, that this theory scarcely receives a greater degree of stability by any of the further proofs which are daily discovered. We readily admit, that the first of these positions is very well established;—the proofs of the other seem to us extremely inconclusive—founded, as they are, upon that string of *unsupported postulata* which was taken notice of in a former Number of our Journal, and which we believe to be nearly unexampled in any work that presumes to consider itself in the light of a theory founded on experience and observation.—The question concerning the minerals that have come from above, and those that have come from below, is not to be so easily resolved:—it must require a patient and candid examination; and, above all things, a determination to resist every evidence not founded on the most strict analogy, or the most rigorous induction. The fact which the Doctor adduces of pebbles, found in a mineral vein 250 feet below the surface, is certainly in point; but, in strictness, it only proves, that veins were open fissures, (which nobody presumes to deny); and that some of the materials that fill them may occasionally have fallen in from the top.

On the direction of the veins in Cornwall, he remarks that the productive veins extend from E. S. E. to W. N. W. Some of the veins penetrate to a great depth,—such as 140 and 180 fathoms; and in passing from one species of rock to another, they generally change their degree of richness. There are other veins which intersect the former nearly at right angles, and are called cross-courses. Some of the most considerable of these extend from sea to sea; and, as the Doctor says, consist of marl or clay. But, if we mistake not, there are among these cross veins, some that contain copper, and that are in all respects mineral veins. The veins of granite and porphyry are also in the number of the cross-courses. They are evidently of posterior formation to the former, which they generally disturb and turn out of their course at the points of intersection.

The mines of Cornwall are very numerous; and it appears, that, in the year 1800, the number wrought was not less than 99. Of these, 45 were copper—28 tin—18 copper and tin—2 lead—1 lead and silver—1 copper and silver—1 silver—1 copper and cobalt—1 tin and cobalt—and 1 antimony. To these may be added some mines of manganese, which were not worked when this enumeration was made. (p. 167.)

With

With the exception of platina, mercury, molybdena, and the five bodies so little known and apparently so little useful, tellureum, tantalium, columbium, and cerium, Cornwall affords indications of all the metals.

On the whole, this paper, though with some defects as a mineral survey, contains a great deal of valuable information, and manifests in the author much diligence and research. We cannot help thinking, that the Wernerian geology is faulty, in directing the attention of the mineral surveyor to some favourite points, and withdrawing it from the rest. The order in which the strata succeed, seems to be the great object to which the mineralogists of that school are inclined to attend; and the order fixed on by Werner being very precise and very different, we imagine, from that which nature has adopted, the person who would reconcile the one with the other has abundance of work upon his hands. The junction of the rocks with one another, particularly of the stratified with the unstratified, their inclination to the horizon, the line in which they intersect it, the space which strata of a particular kind occupy, and the heights to which they ascend,—these, as well as the mineralogical characters, ought to be diligently examined.

The use Dr B. has made of the barometer, we think extremely laudable; and we hope, that an instrument, calculated to give such valuable information, not only concerning the mountains themselves, but the position of particular minerals, will, by and by, be considered as an essential part of a geological apparatus. The compass for measuring the bearings of the strata, and the *clinometer* * for estimating their dip, are still more important; and we regret to find them so rarely employed in the present survey. A map of Cornwall, with the points marked where particular observations were made, would have added much to the value of this communication.

Dr Berger, as a foreigner, has a claim to indulgence;—and being, perhaps, not quite familiar with our language, he might, when his knowledge depended on the information of others, be occasionally deceived. It adds much to the value of his observations, that his eye has been accustomed to the sight of rocks and of mountains, where they appear on the greatest scale, and in their noblest forms. He has been trained to the science he pursues, among the Alps of Switzerland; and, born in a land of liberty and independence, he has taken refuge in the only

* A very ingenious instrument, contrived by the Right Honourable Lord Webb Seymour, for measuring at once both the inclination and the bearing of any stratum.

only country where they now exist;—and where he hopes that the girdle of the ocean, and the spirit of the people, are a security against that oppression which the bulwark of his native mountains was unable to resist.

A very interesting paper on the mineralogy of Shropshire, by Arthur Aikin esq., is the eighth in this collection.

It seems that a vertical section through the Wrekin, in the direction of west by north, and east by south, intersects the great coal field of Shropshire, on the east side of the mountain, and two smaller formations of the same mineral on the west. The former lyes between the base of the Wrekin, and a branch of the old red sandstone; which, proceeding southwards from the great body of that rock, which occupies so large a portion of Cheshire and the country to the north, divides the coal fields of Shropshire and Staffordshire from one another. Against this sandstone, the coal field first mentioned seems to abut, on the east side, dipping towards it at an angle of about 6°. Under the coal lyes a body of limestone strata, dipping also toward the red sandstone.

The coal formation is composed of the usual series of rocks, which are most completely seen at the Madeley coalery, where a pit is sunk to the depth of 729 feet, through 86 beds, which compose the whole of the formation.

The first 30 strata are composed of sandstone, fine grained, with mica, and thin plates of coal. The 31st and 33d are coarse grained sandstone, remarkable for being penetrated by petroleum. They are together 15 feet thick, with a bed of sandy slate clay, 4 feet thick, interposed between them. These are what furnish the petroleum spring at Coalport.

The first coal forms the 9th bed from the surface, at the depth of 102 feet, and is not more than 4 inches thick. The first bed that is worked, is a five feet coal, at the depth of 490 feet. But the greatest deposit of coal is lower down, consisting of 9 beds, the aggregate thickness of which is about 16 feet. The rock upon which the coal formation rests, is for the most part limestone, which is nearly horizontal at the eastern extremity of the above section, but rises, with a considerable elevation, as it approaches the high country about the Wrekin. There are two fractures in these beds, that run parallel to one another; and on the west side of them the limestone beds are more elevated than on the east. It would seem, from Mr Aikin's description, that there is no decisive character contained in the rocks themselves, by which it can be determined whether this is to be ascribed to the forcible elevation of the strata at one end, or their depression at the other. There is another range of limestone, farther to the

the west, and parallel to the former. It is very full of tubulites, and other coralline remains. In this limestone, the elevated portion has an intimate connexion with an unstratified greenstone, which lyes under it, at the point where it is most elevated.

An important geological question here occurs. Are these beds, or are they not, in the position in which they were first deposited? That they are not in that position, appears to be supported by the impossibility of a bed of sandstone being deposited on a plane at an elevation of between 30° and 40°, in such a manner as to constitute an extensive stratum of an uniform thickness. The position, also, of the tubulites, which pierce through the marl, is a subsidiary argument of no small weight. These tubes, some of which are scarce an eighth of an inch in diameter, with a length of twelve inches, are perpendicular to the plane of the stratum; and therefore, when that plane makes an angle of 40° with the horizon, the coralline tubes must make with it an angle of 50°, a situation not at all agreeable to the class of animals to which they belong, as they always affect a vertical position. It remains to discover, whether, in this body of rock, the elevation of one end, or the depression of the other, is most probable. The former supposition seems to derive great probability from this, that where the beds of limestone and sandstone are most elevated, a great mass of greenstone lyes immediately under them. 'Is it not, therefore, probable,' says Mr Aikin, 'that the greenstone has occupied the situation 'which it now holds, posteriorly to the formation of the strati-'fied rocks between which it is at present found? But though 'the above facts,' adds he, 'should be considered as justifying 'the hypothesis of the active agency of the greenstone, and 'consequently its fluidity, I am by no means prepared to affirm 'that this fluidity was that of igneous fusion; for neither the 'sandstone, nor the limestone, nor even the crumbling clayey 'marl, appear to me to have undergone the smallest alteration 'by the contact, or close vicinity of the greenstone.'

The section, as it proceeds to the westward, encounters the grauwacke, elevated towards the north-west, at an angle of 50°; over which lye the strata of red sandstone, elevated at an angle of 10° towards the north-east. These two kinds of strata, therefore, make with one another an angle which it would require a trigonometrical calculation to determine, from the data which Mr Aikin has given, but which may be nearly taken at 59°, which, therefore, is the angle which the sandstone makes with the grauwacke. At Welbach, near the western extremity, is a patch of coal strata, contained in a hollow between the grauwacke and

and the old red sandstone. On one side, therefore, this coal must be considered as resting immediately on a transition rock, from which, on the Wernerian system, it is represented as extremely distant. On the whole, we must consider this paper as drawn up with great care and impartiality; so that it is not easy to say, whether it be to the Plutonic or Neptunian system that the author most inclines. The only thing that can render a particular theory not only innocent but useful in the hands of an observer, is a disposition to mark, with equal diligence, the facts that are favourable, and those that are adverse to his system.

So far as one can discover from the present Memoir, Mr Aikin may be said to possess this degree of candour; and it is difficult, perhaps, to bestow on him a higher praise. We have seen proposals by the same gentleman, for a mineralogical survey of the county of Salop; and, from the specimen given along with the proposals, as well as from that of which we have been just giving an account, we cannot but ardently wish for the success of his undertaking.

The next paper to which we shall advert, is by Leonard Horner, esq.; and contains a very distinct, and apparently very accurate account of the Mineralogy of the Malvern Hills; a ridge well known, in the south-west part of Worcestershire. The central part of this range, and nearly the whole of the eastern side, consist of different compounds of felspar, hornblende, quartz, and mica, disposed in very irregular forms. Granite is one of these compounds, and appears to be less irregular than the rest. It is sometimes found in the highest parts of the hills; but prevails chiefly in the lower parts, where it forms veins which traverse the other rocks.

The stratified rocks which occupy the country to the westward, rise to a considerable height on the side of the range. The most northern hill in the range is called the End-hill, and is composed of granite. On the End-hill, also, but higher than the granite, there is a rock of a purplish brown colour, composed of hornblende and felspar, with a little quartz. It would probably be ranged, Mr Horner says, with the greenstone of Werner; but we rather think with the syenite. On the north side of the same hill, a rock occurs, made up nearly of equal parts of hornblende and epidote.

The North-hill, near the former, and somewhat to the west of it, contains also granite. The Worcestershire Beacon is another of the most remarkable points in this range, and is an aggregate rock, consisting of small angular and rounded fragments of quartz and felspar, cemented by a ferruginous base.

At the top, this hill consists almost entirely of granite; and on the eastern side, greenstone is the prevailing rock. The relative position of the different rocks is not, however, sufficiently explained; and it may be, that the thick coat of vegetable mould by which the ridge is mostly covered, does not allow it to be ascertained.

The Swinet-hill is one of the most remarkable points in the Malvern chain; and the upper part of it is composed of a granite, more distinctly characterised than the greater part of those found in this district. It is, however, very different from an alpine granite. The mica is in minute specks, and in very small quantity: The rock is not stratified. Thus it appears, that the ridge, or the highest points in the range, are composed of granite, and other unstratified rocks. On the west side strata occur; some of coarse-grained sandstone, others of a compact quartz sandstone; one of these is said to be found in thin layers, with a bearing parallel to the direction of the range, but dipping towards the east, at an angle of about 60°. On this side, also, lower down, is a limestone ridge, that dips to the west, at an angle of about 40°. The strata, indeed, all along, seem to be in a very erect position. There are also argillaceous slaty strata, bearing north and south, with an elevation of 65° westward, or towards the Leadbury hills, a low ridge, which, at the distance of about two miles, runs parallel to the Malvern hills.

The direction of the stratified rocks is, with a few exceptions, parallel to that of the range; but there is great irregularity in the dip. The strata nearest the unstratified rocks dip at a considerable angle towards the west; though, in some places, they dip in an opposite direction, that is, toward the hill; and they were observed in this position at the greatest height to which they ascend.

The two sides of the Malvern ridge are in many respects considerably unlike. On the east side, a level plain extends for many miles; and the streams that rise on the sides of the ridge run directly eastward to the Severn. On the west side, there is a constant succession of hills; and the streams run, not at right angles to the ridge, but rather in the direction of it;—some to the south, and others to the north. The strata on the west side are considered by Mr Horner as belonging to the order of Transition rocks. The remarkable variations that occur in their direction and dip, make it probable that they have been forcibly elevated from the horizontal position in which they were originally deposited, and thrown into the different situations in which they are now found. We must remark of Mr Horner's

Horner's paper, that it is more complete in its accompaniments, than any other in this volume, being illustrated both by a map of the country, and sections of the rocks.

The only other memoir in this collection which we shall now mention, is a sketch of the Geology of Madeira, by the Honourable H. G. Bennet.

The short, but interesting, sketch contained in this paper, concludes with the following remarks.

"To my mind, the most interesting geological facts, are the intersection of the lava by dikes at right angles with the strata. —2*dly*, The rapid dips which the strata make, particularly the overlaying of that of the Brazen Head to the eastward of Funchal, where the blue, grey, and red lavas are rolled up in one mass, as if they had slipped together from an upper stratum.—3*dly*, The columnar form of the lava itself, reposing on, and covered by, beds of scoriæ, ashes and pumice, which affords a strong argument for the volcanic origin of the columns themselves. And, 4*thly*, the veins of carbonate of lime and zeolite, which are not found here in solitary pieces, as in the vicinity of Ætna and Vesuvius, but are amid the lavas and in the strata of pumice and tufa, and are diffused on the lava itself, and occasionally crystallized in its cavities."

These remarks excite great curiosity about the detail of the facts, which prove the rocks here enumerated to be really of volcanic origin. The presence of carbonate of lime is certainly inconsistent with the idea, that the rocks in which it is contained have been in fusion at the surface of the earth, and under a pressure no greater than that of our atmosphere; as, in such circumstances, the heat would have driven off the carbonic acid, and left the calcareous earth in the state of quicklime. It is, however, by no means inconsistent with the action of volcanic force at the bottom of the sea. This follows as a natural corollary, from the experiments of Sir James Hall on the effects of heat modified by compression. The facts described by Mr Bennet have a great resemblance to those communicated by Sir George Mackenzie to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, in the course of the last winter. It is curious to see the truths of geology confirmed by witnesses brought from points so distant; and to find Iceland and Madeira joining to attest the same facts, and to support the same theory.

Though we have confined ourselves to the geological papers in this volume, we have not been able to extend our observations to them all. Another paper, by Dr Berger, on the Geology of some parts of Hampshire and Dorsetshire;—one on the Soufriere of the Island of Mountserrat, by Dr Nugent;—a Notice

on the Geological Structure of the Vicinity of Dublin, by Dr Fitton, which, viewing it as a Notice, has considerable merit;—and another Notice accompanying the Section of Heligoland, by two Officers of Engineers, are highly deserving of attention.

We cannot, however, take leave of this volume, without congratulating the public on the institution of a Society particularly devoted to geological researches. The beginning is fair, and augurs well for the future. At the same time, we must take the liberty of suggesting another service which a Society of this nature may be able to render to science; nay, we will even say, a duty which it is strongly called on to perform. We should hope that a Society, seriously interested for the advancement of Geology, will not rest satisfied with observation, but will undertake what may be called *geological experiments*. In general, one who pursues this study, has only the means of observing the facts that spontaneously offer, or those which the arts have accidentally brought to light, with views very different from the acquisition of science. He is accordingly often cruelly disappointed. When he has traced some fact through a variety of gradations, and thinks himself on the point of ascertaining the whole truth, some obstacle, accidental in itself, and such as a little industry could easily remove, puts an entire stop to his inquiry. Every man who has busied himself in the examination of the earth's surface, must have often experienced such mortifications. The causes of them are no doubt frequently beyond the power of skill or industry to overcome; but they are often such as, though an individual cannot remove them, would readily yield to the efforts of a Society, which would raise and appropriate a fund for such purposes. How many useful experiments, with such assistance, might be made! Nothing, for instance, could be more instructive than to know how deep the alluvial ground reaches which we find in the beds of rivers, and especially near their mouths; and in what proportion this depth decreases, as we approach the mountains. This is one of the points on which Nature herself rarely affords full information; which, however, might be obtained by the simple operation of boring in proper situations.

The succession of the rocks, as we descend, might be determined in the same manner in those countries where the strata are horizontal and unbroken, and where, of course, Nature seldom affords the means of making such observations. The junction or contact of different kinds of rock, is one of the objects most interesting to a geologist: but, how often does he come within a few hundred yards, nay, in some cases, within a few feet, of that junction, and yet is unable to discover the exact line, on account of a quantity of earth or gravel, which is not to be removed.

removed without more time and expense than he can afford to bestow.

Evident as is the value of such experiments, we know but of very few instances in which they have been attempted. If we mistake not, the Duc de Choiseul Gouffier caused pits to be dug, or borings to be made on the banks of the Meander, so renowned for the windings, and consequently the changes of its course, in order to discover to what depth its workings extended. A geologist of our own country, no less skilful than zealous in the pursuit of science, has given several examples of a similar kind. Sir James Hall has, in many instances, removed the veil which the alluvial soil had drawn across some of the most instructive spots that have been met with in the mineral kingdom, and has caused models to be made, exhibiting the phenomena he discovered. These, we believe, are the only *luciferous* experiments, of which geology can yet boast. A Society, forming itself into a body, for the purpose of directing and executing such experiments, would mark an era in the history of this science; and, we have no doubt, would open up fields of observation that are at present entirely concealed. It would give us great pleasure to think, that, in the institution of the Geological Society, we are to hail the commencement of such an era.

Art. X. *Voyage aux Indes Orientales, pendant les Années* 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805 *et* 1806, *contenant la Description du Cap de Bonne-Esperance, des Iles de France, Bonaparte, Java, Borneo, et de la Ville de Batavia; des Observations sur le Commerce et les Productions de leurs Pays, sur les Mœurs et les Usages de leurs Habitans, &c. Avec un Atlas, par Ch. F. Tombe. Revu, et augmenté de plusieurs Notes et Eclaircissemens, par M. Sonini.* 2 Tom. 8vo. Paris, 1810.

The information afforded by this work is not very important; but it conducts us over interesting ground; and brings again into view topics, the consideration of which we have, perhaps, too long intermitted. While sinister interest and servility are actively working upon the prejudices and ignorance of the public, for the prolongation of abuses by which individuals profit, it is proper that some attempt should be made to direct the attention of the country to the true state of the fact. It is not the cry of *speculation!* raised against all prospective views; it is not the cry of *innovation!* raised against the proposal of all measures contrived to avert foreseen calamities, that will support the country under a continuance of com-

mercial bankruptcies; that will open new, to supply the loss of ancient channels of trade; that will animate industry under the pressure of unexampled burthens, and increase the productive powers of the country, under a continued drain of its resources. A quiet acquiescence in things as they are, is a delightful opiate to a nation in peril—and, like other opiates, will always be prescribed by those who consult their patients' present satisfaction, rather than their ultimate safety.

On no subject has the listlessness and indifference incident to nations with respect to the common weal, been more remarkably displayed than in England with respect to the affairs of India. A total ignorance of the subject is general, even among well informed people. The notions which have been propagated, are those which it concerned interested individuals to propagate. Prejudices accordingly have gained the field; and to such a degree, that the only measures accommodated to the situation of our affairs, measures recommended by the most obvious principles of policy, and most familiarly adopted in every enlightened government, have been very generally represented as the suggestions of paradoxical ingenuity, and rejected, in many instances, without the ceremony of a hearing. Events, however, will not permit a long continuance in this course. They are hurrying us on to results which will only be the more fatal, that they come unforeseen. A commercial company, excluding the rest of the public from a boasted commerce, yet coming annually to the pockets of that excluded public for support, will not always be endured. A great sovereignty, entrusted to a small body of merchants, and so managed as not to yield any thing in the balance of receipts and supplies, but to draw largely and constantly from us, is a prodigy in politics, which an enlightened age cannot long continue to regard with indifference. A perpetual deficit in the finances of such a sovereignty, and such a commerce, cannot fail, sooner or later, to produce an explosion. Promises perpetually belied by experience; pretexts a thousand times brought forward, and a thousand times refuted, will in time cease to delude.

The branch of the subject which is more particularly brought into view in the work before us, is the New Empire, as it may very properly be called, which, within a few years past, has been added to the commercial dominion of the East India Company. It is that dominion which, for a number of centuries, was occupied with brilliant fortune by the Dutch. *M. Tombe* sailed from Nantes to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence to the Isle of France; and from the Isle of France to the Eastern Archipelago; to Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Timor, the Molucca, and

and other islands; and, lastly, to Ceylon. On the physical and moral circumstances of these places, and their commercial and political relations, he offers such notices as his observations and reading supplied. There is but little in his volume which is new; for he had not the best opportunities, and he was not the fittest man in the world to profit by them. The history, however, of the field over which he passed, excites many reflections. This is the very field of that celebrated spice trade, which first tempted the other nations of Europe to break the monopoly which the Portuguese, as the first discoverers, claimed in the Indian Seas. It is that envied trade which excited so much desire, and produced such eager efforts, for several ages, among the English; which formed the object of so persevering and acrimonious a rivalship between them and the Dutch; which produced the massacre of Amboyna, and the unrelenting contests to which the interests of both nations in India were well nigh sacrificed. It is that trade which contributed so much to the grandeur and power of Holland; which was for ages the envy of all the commercial nations of Europe; and which the Dutch guarded from competition with such exquisite jealousy and care.

One of the effects of the war in which the French revolution involved us with Holland, was to bring into our possession the whole scene of this splendid commerce. But, did we derive from it any of those advantages which it had produced to its first proprietors? Alas, no! And the reason is obvious. The East India Company had no capital for it. They had not enough, indeed, for the business of their own territory; and they would not permit any one else to enter into the career, for fear the monopoly should suffer. Rather than run that risk—rather than agree to participate with their countrymen in the advantages of a trade which they possessed, but could not occupy—they chose, at the peace of Amiens, actually to advise giving up, what had constituted for centuries the most brilliant commerce of the globe, to a foreign nation—to our inveterate enemies—to the French, in short, under the name of the Dutch! Upon the renewal of the war, the stations of the Dutch trade again fell into our hands. And what, again, has been the consequence? The Company has had less trade, and the nation dearer spices, since the acquisition, than before. The commercial capital invested by the Company in the annual purchase of Indian goods, instead of increasing in proportion to the extent of the new channels of trade obtained by the new circumstances of the nation, has decreased, and that in a degree of which the public is far from being aware,—in a degree which it will not be easy for it to believe. It has gradually dwindled down to little

more than one third of what it was in the year 1798-9. The following is a statement of the amount of the Indian investment for each year.

1798–9.....	£4,369,281	1804–5.....	£1,860,840
1799–1800.....	3,151,794	1805–6.....	2,243,427
1800–1.....	3,445,126	1806–7.....	1,736,362
1801–2.....	2,340,092	1807–8.....	1,726,412
1802–3.....	1,987,515	1808–9.....	1,827,577
1803–4.....	2,121,003	1809–10.....	2,123,990 *

We here see a pretty clear account of the total failure of advantage from the possession of the Spice islands, and of that trade which had once been so lucrative. In the last of the years inserted in this table, there is a small improvement in the amount of the Indian investment. But, how was that obtained? By diminishing the China investment,—which in 1808-9 was £2,925,630, and in 1809–10 was only £2,578,374. The whole investment, therefore,—India and China included,—was, in fact, less in 1809–10 than in the preceding year;—being, in the year 1809–10, £4,702,363, and in the preceding year £4,753,207. † The Dutch East India Company often divided 40 *per cent.* upon their capital stock; and they divided $21\frac{1}{7}$ *per cent.* on an average of all the years, from the origin of the Company to 1774; at which period the whole commerce of the Republic, and with it the Indian branch, had been for a number of years on the decline. Their stock, in 1732, sold in the market at 779 *per cent.*—even in 1774 at 363 *per cent.*—and never so low as 300 *per cent.* The annual produce of their sales, for nearly the first half of the eighteenth century, was nearly two millions Sterling; which, after making allowance for the change in the value of money, was equal to six millions in English money of the present day.

These facts are remarkable, and suggest serious reflections. At a time when the channels of trade have been shut against British capital in a degree unexampled,—at a time when British merchants have been fain to press themselves into every opening which ingenuity could discover,—when, from a desire to employ their capital, they have glutted every port with their goods where it was possible to send them, and have loaded South America, Spain, Portugal, and Heligoland, with merchandize for which no returns can be obtained, a boundless field in the Eastern Ocean, just opened to our enterprise, *has been held vacant*, at the good pleasure of the East India Company, who,

* Exposition of the Company's finances, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 22d May 1810.—pp. 30 and 66.

† Ibid. p. 66.

who, like the vicious cur in the manger, will not let others eat what they themselves are unable to taste. At a time when the capital of the British merchants has been so much at a loss for employment, we have seen the East India Company obliged, *for want of capital*, to recede from a great part of the trade which they were once able to embrace, instead of occupying, to its full extent, a great branch of trade newly acquired for its benefit. Is this no blemish in the policy of a country calling itself enlightened? Is there no disadvantage, no national detriment, no disgrace, in short, in a situation of things like this? Who knows to what a degree that loss of capital, which has been incurred by excessive efforts to push a trade with South America, with Spain, Portugal, the Baltic, &c. might have been prevented, had the immense outlet which India, Persia, China, and all the vast countries which are washed by the Indian Ocean, been opened to the eager demands of British commercial enterprise? What has the East India Company done, that it should have the privilege of cramping British industry, and of thus keeping down the annual produce, the wealth, and prosperity of the nation? What is the benefit the monopoly produces, to compensate these, and all the other great and numerous evils, of which it is the undoubted parent?

Were it true, that monopolies were in general adviseable; that they were recommended by the best principles of political economy; that experience proved them to be in general favourable to the development of industry,—to the accumulation of capital,—to the encrease of the annual produce,—the wealth and prosperity of nations;—even then, the circumstances we have just enumerated, would seem to demand that an exception should be made of the East Indies,—a field too vast to be improved by the declining funds of the monopolists,—and a field greatly enlarged, at the very time when British capital is unable to find any but the most dangerous and experimentally fatal channels for its diffusion.

But if, on the other hand, monopoly is one of those absurd expedients of an unenlightened age, which the progress of nations, and the course of experience, have the most completely exposed; if it is now universally acknowledged to be one of the worst obstructions that can be opposed to the prosperity of nations; and to originate in a policy which, if generally adopted, would condemn any people to incurable poverty and wretchedness;—what shall be said of the apathy of the British nation, if it allow a number of stale pretexts, a thousand times rejected, to be admitted once more as reasons for continuing the most disastrous of all monopolies?

There is an important passage in Hume, which should have some

some weight with those who deny the mischiefs of monopoly. He is reviewing the government of Elizabeth; and says, 'The 'government of England, during that age, however different 'in other particulars, bore, in this respect, some resemblance 'of that of Turkey at present. The sovereign possessed every 'power except that of imposing taxes: And in both countries, 'this limitation, unsupported by other privileges, appears 'rather prejudical to the people. In Turkey, it obliges the 'sultan to permit the extortion of the bashas and governors 'of provinces, from whom he afterwards squeezes presents, or 'takes forfeitures. In England, it engaged the queen to erect 'monopolies, and grant patents for exclusive trade; an inven-'tion so pernicious, that had she gone on during a tract of 'years at the same rate, England, the seat of riches, and arts, 'and commerce, would have contained, at present, as little 'industry as Morocco or the coast of Barbary.' * The creation, and of course the permission, of commercial monopolies, Hume regarded as so pernicious a scheme of policy, that it only needed to be carried a certain length to produce all the effects of the most barbarous despotism.

It is, indeed, a very curious and instructive fact, that men of all descriptions and parties in the kingdom, are now agreed in reprobating the policy of monopolies, with the solitary exception of the East India Company, and persons who have an interest in supporting them. They stand absolutely alone: The whole world has, in this speculation, forsaken them. We know not that we could produce a syllable written in favour of the antiquated doctrine of monopoly, during the last thirty or forty years, that has not been written by a member, or a creature, of the Honourable Company. This is, indeed, an important and conclusive phenomenon. It shows, beyond any example we recollect, the prodigious influence which a feeling of interest exerts, not only over the conduct, but the intellectual faculties. For of those who, as members or advocates of the Company, espouse the doctrines of monopoly, some certainly are men of good understanding, and honourable minds—men who have not resisted the beneficial effects of an improved state of knowledge in other walks of inquiry, and who are far above the suspicion of attempting to delude their countrymen into a belief of doctrines, which, though convenient for themselves, they know to be false, and full of mischief to the nation at large. Yet against the full current of the age in which they live,—against arguments the most conclusive, and experience the most decisive, they stand forth with bigotry the most determined

* Hume's History of England, vol. 5. p. 459.

termined, and contend for monopoly as if it were one of the main springs of national wealth and prosperity.

In the state of knowledge in which England is now placed, the existence of such a thing as the monopoly of the East India Company may well be regarded as a prodigy. It is a prodigy, however, for which very sufficient causes will be found to exist. Individual interest and national apathy will account for many absurdities, and much public calamity. A great many families, in the middling and superior classes, have been long in the habit of considering India merely in the light of a convenient outlet for such of their members as had no very tempting occupation at home, and never think of looking farther: while the interests of ministers and directors, thus freed from the troublesome inspection and importunity of individual jealousy, have full scope to display themselves.

With regard to ministers, it is abundantly evident, that, even if their power or gains were not at all concerned in the business, they would have a strong interest in wishing things to remain as they are, from the very trouble that would be necessary to place them in a new situation. They would feel a powerful temptation to make themselves believe, that the existing situation, if not the very best that could be conceived, is perhaps the best that could be attained;—in short, a very good situation; and, at all events, too good to be risked for theoretical change. After this, not only would they feel it their interest, but they would fancy they felt it their duty, to persuade the nation that nothing could be more admirable than our Indian policy;—and this being once settled, it follows, of course, that all who find fault with that policy must be represented as deceivers,—as men whom ignorance, or groundless discontent, or hopes to profit by mischief, have made desirous of innovation and disturbance. If such would be the natural effect of the mere desire to escape the trouble of reformation,—what may we suppose will be produced by the fear of losing all the power and profits which India affords? Not only is the whole patronage of India, in general, employed for ministerial support,—not only is a great part of it actually under ministerial nomination,—but the East India House has votes in Parliament more numerous than it would be easy to reckon; which, in its present state of dependence, are sure to be, on most occasions, at the nod of the minister. Is it at all reasonable, then, to suppose that any ministry will have either the strength or the virtue, voluntarily to fling from it such a secure and important source of influence as this?

As to the interest which Directors, and those who aspire to be Directors, have in the existence of the monopoly, it is probably

bably needless to say any thing. The management of the concerns of a great association, is itself no trifling object of ambition; and attended with no slight advantages in the way of power, vanity, and profit. But when to this is added the patronage of an immense empire, the value of the system in the eyes of those who are the instruments in carrying it on, must appear immense. Even if they feel that they are but a sort of instruments in the hands of the minister, the advantages are still great. To be selected as instruments for so great a work, would be sufficient elevation and pride to most Directors,—who, if they were not this, would probably be nothing.

Those, then, who are satisfied of the pernicious effects of monopoly in general, cannot receive with too much suspicion and distrust the arguments that are offered in its support by persons under the influence of so powerful a cause, both of unfairness and delusion. But what, in fact, are the grounds on which this monopoly is still defended? They are so far from being strong and convincing, that hardly ever, we think, was a mistaken system maintained on so weak a foundation. Their arguments are not only at variance with all the established principles of national economy, but they are either drawn from the most pitiful errors, or are addressed to the most wretched prejudices. They have been, moreover, so often refuted and exposed, that nothing but the necessity of repeating the refutation as often as the false argument is repeated with a chance of success, could make us submit to the irksome task of travelling over so hackneyed a road. We shall, for our own sakes, pass over it as quickly as possible.

One of the arguments on which, when pressed by the evidence of the mischievous effects of monopoly, the advocates of the charter have chiefly relied, is the assertion, that 'a connexion exists between the commerce and the revenue.' Now, in the first place, this has the advantage of not being very easily understood. *What* connexion exists between the commerce and the revenue? Could the taxes not be collected in India, unless the taxgatherers were merchants? This will surely not be asserted; for the Directors complain, that much more than they ever collect, was collected formerly by sovereigns who were not merchants. Could not the commerce be carried on without the revenue? This it is equally impossible to assert; because the Company itself carried it on longer without the revenue, than it has done with it; and spoke as loftily of the benefits derived by it to the nation then, as it speaks, or can speak now. If the commerce cannot now be carried on without the revenue, what is the reason? Have the Company no other capital? This may be true—and is certainly too near the truth, with regard

gard to the Company: But it is not true with regard to the British merchants,—who are ready, with large capitals, to embark in the trade. It was not true with regard to the Americans, who, before the fatal disputes about the rights of neutrals, carried on so large a traffic with India. In the reasonings of the Company on this alleged connexion, the only specific point which is ever presented, is the remittance of the surplus of the revenue. The surplus of the revenue, they say, cannot be remitted but by means of the monopoly. They may just as well assert that it cannot be remitted without a Chairman, a Deputy Chairman, and four-and-twenty Directors. There is surely no natural or necessary connexion between the remittance of money, and a monopoly of trade. But there are two decisive answers to this strange assertion. In the first place, there is no surplus of revenue to remit; there never was any; and, as things now stand, there is every reason to think that there never will be any. In the second place, if there were ever so great a surplus, a King's ship, or any other ship, could carry it, if in the shape of bullion; and bills of exchange, if goods to a sufficient amount were the preferable shape. Adopt the doctrine of the East India Company, and England ought to have an exclusive corporation for carrying on the trade to Ireland, and the trade to Scotland; because there, too, a connexion exists between the commerce and the revenue; and there, too, it might as well be said, the surplus of the revenue cannot be realized without a monopoly of the trade. The only difference between the two sets of cases, is local distance, on which the circumstance in question has no dependence. If no monopoly, therefore, is necessary for realizing the surplus of revenue from Scotland and Ireland; for the very same reasons, none would be necessary for realizing it (if there were any) from India.

Another assertion of the Company is, that a free trade cannot be permitted,—because a free trade would produce colonization,—and colonization would produce insurrection and revolt. Now, supposing the last branch of this deduction to be granted, why, we would ask, should free trade lead to colonization? Trade requires but few agents in a foreign country. A few men of capital, or their agents, and a few clerks, repairing thither to make a fortune, and return, could not well colonize a country already overpeopled. As for handicrafts and labourers, there are three good reasons why any influx of them need not be dreaded. In the first place, they cannot afford the expense of the voyage;—in the next place, the wages of labour in India are so low, that they would be immense losers by the emigration;—and, in the third place, the climate and the language and manners of the people are so different from their own, that their

their condition would be wretched. In these circumstances, to talk of colonization becoming dangerous, by the admixture of Britons, in a country containing fifty millions of inhabitants—among whom, for centuries, the Britons could hardly form a distinguishable ingredient—is really ludicrous.

In fact, wherever plain good sense has been applied to the subject, free from the misleading influence of personal interest, the absurdity of all apprehensions on the score of colonization has sufficiently appeared. Lord Cornwallis saw it distinctly; and, in contemplating freedom of trade to India, as that which not only ought to happen, but that which, in fact, would, to all appearance, very soon happen, he declared, that nothing was wanting but arrangements for a tolerable administration of justice, to render all the colonization which would ensue, in the highest degree advantageous. In his minute in council, of the 11th of February 1793 (one of the noblest monuments of his government), on the reform of the administration of justice in India, he says, 'Should the restrictions on the trade be-'tween this country and Britain be withdrawn, or lessened, 'it will create a further necessity for strengthening the hands of 'justice. The idea of the agents of Europeans, or the officers 'of government, being able to commit oppression with impunity, 'must be eradicated. The people will then feel themselves secure 'in their persons and property; and a spirit of industry will ani-'mate both the manufacurer and the cultivator of the land. *The 'agents of European traders may then pervade every part of the 'country without injury to the people;* and it will be enriched, 'in proportion to the extent of their demands for its produce 'and manufactures.' *2d. Rep. by Sel. Com.* 1810, p. 108.

After such a hint as this, the Directors cannot pretend to be taken at unawares. If the very highest of their own servants are so deeply impressed with these opinions, they may form a judgment of what are the sentiments of the rest of their countrymen.

The authority of Lord Wellesley is, to the honour of his judgment and frankness, clearly and strongly on the same side of the question. In arguing with the directors the question of indulgences to private trade, he was led to consider their objection drawn from the pretended danger of colonization. He turns it to their eye on all its sides; and exposes its futility, in every supposeable state of circumstances. He shows, that the powers of the Government, whether in the hands of the Company or in any other hands, are not destroyed by granting, whether more or less of the freedom of trade. He concludes with a remark which is but too often applicable to the policy of the Company. 'It is remarkable,' he says, 'that the principle which

'has

'has hitherto regulated the commercial intercourse between India and England (*i. e.* the monopoly principle) has actually 'occasioned the very evils which it was intended to avert. 'The operation of this erroneous principle (*i. e.* the monopoly 'principle) has forced the trade between India and Europe from 'a channel in which it could have been controlled and regulated without difficulty, into the hands of foreign nations, where 'it cannot, without considerable difficulty, be subjected to any 'degree of control, regulation or restraint. The same mistaken policy has invited from Europe and America adventurers of every description; and by the number and activity 'of these foreign agents, has menaced the foundations of your 'commercial and political interests throughout every part of 'Asia, and even within your own dominions.'—'It does not,' he adds, 'appear probable that any increase of the private British trade of India would necessarily produce a proportional 'augmentation in the number of British agents resorting to 'your dominions; the British merchants now resident in India 'being equal to the conduct of much more extensive concerns, 'and likely to be employed by persons engaged in commercial 'concerns at home, who might easily conduct their operations 'with India through those British subjects actually established 'within your dominions. On the other hand, foreigners generally deal directly with the natives, or with foreign houses 'of agency.' *

If we were not unaccountably disposed, indeed, to consider every thing in India as an exception to what holds in all other places, we should scarcely require authority for so very plain a proposition. Does it follow, because Britain opens her ports to all the nations of the earth, that Britain is inundated with foreigners, or colonized by all the different nations who flock to her shores? No: The people of the different nations who trade with her, hardly ever have any concern with more than a few mercantile houses at her trading sea-ports; because it is the interest of individuals to have ready at these sea-ports the goods for which foreigners present a demand; and because the foreigners obtain them cheaper from these merchants, than by employing agents to collect them up and down the country for themselves. But it is very evident, that the causes which produce these effects in England, must produce them in India. Nay, in this latter country, a free trade would have the immediate effect of diminishing the number of Europeans now employed in collecting and preparing the investment, and of throwing a much greater proportion of the commercial

* Letter from the Governor-General to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, 30th September 1800, parag. 61 to 67.

commercial labour into the hands of the natives. The great saving of expense that would accompany the substitution, would alone ensure its universal adoption: Nor is it possible to account for the employment of so many Europeans in this branch of the Company's service, without taking into consideration the patronage and appointments that are thus provided for its dependants. A free trade, therefore, would obviously have the effect of diminishing, instead of increasing, the European population. And here, again, we have an exemplification of Lord Wellesley's striking remark, that the Company's expedients are apt to produce the very consequences which they pretend that it is their wish to avoid.

Capital is the instrument of trade. Without capital, there is no such thing as trade; and trade is always, *cæteris paribus*, in exact proportion to capital. But Lord Wellesley says, 'The 'produce and manufactures of the British territories in India 'have increased to an extent far exceeding the amount which 'the capital applicable to the purchase of the Company's in-'vestment can embrace.' * How cruel, then, is the treatment of our Indian subjects, if this inadequate capital is all that we will allow to approach them! How absurd our policy, if we allow the capital of foreigners to employ itself without limitation in this productive field, while we rigidly exclude from it our own! In a very remarkable document, the Third Report from the Special Committee of Directors on the Private Trade, in March 1802, the Company declared themselves absolutely without resources for trade. 'The Company's investment,' say they, 'has been usually provided from three sources—Sur-'plus revenue, which is now absorbed by the state;—the for-'tunes of individuals to be remitted home;—and the sale of the 'Europe exports in India. As the private traders have inter-'cepted the second, and forestalled the third, it is but just, 'on behalf of the Company, to call on them to point out what 'still remains.' † With submission, we think it would be a very unreasonable call. What possible concern have the private traders in finding resources for the Company? But a very reasonable observation on the part of the traders, and of the nation at large, would be, that if the East India Company are without resources for carrying on the Indian trade, the more reason there is that others should be allowed to engage in it.

Of the incapacity of the Company to carry on the trade to India, Lord Wellesley presented them with a pretty forcible proof in 1800. 'From the accompanying statements,' says his Lordship, 'Your Honourable Court will observe, that the 'trade

* Letter, *ut supra*, par. 31. † Report, p. 22.

trade of America and Portugal, with the port of Calcutta alone, in 1799–1800, amounted to—imports 8,181,005 Sicca rupees—exports 7,130,372 Sicca rupees. On the other hand, the imports of the British subjects in the year 1799–1800, amounted only to 4,787,101 Sicca rupees, and the exports to 6,766,649. * It thus appears, that the resources of the Company are not adequate to one half of the trade actually carried on,—not to speak of what might easily be carried on.

As far back as the year 1799, Mr Dundas (the late Lord Melville) admitted, in his budget speech on the 12th of March, that the Company were so completely stript of funds for carrying on the trade, that 'the purchase of investments had been 'made principally by money raised on loans at a high rate of 'interest, from which the debts in India had increased beyond 'all reasonable bounds.' † In the year 1800, on the same occasion, he said, that '*the great supply by which the trade had* '*been carried on, was from loans*, which would appear in the addition made to the debts.' ‡ And as there has been a regular deficit in the finances of the Company from that period to the present, it follows, without any further proof in detail, that the commerce must have been every year supported by the same ruinous expedient. It is no wonder, therefore, that the investment has diminished.

We have already exhibited an account, containing the amount of the Company's Indian investment. The following is a statement of the profit and loss on that investment.

Year.	*Profit.*	*Loss.*
1798–9	£298,014	£———
1799–1800	413,765	———
1800–1	533,674	———
1801–2	746,851	———
1802–3	301,759	———
1803–4	115,393	———
1804–5	92,186	———
1805–6	11,472	———
1806–7	———	264,288 §

—Such is the prosperous result of the Company's import trade from their own dominions. With regard to their exports, they content themselves, in the same memorable document, with a general declaration, that 'it is well known, that since the 'commencement of the war in 1793, they have in general lost 'by them.' ¶ But a trade which exhibits such a picture of

* Letter, *ut supra*, par. 35, 36.

†See his Speech, as given at great length, and with authoritative exactness, in the Asiatic An. Reg. vol. 1.—Proceedings in Parl. p. 114.

‡ Ibid. vol. 2. p. 20.

§ Exposition, &c. *ut supra*, No. (A) p. 29. ¶ Ibid. p. 2.

profit and loss, and which is carried on upon a capital totally borrowed, at a large interest, is surely a most unpromising concern. Yet though the Company lost by their exports, it is clear that merchants of other nations, trading without a monopoly, could gain; since, by the statement of Lord Wellesley, which we have inserted above, the cargoes voluntarily carried to Calcutta by the Americans and Portuguese, exceeded the cargoes they carried back; and nearly doubled, in the same year, the amount of imports into that province, by all descriptions of British subjects.

The truth is, however, that it is absurd to suppose, that the Directors of a joint stock concern should ever trade on the terms of private merchants. Whatever advantage the private merchant may gain in saving expense, in saving time, by the utmost vigilance, by the severest labour, by the keenest pursuit of information,—is all his own advantage. He is therefore prompted to make all those exertions, and submit to all those privations on which success in business essentially depends. The gains of a joint stock concern, on the other hand, are the gains of the proprietors; and a very small share of them, at best, the gains of the Directors. The Directors have, therefore, no adequate interest to make those exertions which success in trade requires; but they have an interest in so managing the joint concern, as to make it, if possible, useful to themselves, though, by that means, less productive to the owners of stock. The ways of obtaining such oblique advantages are innumerable. One of them, and that a standing and remarkable one, is the increase of patronage, the multiplying the number of persons in the employment of the Company, and increasing their emoluments. These emoluments, of which the disposal is in the hands of the Directors, are, in a secondary sense, their emoluments. In all purchases, too, made by the Company, the Directors, if they do not make them from themselves, in their separate character of private merchants, (and there are various ways of doing this in secure privacy), can often make them from some friend or relation; or from some dealer, who will grant a favour in his turn for a favour received, and in regard to whose price it may not be adviseable to be very severe. When, to these causes of bad management, are added the avocations, or rather the overwhelming load of business, arising from the government of a great empire, who does not see that commercial prosperity, in the present circumstances of the Company, is a moral impossibility? Set the British cabinet at the head of a great mercantile concern, and what sort of management would it be reasonable to expect?

It is curious to observe the language which has been held by Chairmen, and other functionaries, at different times. In 1806, when Lord Morpeth, in the House of Commons, exhibited the large deficit in the Company's finances, and when an ho-

nourable member hinted something about the necessity they would be under of coming to a loan, the allegation was treated as a gross calumny—as an unfounded defamation—as an imputation highly injurious to the honour and credit of the Company.

'Lord MORPETH wished to know upon what authority the Hon. Gentleman stated, that a loan would be wanted for the India Company? He certainly had made no such statement, in bringing forward the Company's affairs; nor did he hear any such thing mentioned by any of his Majesty's Ministers in that House.

'Mr GRANT also disclaimed, on the part of the Company, the representation of their affairs made by the Hon. Gentleman, and which he could not suffer to pass uncontradicted. He knew nothing of any loan proposed or desired by the Company:—they stood not in need of such assistance; nor did he hear any thing of any such proposition with which their authority or wishes were connected.' *

This was on the 16th of July 1806. On the 26th of April 1808, Mr GRANT 'presented a petition from the East India Company, stating the various expenses the Company had been obliged to incur, and praying that 1,200,000*l.* due to the Company by Government, might be paid them; and *that a further sum might be advanced by way of loan*,—making in all 2,400,000*l.*' †

With regard to the 1,200,000*l*, here coolly set down as a debt due to the Company, it was, in truth, a disallowed claim. In 1808, the accounts between the public and the Company were referred to the Select Committee, who reported that 1,500,000*l.* was the balance due to the Company. ‡ This balance was paid; and Mr Dundas, then Secretary of the Board of Control, declared, that the account between the Company and the public was closed. § The Company, however, expressed dissatisfaction with this adjustment;—and, in the very teeth of a Parliamentary settlement, present their disallowed claim as a debt. The entire sum of 2,400,000*l.* was, in truth, a loan; of which, however, it was wished, we see, that only one half should be at the credit of the Company. In 1807, a petition was presented for leave to increase the bond debts of the Company—that is, to borrow money on their bonds;—and the increase, so made, is stated to have been 2,572,875*l.* on the 1st of March 1808. ¶ In 1809, the 1,500,000*l.* paid by Government in name of balance on the adjustment of the accounts, with the issue of 756,700*l.* of bonds, supplied the deficiency. In the year 1810, a new petition was presented; and a new loan of a million and a half for the Company was raised on Exchequer bills. In the year 1811, another petition was presented, exhibiting a deficit for that year

* Proceedings in Parliament.—Asiatic An. Reg. 1806, p. 287.
† Ibid. for 1808, p. 410.
‡ First Report from the Select Committee, 1808.
§ Cobbett's Parl. Debates, vol. xiv. p. 972.
¶ Exposition, &c. *ut supra*, p. 29.

of 2,038,948*l.*—and a new loan of 2,000,000*l.* was permitted to be raised on the Company's bonds. It thus appears that a supply of about 2,000,000*l.* annually, from the people, whom they exclude from a share of the India trade, is absolutely necessary to keep the Company afloat. Since 1807, they have received, on their own or Parliamentary account, about 10,000,000 of the money of the British people;—and, in the estimate of the payments and receipts for the year, 1st March 1811 to 31st March 1812, the deficit is stated at 3,531,673*l.* *—Such is the support the nation is deriving from its East India empire!

Under these extraordinary payments at home, has there been a surplus, for the liquidation of debt abroad? There has been a positive deficiency:—The revenues of India have not sufficed for the expenses of India.

Year.	*Net Deficiency.*
1807–8	£370,341
1808–9	131,281
1809–10 (estimate) . . .	119,806

The utmost that such heavy demands upon the home treasury has been able to effect, has been a reduction of the deficit in India. It was in 1806–7, the year before the loans in England, 3,253,981*l.*; † and it would have continued as great, but for the extraordinary sums extracted from the people of England.

One great cause of those oppressive demands upon the home exchequer, was that part of the Indian debt, payment of which was demandable, at the option of the creditor, in London. Great efforts have been making to extinguish that option. A loan was opened, at an interest of 8 per cent., the same interest as that of the optional loans. It was chiefly desired that the optional debts should be subscribed to the new loan; and for this purpose they were received at par; and certain accommodations, which were supposed of great importance in remitting the interest of the new loan, were presented as a *bonus*. This had its effect. By the amount of the optional debts subscribed, with that of the cash received on the same grounds, and employed in paying off the optional debts, a considerable proportion of them was rendered payable only in India. The Company, however, knew not when to stop. The success of this measure stimulated them to another. They now opened a loan for the reduction of interest from 8 to 6 per cent. This is a proceeding which, by the best accounts we have yet received, (for we have not received any that are very full and explanatory), has been much worse than unsuccessful; for it has created the highest alarm, disgust and disaffection. It has created what may be called a complete run upon the Company; and it is affirmed,

* East India Annual Revenue Accounts, May 1811, p. 57.

† Exposition of the Company's Revenues, *ut supra*, p. 71.

that not another shilling demandable in England will be left for payment in India. In conformity with this information, it is stated, in the accounts of the Company, that in the year ending 1st May 1810, no subscription of debts whatever had been obtained. *

We here close abruptly these few remarks on the finances and trade of India; and we have been induced to press them at this time on the consideration of our readers, by the recollection, that a crisis is fast approaching, when we must make our election between the present or a different system. To let such an opportunity pass away, without any attempt at reformation, will not merely be shameful. Things are now come to that pass, when the evils of mismanagement will not be negative. The important questions which relate to the Government of India, will occupy us on another occasion.

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* East India An. Rev. Accounts, May 1811, p. 33.

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NOTICE.

Since the historical account of the new system of Education, contained in this Number, was printed, several circumstances have occurred which deserve to be noticed. In particular, the extraordinary and praiseworthy activity displayed by some of the most distinguished members of the Establishment, merits the attention of every friend to the country, and its poorer inhabitants. Into the origin of these exertions, and the probable motives of their chief patrons, we shall not be very scrupulous to inquire. If they really lead to the great object which they *profess* to have in view, we are satisfied. In places where there are as many children of Church-of-England parents, and also as many of Dissenting parents, as may suffice to support a school on either of the plans, great and unmingled good will result from each description of persons establishing a school. In all other places, we have shown, in the article alluded to, the competition will do harm.

But it is fit that, in bestowing our humble tribute of applause on the sincere and honest promoters of what is called the '*National Institution*,' we should guard our readers against the intrigues of another class of persons who would most willingly turn the enlightened zeal of the former excellent characters to a very different use. We pass over the unaccountable circumstance, of *the members of the Establishment* (as those monopolists of religious reputation style themselves) never having discovered, till late in the year 1811, the necessity of educating the poor at all,—of their never having dreamt of such a thing, until the friends of Mr Lancaster's method, many of them, nay most of them, members of the Establishment also—but chiefly Mr Lancaster himself, had succeeded, by great exertions and activity, in spreading his system widely over the country. This difficulty we pass by; and content ourselves with entering a protest against the attempt manifestly now making to deter persons from supporting Mr Lancaster, under the penalties of being reputed enemies to the Church. If such a foul design should succeed, and the cause of Mr Lancaster be deserted, it requires no great discernment to foresee a speedy abatement of the sudden and not very explicable zeal for education which the persons in question have just at this moment happened to be stricken withal. Having put down the one system by clamour and intrigue, we vehemently suspect, they would suffer the other to languish and die away. That such is the design of not a few professing themselves friends of the Establishment, we are entitled to conclude, from the efforts which they are making, not merely to encourage Dr Bell's plan, but at the same time to obstruct Mr Lancaster's;—efforts hitherto, no doubt, very harmless—but not the less to be reprobated on that account, nor the less to be guarded against by such as know the powers of calumny and trick, under the patronage of men who disgrace their clerical character by perverting it to political purposes.

One of the last attempts of this kind which have been made, deserves to be particularized, in justice to the Illustrious Personage whose name has been made subservient to it. The Prince Regent being applied to, as the head of the Church, to lend the high sanction of his patronage to the '*National Institution*,' acceded to a request so fair and reasonable, that we dare to say the most zealous friends of the other system could find nothing to blame in it. His Royal Highness had already evinced his warm anxiety for the plan of Mr Lancaster,—had munificently contributed to the funds of his Institution,—and had condescended to place himself at the head of its promoters. When a scheme,—of a more limited nature indeed, but in its general and professed intention equally laudable,—a scheme for instructing the poor belonging to the Establishment, was submitted by the dignitaries of the Church to the consideration of the Prince, it was impossible for him to avoid wishing it well, as a friend of education,—or to hesitate, as head of the Establishment, in extending to it a portion of the patronage which he had so liberally bestowed upon the other institution. And yet, this favour, not only quite consistent with his Royal Highness's good wishes towards Mr Lancaster, but in truth flowing from the

ſame ſource, his anxiety for the education of all the poor of his realm, has been repreſented—falſely and daringly repreſented—as a pledge of the Prince having '*given up Mr Lancaster.*' To refute this baſe calumny, is, we truſt, unneceſſary. A due reſpect for the Royal perſon thus traduced, forbids any ſuch vindication. But, if any of his ſubjects ſhould be ſo ignorant of his character as to lend an ear to ſuch inſidious tales, and ſuffer their affections to be weaned from him,—we might inform them, that, *since* the period alluded to, his Royal Highneſs has paid the ſum of three hundred guineas towards the funds of the Lancaſter Inſtitution.

We cannot conclude this Notice, without apologiſing to our readers for an omiſſion in the preſent Number, rendered unavoidable by the ſpace which the important and preſſing queſtions of Education and Weſt Indian policy have occupied. We mean, our having left to the next Number, the ſubject of Sir S. Romilly's bills for the amendment of the Criminal Law. To that eminent perſon himſelf no excuſe is required. His known zeal in behalf of the queſtions, now from temporary conſiderations neceſſarily preferred—(for, to which of the great intereſts of mankind has this excellent man ever proved a lukewarm friend?)—will ſufficiently excuſe us, in his eyes, for this neglect of a ſubject which we have moſt reluctantly poſtponed. We purpoſe, in the next Number, to call the attention of our readers to it; and, if poſſible, we ſhall at the ſame time take into conſideration, the admirable work of Mr Bentham, '*ſur les Peines et les Recompenses,*' lately given to the world by Mr Dumont with his uſual felicity of execution.

No. XXXVIII. will be published in February 1812.

D. Willison, printer.]

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW;

FEBRUARY, 1812.

No. XXXVIII.

ART. I. *A Series of Plays: In which it is attempted to delineate the stronger Passions of the Mind.* By Joanna Baillie. Vol. III. 8vo. pp. 314. London, 1812.

IT is now, we think, something more than nine years since we first ventured to express our opinion of Miss Baillie's earlier productions; and to raise our warning voice against those narrow and peculiar views of dramatic excellence, by which, it appeared to us, that she had imprudently increased the difficulties of a very difficult undertaking. Notwithstanding this admonition, Miss Baillie has gone on (as we expected) in her own way; and has become (as we expected) both less popular, and less deserving of popularity, in every successive publication. The volume before us, we are afraid, is decidedly inferior to any of her former volumes; (for we have too much forbearance, or nationality, to say any thing of her single play); at the same time that it contains indications of talent that ought not to be overlooked, and specimens of excellence, which make it a duty to examine into the causes of its general failure.

We have formerly said almost enough, we believe, of her extraordinary determination to write a tragedy and a comedy upon each of the stronger passions of the mind;—a scheme so singularly perverse and fantastic, that we rather wonder at its having escaped the patronage of the learned professors in the academy of Lagoda; and in favour of which it would not be easy to say any thing—but that, by good luck, it is utterly impracticable. For, even passing over the captivating originality of comedies on Hatred and Revenge, and tragedies on Hope and Joy, it seems plain enough, that the interest of a play can no more be maintained by the delineation of one passion, than its dialogue and action can be supported by the exertions of one

character. It is of the very essence of dramatic composition, to exhibit the play and contention of many and of opposite affections, not only in the different persons it represents, but in the single bosom of its hero; and its chief beauty and excellence consist in the variety of the forms and colours that thus move over its living scenes—in the harmonies and contrasts of the emotions which it successively displays—and in the very multitude and diversity of the impressions to which it gives birth. To substitute, for this, even the most careful and masterly delineation of any one emotion, would not only be to substitute something that was not dramatic, for that which is the essence and the excellence of the drama;—but to replace this excellence by something most conspicuously inferior—to set before us the studied postures and ostentatious anatomy of one unchanging academy figure, instead of the free action and complicated exertions of groupes engaged in athletic contention—or, rather, to turn our eyes from the innumerable shades of expression that animate the greater compositions of Raphael or the Caracci, to rivet them on the fantastic and exaggerated features of *one* of the Passions of Le Brun.

If it be not this, however, that Miss Baillie aims at, then we must say that we cannot discover that there is any thing in the least degree peculiar or original in her system. The chief persons in every play must be actuated by certain passions; and by their influence the catastrophe must necessarily be brought about. In this sense, therefore, every play is a play on the passions, as much as any of those in the series before us; and all dramatic writers have proceeded upon the very system for which Miss Baillie here claims the honours of a discovery. It depends, indeed, entirely on the degree of simplicity in the plot, and of unity in the action, as well as on the number of the persons represented, whether the ruling passion of the principal characters shall be brought very conspicuously forward or not. Shakespeare, we believe, will be readily acquitted of the petty-larceny of stealing Miss Baillie's system of dramatising the passions: and yet, the Ambition of Macbeth, the Jealousy of Othello, and the Melancholy of Hamlet, contribute much more exclusively to the interest of those plays, than any of the passions represented by the writer before us can be said to do to the interest of the pieces she has produced as the first-fruits of that system. It may not be so easy, indeed, to specify the affections that are exhibited in many of the other plays of our great dramatist—in the Tempest, for example—in King Lear—in Julius Cæsar—in Cymbeline, or in Henry IV.; because the plot in all these pieces is more complicated, and the interest

more

more divided. But there seems to be no reasonable ground for doubting that they were composed upon the very same system with the others; and that the interest which they excite depends upon the same general principles. The truth is, however, that common sense and vulgar possibility always appear tame and inglorious, when compared with the splendid pretensions of theorists; and if Miss Baillie meant merely to announce, that she proposed to write plays that should be more like Macbeth and Othello than Cymbeline or the Tempest, the project must be allowed to be both innocent and laudable; and no blame can attach to her, except for the faults of the execution. In considering what are the chief of those faults, we are afraid, however, that it will be found that her system has had a worse effect than that of merely narrowing the field of her exertions.

There are two sorts of dramatic composition, or at least of tragedy, known in this country:—one, the old classical tragedy of the Grecian stage, modernized according to the French or Continental model; the other, the bold, free, irregular and miscellaneous drama of our own older writers,—or, to speak it more shortly and intelligibly, of Shakespeare. Miss Baillie, it appears to us, has attempted to unite the excellences of both of these styles;—and has produced a combination of their defects.

The old Greek tragedy consisted of the representation of some one great, simple, and touching event, brought about by the agency of a very few persons, and detailed in grave, stately, and measured language, interspersed with choral songs and movements to music. In this primitive form of the drama, the story was commonly unfolded by means of a good deal of plain statement, direct inquiry, and detailed narration;—while the business was helped forward by means of short and pointed, though frequently very simple and obvious argumentation,—and the interest maintained by pathetic exclamations, and reflections apparently artless and unostentatious. Such, we conceive, was the character of the antient drama; upon the foundation of which, the French, or Continental school, appears obviously to have been built. The chief variations (besides the extinction of the Chorus) seem to be, first, that love has been made to supplant almost all the other passions,—and the tone, accordingly, has become less solemn and severe; secondly, that there is less simple narrative and inquiry, and a great deal more argument or debate—every considerable scene, in fact, being now required to contain a complete and elaborate discussion, to which all the parties must come fully prepared to maintain their respective theses; and, thirdly, that the topics are drawn, in general, from more extended and philosophical views of human natuer;

and the state of the feelings set forth with more rhetorical amplification, and with a more anxious and copious minuteness. Notwithstanding those very important distinctions, however, we think ourselves justified in arranging the tragic drama of antient Greece, and that of the continent of modern Europe, as productions of the same school; because they will be found to agree in their main and characteristic attributes; because they both require the style and tone to be uniformly grave, lofty, and elaborate—the fable to be simple and direct—and the subject represented, to be weighty and important. Neither of them, consequently, admits of those minute touches of character, which give life and individuality to such delineations; and the interest, in both, rests either on the greatness of the action, and the general propriety and congruity of the sentiments by which it is accompanied—or on the beauty and completeness of the discussion—the poetical graces, the purity and elevation of the language—and the accumulation of bright thoughts and happy expressions which are brought to bear upon the same subject.

Such, we believe, is the idea of dramatic excellence that prevails over the continent of Europe, and such the chief elements which are there admitted to compose it. In this country, however, we are fortunate enough to have a drama of a different description—a drama which aims at a far more exact imitation of nature, and admits of an appeal to a far greater variety of emotions—which requires less dignity or grandeur in its incidents, but deals them out with infinitely greater complication and profusion—which peoples its busy scenes with innumerable characters, and varies its style as freely as it multiplies its persons—which frequently remits the main action, and never exhausts any matter of controversy or discussion—indulges in flights of poetry too lofty for sober interlocutors, and sinks into occasional familiarities too homely for lofty representation—but, still pursuing nature and truth of character and of passion, is perpetually setting before us the express image of individuals whose reality it seems impossible to question, and the thrilling echo of emotions in which we are compelled to sympathize. In illustration of this style, it would be mere pedantry to refer to any other name than that of Shakespeare; who has undoubtedly furnished the most perfect, as well as the most popular examples of its excellence; and who will be found to owe much of his unrivalled power over the attention, the imagination, and the feelings of his readers, to the rich variety of his incidents and images, and to the inimitable truth and minuteness of his crowded characters.

Nothing then, it appears, can be more radically different than the

the modern French and the old English tragedy. The one is the offspring of genius and original observation—the other of judgment and skill. The one aims at pleasing chiefly by a faithful representation of nature, and character, and passion—the other by a display of poetical and elaborate beauties. The style of the latter, therefore, requires a continual elevation, and its characters a certain dignified uniformity, which are necessarily rejected by the former;—while our old English drama derives no small share of its interest from the rapidity and profusion of the incidents, and the multitude of the persons and images which it brings before the fancy;—all which are excluded from the more solemn and artificial stage of our continental neighbours.

To endeavour to effect a combination of two styles so radically different, must be allowed to have been rather a bold undertaking. But it appears to us to be no less certain that Miss Baillie has made the attempt, than that she has failed in it. What her object or intention was, indeed, we do not presume to conjecture: but the fact we think is undeniable, that she has united the familiar and irregular tone of our old drama, with the simple plot, and the scanty allowance of incident, that are characteristic of the Continental stage; and has given us the homely style and trifling adventures of the one school, without its copiousness and variety—and the languor and uniformity of the other, without its elevation, dignity, or polish. The events with which she is occupied, in short, are neither great nor many; and the style in which they are represented neither natural nor majestic. We do not think it uncharitable to say that this is a combination of defects only. The simple plot, the barrenness of incident, and the slowness of development which characterize the French drama, would evidently be insufferably heavy if it were not redeemed by the greatness of the few events which it embraces, and by the uniform nobleness of the style, the weight and condensation of the sentiments, and the grace and elegance of the versification: while, on the other hand, the trifling incidents, the slovenly language, the vulgar characters, and the violent and incongruous images which abound in our best home-made tragedies, would be still more intolerable, perhaps, to a correct taste, if ample compensation were not made by the richness and variety produced by this very abundance—by the lively and rapid succession of incidents—by the exquisite truth of the touches of character and passion, and the inimitable beauty of the occasional flights of poetry that are so capriciously and often so unseasonably introduced. It was reserved for a writer of no ordinary talents

to

to give us what was objectionable in each of these styles, without the compensations which naturally belonged to either;—and Miss Baillie, we think, has set the example of plays as poor in incident and character, and as sluggish in their pace, as any that languish on the Continental stage, without their grandeur, their elegance, or their interest; and, at the same time, as low and as irregular in their diction as our own early tragedies,—and certainly without their spirit, grace, or animation.

This then, we think, is the chief defect in the plays of Miss Baillie;—and there are none of her readers, we believe, who have not been struck with the want of business in her scenes, and the extreme flatness and heaviness of all the subordinate parts of her performances. The events by which her story is developed are usually of a low and ordinary sort, and follow each other in a tame, slow, and awkward succession; while there is nothing either of richness, lightness or vivacity in the general style, to conceal this penury in the more substantial elements of the composition. We travel through most of her performances, in short, with the same sort of feeling with which we travel through the dull stages of our own central highlands,—the feeling of getting on very slowly through scenes of uniform sterility—an impression which cannot be effaced by peeps of occasional sublimity, or reflections on the virtues of those who are said to delight in them.

This leading fault, we suppose, will be admitted by most even of Miss Baillie's admirers; but we do not reckon so securely on their acquiescence, when we add, that it appears to us that she has failed almost as signally in her delineation of character, as in the conception and conduct of her fable. The truth is, however, that she seems to us to want almost entirely the power of investing her characters with that air of individual reality, without which no very lively sympathy can ever be excited in the fortunes of the persons of the drama. She attempts to copy Shakespeare, indeed, in making her characters disclose themselves by slight incidental occurrences, and casual bursts of temper, in matters unconnected with the main story; but there is no spirit of originality either in the outline or in the touches by which it is thus sought to be animated; and the traits that are lent to it in this style of high pretension, are borrowed, for the most part, from the most obvious and common-place accompaniments of their leading qualities: and though there was some merit, as well as some boldness, in following Shakespeare so very closely, as to send her ambitious usurper, after the example of his Macbeth, to consult with witches

witches in a cavern, we think it was any thing but ingenious or original to make a bloody tyrant swear outrageously at his servant for having mislaid his armour; or to intimate to us the playful and kindly nature of a distressed damsel, by letting us know, in heavy blank verse, that she had stopped in the lobby to pat the head of a hound that came fawning to be caressed by her. The great fault, however, of all her characters is, that they are evidently mere generalisations of a few obvious and familiar attributes—mere theoretical personages, compounded systematically out of a certain assemblage of qualities supposed to be striking or dramatic, without giving us the impression of there being any actual individual to whom they belong, and whose existence might be conceived as distinct from those qualities. This magical art, indeed, seems to have been possessed in its highest perfection by Shakespeare alone; who, when he had once conjured up, from the vasty depths of his own boundless imagination, such potent spirits as Hotspur or Hamlet, Mercutio or Falstaff, appears to have been actually haunted by their ideal presence, and so fully impressed with a sense of their reality, as not only to have seen without effort all that such persons could do or say in the business which they had been called up to perform, but actually to have been unable to confine them to that business, or to restrain them from following out their characteristic impulses into all kinds of accidental and capricious excesses. Miss Baillie, however, is in no danger of being thus overmastered by the phantoms of her own creation; who are so far from appearing to have a being independent of her control, or an activity which she cannot repress, that it is with difficulty that they get through the work which is set before them, or that the reader can conceive of them as any thing else than the limited and necessary causes of the phenomena which they produce.

This, however, is a fault by no means peculiar to Miss Baillie; and one of which we should scarcely have thought ourselves bound to take any notice, if she had not insisted so largely upon the necessity of attending to the delineation of character, and brought forward the traits of her own in a way so obtrusive, as to show very plainly that she thought her pretensions in this department proof against any sort of scrutiny. For the same reason, we think it our duty to say, farther, that besides this want of the talent of giving individuality to her scenic personages, it appears to us that she is really disqualified from representing the higher characters of the tragic drama, by an obvious want of sympathy or admiration for such characters. Every reader of plays, and indeed of poetry, or works of imagination in general, must have observed,

observed, that there were certain characters, or qualities of mind, which were favourites with each particular author, and in the delineation of which he was consequently peculiarly spirited and successful. Even the universal Shakespeare, to whom the observation is infinitely less applicable than to any other mortal, obviously luxuriates most in his representation of original humour and comic eccentricity. Otway has a decided predilection for scenes of tenderness and pathos—Beaumont and Fletcher for romantic extravagance of love or bravery—Milton for austere and lofty morality—and Dryden for pomp and magnificence. Each of these authors has, accordingly, succeeded eminently only in those characters to which they were most partial;—and scarcely any of them (except the first) has produced any striking delineation of an opposite character. Now, Miss Baillie has her favourite character also; and one which, though it do infinite credit to her judgment and feeling as an individual, happens unfortunately to be, of all others, perhaps the very worst adapted for dramatic or tragic representation. It is impossible, we think, to read any one of her plays, without feeling that the character which Miss Baillie thinks (and with great reason) the most amiable and engaging of all others, is that of cheerful good sense, united to calm, equable, and indulgent affections,—the character, in short, of rationality and habitual benevolence;—of which we think it must be admitted that, whatever precedence it may claim over more brilliant qualifications in real life, it is just as ill fitted to give spirit and effect to the fictions of the drama, as the qualities that shine most there, are to soothe the moments of domestic privacy.

Every one of Miss Baillie's amiable characters, however, both male and female, leans visibly to this class of virtues. They are all marvellously dutiful and affectionate towards their near relations, and careful of the comforts of their servants and immediate dependdants. They are laudably tolerant, too, of bad jokes proceeding from good hearts; and live in the practice of a sort of innocent gibing and good-natured raillery, which shows their disposition to be merry, and does no harm to any body. They are considerable despisers, moreover, of power and glory, and the other splendid illusions to which the less sober part of mankind are in the habit of sacrificing their happiness,—and much disposed to console themselves for the want of those turbulent enjoyments, by the solid comforts of content and a good conscience. Now, it is plain enough, we suppose, that these respectable and well-disposed persons are not very likely to excite a great interest by their appearances in tragedy; both on account of the very homeliness of their virtues, and of their not being at all the sort of persons,

persons, either to perform the actions, or to experience the emotions upon which the effect of that kind of moral tale is commonly thought to depend.

The fact is, however, that they are equally unfit for comedy; and it is chiefly to the excess of her very laudable predilection for them, that we are to ascribe Miss Baillie's uniform and admitted failure in this department of the drama. All her amiable personages are too reasonable, prudent, and placable, to excite any great interest or anxiety in their behalf; and the unamiable ones are little more than unreasonable, or ill-tempered—without ceasing to be tolerably sensible, and nearly as plain in their speech, and as sagacious in pursuit of their objects, as their more unexceptionable associates. The truth is, however, that Miss Baillie has no talent for writing comedy: She does not appear to us to comprehend in what the *vis comica* consists, or to have an idea that there ought to be amusing passages in a work intended for amusement: She has no gift, certainly, in devising or unfolding a story; and her personages all go through their parts in such a sober and business-like manner,—there is so little of extravagance in any one character—so little spontaneous wit or discursive humour—such an entire absence, in short, of brilliant or ornamental writing, that one would almost imagine, that she held the laws of good taste to be the same for a comedy as for a sermon;—nor could we have at all explained the phenomenon of her continual failure, if we had not recollected her constant and excessive partiality for the moderately cheerful and very reasonable persons we have just alluded to,—out of love and deference for whom she seems to have settled it with herself, that the gayety of comedy should never rise above the tone of good-humoured conversation among plain and ordinary people; and should never be pursued any farther than such worthy persons are in the practice of letting their jokes carry them from their business. The brilliancy and extravagance of fancy that fascinate more frivolous beings, appear to her, we have no doubt, very fatiguing and unprofitable,—and we are afraid, that she may even look upon the amplifications of Falstaff, and the sallies of Mercutio or Benedict as mere raving and folly, and on the turns and repartees of Congreve and Sheridan as impertinent interruptions to the business of the play. It is certain, at least, that her comedies show a great deal of good sense, and a plentiful lack of wit; and, we think we adopt a most charitable theory, when we ascribe to her predilection for that substantial quality, their deficiency in a more appropriate ornament.

The *passions*, as to what relates to the drama, really are not very distinguishable from the characters; and the most of what we

we have now said as to the latter, is applicable therefore to them also. We must observe however, that, in her later works especially, Miss Baillie has presented us rather with a theoretical amplification of the progress of a passion in general, than with its natural expression in the character of any one individual. The elaborate purpose of tracing it through all its gradations, and investing it with all its attributes, is by far too manifest throughout. Our attention, in short, is directed more to its anatomy than to its living action; and we rise from the perusal, even of her most successful attempts, with a consciousness rather of having been instructed in the nature of the passion in question, than of having witnessed its natural operation, or been made to sympathise with its victims.

We come now to the last chapter of this fair writer's offences, or those which relate to the matter of style and diction; which, we are concerned to say, appears to us the heaviest of the whole; not however so much because her taste is bad, as because her stock is deplorably scanty. Almost all the words she has, she has borrowed from our old dramatists; but her credit with them seems to have been so limited, that her debt is incredibly small; and the leading character of her style, therefore, is a poorness and narrowness of diction altogether without example, we think, in this voluble age,—and only rendered more conspicuous by the constrained and unnatural air produced by her affectation of antiquated phraseology, and the contrast which this affords to the carelessness, copiousness, and freedom of the true old style, which is thus brought to our recollection. She seems to have no ear for the melody of blank verse,—and especially of that easy and colloquial verse which is alone suited to the purposes of the drama;—and, while her words continually remind us of Shakespeare, or Beaumont and Fletcher, it is impossible to imagine any thing so utterly opposite as the richness, lightness and flexibility of their style, and the poverty and cumbrousness of hers—except, perhaps, the heavy, lifeless, and unwieldy structure of her verses, when compared with the light and capricious undulations of theirs.

We do not see much merit in using an antiquated diction on any occasion,—and, least of all, in the drama,—where the great object is to copy living nature to the satisfaction of living judges. Whatever beauty such a style may possess, however, must obviously be derived from its tendency to remind us of the *beauties* of those memorable authors who wrote in it before it had acquired the character of antiquity; and the first rule, for the use of it, should therefore be, that it should be the style of their beautiful passages; and that no old word should be admitted in a modern poem, which does not hold a conspicuous station

in

in some admired verse of an ancient one. But, though even our milliners have sense enough to copy only Queen Mary's cap, or Queen Elizabeth's ruff, and not their tremendous stays, or their stockings of woollen cloth, our literary artisans have not yet attained to the same degree of discrimination. The Spectator takes notice, we think, of a play which professed, in his day, to be written in the very style of Shakespeare, upon the strength of its containing this line—'And so good-morrow to you, good master lieutenant:' and the public, in our own time, very nearly swallowed an incredible quantity of trash, under the name of the same great author, upon no other inducement, that we could discover, than that all the words were spelled with a double allowance of consonants. Miss Baillie has not gone quite so far as this;—but she has sinned perpetually against the canon which we have presumed to lay down for the legitimate use of an obsolete phraseology: She has not copied any of Shakespeare's fine expressions; and has almost always used the style of his age, only where it was less dignified and less intelligible than that of her own. A noble knight, for instance, instead of saying that a painful recollection wounds him deeply, always takes care to say, 'In faith it galls me shrewdly;'—and another wishes his adversary's conscience, in like manner, to 'gnaw him shrewdly.' Then all the personages are uniformly 'full glad,' and 'full sorry,' and 'full well,' and 'full ready;'—and all the coats, hats, and armour in the volume (which, by the way, pass under the elegant appellation of geer) are invariably 'doffed' and 'donned' by their wearers;—and the author's good simple people generally 'trow' what other people believe; and those who are reprimanded or checked, are still said to be 'shent.' We took the liberty to rebuke Miss Baillie, on a former occasion, for the frequent use of this paltry and affected word; but, in spite of all our pains, we have it here again in the very first play in the volume—where, by way of apology for its reappearance, we find it used by one noble baron who likens another to 'a shent cur' barking at its master's door!

What makes all this the more lamentable, is, that Miss Baillie is very obviously by no means an expert or learned archaiologist; and not only uses these, and such like very scurvy and sore-worn fragments of old speech, incorrectly and injudiciously,—but mixes them up in a most unseemly manner, with the meanest and most unpoetical neologisms. The same chieftain who is 'shrewdly galled' in one page, talks of 'sombre banishment' in the next; and, after bidding 'God wot' that he was aware of his son's defects, immediately observes, that

———'ne'er-

——————' ne'ertheless
He still has parts and talents; though obscured
By some untoward failings.'

And a fair lady, who has been speaking of 'geer,' and 'clutching,' and 'harness,' and 'torn hose,' presently exclaims, in the most business-like and peremptory manner, that,

'In short, she would, without another's leave,
Improve the low condition of her peasants.'

It is needless, however, to multiply examples of this low and discordant style at present; because this, and all its other peculiarities, will be more copiously and fairly illustrated by the specimens which we may be induced, for other purposes, to extract from the volume before us. But we cannot leave even this general view of the subject, without observing, that either from mere want of words, or from a strange misconception of the style and license of our older writers, Miss Baillie has indulged herself very frequently in a manner of writing that could not have been endured at any period, and of which it may be fairly said, that it is neither verse, nor language at all. She has a habit, in particular, of transposing the substantive and auxiliary verbs in a way that is exceedingly distressing; and certainly would not be tolerated in a schoolboy's first copy of English verses. The reader may conjecture what effect it has on the general air of her composition, when he is informed, that the following instances of it have forced themselves on our notice, in turning over the leaves of the first play in this volume for a very different purpose.

'Full well I know why thou so merry *art*.'

———Thou wrong'st me much
'To think my merriment a reference hath.'

———' All thy sex
'Stubborn and headstrong *are*.'

'Here is a place in which some traces *are*.'

' To whom
'Hosts of the earth, with the departed dead
Subjected *are*.'

'That to the awful steps that tread upon you
Unconscious *are*.'

'The living and the dead together *are*.'

'Fell is the stroke, if mercy in it *be*.'

The

The effect of these 'most lame and impotent conclusions' on the melody of the verse, is scarcely less deplorable than their cruel operation on the sense; but the truth is, that the melody of Miss Baillie's blank verse is not to be hurt by trifles—there being nothing in the whole range of modern poetry half so clumsy and untuneful as the greater part of her unrhymed versification.

We will not, however, pursue the ungrateful theme of her faults any farther; but, before closing this hasty and unintended sketch of her poetical character, shall add a word or two, as both duty and inclination prompt us to do, on the more pleasing subject of her merits:—And here we must give the first place, we believe, to the tone of good sense, and amiable feeling, which pervades every part of her performances; and which, wherever they are found to be habitual and unaffected, impart a charm, even to poetical compositions, which compensates for the want of many more splendid attributes. Miss Baillie is not only very moral, and intelligently moral; but there is, in all her writings, a character of indulgent and vigilant affection for her species, and of a goodness that is both magnanimous and practical, which we do not know that we have traced, in the same degree, in the compositions of any other writer. Then she has a very considerable knowledge of human nature, and an uncommon talent of representing (though not in the best dramatical form) the peculiar symptoms and natural development of various passions; so that her plays may always be read with a certain degree of instruction,—and cannot be read without feelings of great respect for the penetration and sagacity of their author. Even as to style and diction, while we lament both the poverty and the constraint of which we have been compelled to take notice, it is but fair to say, that Miss Baillie appears to us to have had good taste enough to keep her eye pretty constantly on the best models; and that even her poverty has not been able to seduce her into those flowery paths, where the poorest, if they are regardless of purity, may, with small labour, become as rich, or, at least, as gaudy as their neighbours.—Finally, we think Miss Baillie entitled to very high and unmingled praise, for the beauty of many detached passages in every one of her metrical compositions;—passages that possess many of the higher qualities of fine and original poetry; and which, if they were only a little longer, and a little more numerous, would entitle her to take her place on a level with the most distinguished names that have illustrated this age of poetry. Few, and far between as they are, they are decisive, we think, of her genius and capacity; and though we do think they are in danger of being

being lost and forgotten amidst the mass of baser matter with which they are now surrounded, they make it a duty in all who are aware of their value, to unite their efforts both for their rescue and their multiplication.

We come now to the contents of the volume before us. It consists of four plays;—two tragedies (one in verse and one in prose) upon Fear;—a comedy upon the same passion;—and a serious musical drama, in verse, upon Hope. The last, we think, is decidedly the best;—and, taken as a whole, is perhaps the most faultless of all Miss Baillie's productions. Next to it is the poetical tragedy on Fear; which occupies the first place in the volume before us. Both the prose plays we think are bad; though in very different degrees—the prose tragedy being merely dull, while the prose comedy is foolish. We proceed, now, to give some account of these pieces in the order in which they are printed.

The first tragedy, which is entitled Orra, is said by the author to be founded on the passion of Fear; but rests, in reality, upon a weakness still less adapted for scenic representation. Those who have not read the volume, we are afraid, will scarcely believe us, when we inform them, that the heroine of this play is a young lady, who is particularly fond of listening to *ghost stories*, and is consequently very much afraid of being left alone in the dark, especially in places that have the reputation of being haunted; and that the sum of the story, detailed in these five elaborate acts, is, that her guardian, being aware of this infirmity, shuts her up in an old castle, which labours under that imputation, in order to frighten her into a marriage with his son,—where she is so terrified by a mock apparition in a black cloak, that she loses her reason, and is left, at the dropping of the curtain, in a state of hopeless insanity. If we had not read the play with our own eyes, we should scarcely have thought it possible, that a person of sound judgment, and no vulgar genius, should have conceived the idea of making *this* the subject of a long, regular, and very elaborate tragedy. But so the fact is; and our readers, we dare say, feel some curiosity to know how the thing is accomplished.

Orra of Oldenberg, then, they must know, was an orphan heiress in Suabia, living under the guardianship of Count Hughobert, who was desirous of marrying her to his son Glottenbal, a very clumsy and ill-conditioned youth, whose character seems indeed to be copied with the most rigorous fidelity from that of Cloten in Cymbeline. The lady Orra, of course, detests him as much as Imogen does his prototype: But there is no Posthumus in Miss Baillie's story—the said lady being in love with

nobody,—and professing a partiality to a single life, notwithstanding the attachment of a worthy Count Theobald, and the devotion of a bastard cousin of the name of Rudiger, who strikes us again as a faint copy of Edmond in King Lear. The play begins with Theobald discomfiting Rudiger and Glottenbal in a tournament, which the latter had instituted to show off his prowess. The unsuccessful champions quarrel and growl in various notes through the first scenes; and the victor talks modestly with his friend of his own unworthiness of the object of his affections. Then Count Hughobert scolds his son for allowing himself to be unhorsed; and the lady Orra (after she has done caressing her hound) makes game of her unfortunate suitor, in a vein of irony so truly primitive, that we do not believe that a parallel will be found to it in any author more recent than Homer—who makes one of his warriors facetiously compliment his antagonist as he falls dead out of his chariot, on his agility in diving. As this is the first appearance of the heroine, it is but fair to Miss Baillie to lay these exemplary pleasantries before the reader in her own words.—Glottenbal says,

'*Glot.* Full well I know *why thou so merry art.*
Thou think'st of him to whom thou gav'st that sprig
Of hopeful green, his rusty casque to grace,
Whilst at thy feet his honour'd glave he laid.
'*Or.* Nay, rather say, of him, who at my feet,
From his proud courser's back, more gallantly
Laid his most precious self; then stole away,
Thro' modesty, unthank'd, nor left behind
Of all his geer that flutter'd in the dust,
Or glove or band, or fragment of torn hose,
For dear remembrance-sake, that in my sleeve
I might have stuck it. O! thou wrong'st me much
To think my merriment a ref'rence hath
To any one but him. (*Laughing.*)' p. 15, 16.

And afterwards she proceeds,

'Pray, good Glottenbal,
How did'st thou learn with such a wondrous grace
To toss thy armed heels up in the air,
And clutch with outspread hands the slipp'ry sand?
I was the more amaz'd at thy dexterity,
As this, of all the feats which thou, before-hand,
Did'st promise to perform, most modestly,
Thou did'st forbear to mention.' p. 16, 17.

After this, Rudiger, who thinks that his own suit may somehow or other be advanced by it, suggests to Hughobert the notable expedient of sending his ward to the haunted castle—where, as he has been assured that she grew 'deadly pale at

at tale of nightly sprite or apparition,' he says there is no doubt

'but she will ere long full gladly
Her freedom purchase at the price you name.'

The cruel guardian assents to this pretty experiment; and the act ends with Glottenbal going out to a drinking party.

The second act opens with Orra talking to her maidens of the happy and innocent life they will live when she comes to her estate; and candidly telling Theobald, that she does not choose to marry, because, by so doing, she must give 'all her lands and rights' into the hands of a master. One of the maidens, however, by way of giving the finishing-stroke to the picture of snug domestic comfort upon which they had been dwelling, asks whether they shall not have ghost stories too over their quiet winter fire?—and immediately Orra becomes furious with impatience for a ghost story. The most prudent of her attendants declares that 'it is not right' to indulge this taste; and very sensibly asks what pleasure there can be in being frightened? Orra answers, however, that there is a pleasure in it;—and that she delights to feel her blood run cold, and her skin become like a goose's skin. She does not, indeed, use this homely expression; but we conjecture that it is what she means by the following strong phrases,—which really do not give us a very pleasing idea of the state of this young lady's person.

'When every *hair's-pit* on my shrunken skin
A *knotted knoll* becomes.'

She then insists for the story—and the waiting gentlewoman tells it accordingly—with all the brevity and *platitude* imaginable—as followeth—

'Since I must tell it, then, the story goes
That grim Count Wallenberg, the ancestor
Of Hughobert and also of yourself,
From hatred or from envy, did decoy
A noble knight, who hunted in the forest,
Well the Black Forest named, into his castle,
And there, within his chamber, murder'd him.' p. 29.

The lady Orra's sensibility to legends of this nature, however, is so much greater than ours, that she very nearly faints with horror at this recital; and the dialogue is broken off by a priest, who announces Hughobert's intention to banish her till she consents to marry his son; and then a scene ensues, in which he repeats his proposition, and she her refusal, with much solemnity on both sides. The lady, however, having protested, in the usual way, that she would rather be married to her grave, and dwell in a coffin, than accept the hand of the blooming Glottenbal, the old gentleman takes her up, we think, a little too literally,

and asks her whether she really—' puts him in her estimation with bones and sheeted clay ? '

The lady, however, is resolute; and is ordered off to the Suabian castle without delay, under guard of Rudiger;—and the act ends with a special scene between him and a servant of the name of Maurice, whom he bribes to play the spy for him in his absence, after the ensuing manner.

' *Rud.* Go to ! I know thou art a greedy leech,
Though ne'ertheless thou lov'st me.
(Taking a small case from his pocket, which he opens.)
' See'st thou here ?
I have no coin ; but look upon these jewels :
I took them from a knight I slew in battle.
When I am Orra's lord, thou shalt receive,
Were it ten thousand crowns, whate'er their worth
Shall by a skilful lapidary be
In honesty esteem'd. *(Gives him the jewels.)*
' *Maur.* I thank thee,—but methinks their lustre's dim.
I've seen the stones before upon thy breast
In gala days, but never heard thee boast
They were of so much value.
' *Rud.* I was too prudent : I had lost them else:
To no one but thyself would I entrust
The secret of their value. '

Now the beauty of all this is, that they are false stones, which he thus palms upon the poor menial; and that it is in a great measure through his discovery of the fraud, and consequent resentment, that the denouement is brought about.

The third act brings us to the castle; where Orra is of course much appalled at its gloomy and desolate air; and Rudiger, taking advantage of her terror at being left alone, endeavours to urge his own suit to her with all earnestness and humility. She dismisses him, however, with infinite scorn;—upon which he goes quietly to bed, in an adjoining apartment, and falls asleep ! By and by, a hunting horn, and other noises, are heard without, which throws the unhappy lady into such an agony of terror, that she rushes into his chamber and awakes him; but upon the servants coming in, resumes her disdain, and returns very valiantly to bed. The act ends with an exceedingly absurd scene, in which Theobald, who had followed his mistress with an intention to rescue her, strays in the dark into the cave of a gang of robbers, who burrow somewhere near the castle, and make noises in the night to frighten away its inhabitants. He there, by the most extraordinary good fortune, recognizes an old friend in the captain of the gang,—very naturally discloses his project

to him,—and finally concerts with him, that they should enter the castle by a private passage next night, in the disguise of apparitions; and by that means, after frightening away her attendants, carry off Orra without opposition. They agree, however, to send a letter to the lady to apprise her of their design; and then retire merrily to sup, in the inner cave.

The fourth act discloses Orra and her attendant, talking as usual of ghosts, on the battlements of the castle. A soldier comes and gives her a letter, on which she recognises Theobald's handwriting; but, before she can read a word of it, Rudiger comes in, and insists upon seeing it; on which she is obliged to throw it into the fire. In the next scene, we find the night has set in;—and we had forgot to inform our readers, that it was St Michael's night—on which the castle spectres had been long observed to be far more unruly than on any other in the whole year. The lady Orra, of course, is dismally frightened; but she gets her maid to sit with her; and they pass the time tolerably enough at the old work of ghost stories, till the fatal hour of midnight is past. The maid then unluckily proposes to go and bring her mistress some drops; and has no sooner gone out, than the most horrible noises are heard under the battlements, and by and by in the staircase; and, while the poor Orra is shrieking and shuddering in her lonely apartment, the door opens slowly, and a horrid figure in a black cloak, with a hunting horn in his hand, enters, and approaches her with outstretched arms. The unhappy lady gives a piercing cry, and falls senselesss on the ground; and Theobald, after casting off his disguise, and labouring in vain to revive her, bursts out into this pathetic exclamation—

> —'The villain hath deceiv'd me.
> My letter she has ne'er received. Oh fool,
> To hazard this!'

His friend, the captain of the outlaws, however, comes to his assistance; and they carry out the insensible Orra by the subterranean passage.

The fifth act is full of business. It opens with a clamorous hué and cry through the castle for the lady, who has just been missed; and then Hughobert—whom Maurice, in revenge for Rudiger's trick of the false stones, had apprised of his treachery—arrives in a great passion, with Glottenbal, and accuses him of having secreted his fair prisoner. He protests his innocence in vain; and it is proposed to give him a smart flogging to bring out the truth. To escape this indignity, however, he chuses to stab himself; and then, counterfeiting sudden penitence and humility, asks to exchange forgiveness with Glottenbal,

bal, at whom, as he stoops over him, he aims a blow with his dagger, which merely scratches his neck; and then dies impenitent. The party then go out, upon being informed that the lady Orra's voice had been heard from a cavern in the neighbourhood; and the scene shifts to the mouth of the cavern, whence the shrieks of the distracted Orra are heard, and whence she soon issues in a state of complete derangement. They try all sorts of soothing and remonstrance with her, but to no purpose; and she raves on about skulls and skeletons, and hell-hounds and murders, till the curtain drops upon her frenzy —though not till Hughobert receives a message, that his hopeful son is dead of the wound inflicted by the dying Rudiger, whose dagger's point it seems had been poisoned.

It is quite needless to make any remarks on the faults of such a drama as this;—and if the sketch we have now given of it, with the few extracts to which we have confined ourselves, do not justify all that we have said above to the prejudice of Miss Baillie's dramatic powers, we must submit to pass for very malignant or very incompetent censors. It is but justice, however, to lay before our readers some of the good passages, by which we think those faults are to a certain degree redeemed; and, accordingly, we shall now extract almost all that the play furnishes of this description.

The most striking passage it contains, perhaps, is that in which Orra, on her first appearance, replies to the question of her attendant, how she came to be so merry upon Glottenbal so soon after her dismal meditations of the preceding evening? There is, no doubt, great poetical beauty in the following lines;—yet they do not seem to us to be at all dramatical; and are not only unnatural, we think, in the mouth of the speaker, but, we should very much fear, would be found unintelligible to most auditors.

'Dids't thou ne'er see the swallow's veering breast,
Winging the air beneath some murky cloud
In the sunn'd glimpses of a stormy day,
Shiver in silv'ry brightness?
Or boatman's oar, as vivid lightning, flash
In the faint gleam, that like a spirit's path
Tracks the still waters of some sullen lake?
Or lonely tower, from its brown mass of woods,
Give to the parting of a wintry sun
One hasty glance in mockery of the night
Closing in darkness round it?—Gentle Friend!
Chide not her mirth, who was sad yesterday,
And may be so to-morrow.' p. 16.

The next passage we shall give, though far less forcible, has undoubtedly more of a dramatic character.—It is that in which

Orra pictures out the life of rustic beneficence which she proposes to lead in cheerful celibacy, when she takes possession of her own domains. It affords a very apt illustration of those moral partialities which we formerly noticed as lending their colour to most of the author's poetry.

'Ev'n now methinks
Each little cottage of my native vale
Swells out its earthen sides, upheaves its roof,
Like to a hillock mov'd by lab'ring mole,
And with green trail-weeds clamb'ring up its walls,
Roses and ev'ry gay and fragrant plant,
Before my fancy stands, a fairy bower.
Aye, and within it too do fairies dwell.
Peep thro' its wreathed window, if indeed
The flowers grow not too close; and there within
Thou'lt see some half a dozen rosy brats,
Eating from wooden bowls their dainty milk;—
Those are my mountain elves. See'st thou not
Their very forms distinctly?' p. 23.

'I'll gather round my board
All that heav'n sends to me of way-worn folks,
And noble travellers, and neighb'ring friends,
Both young and old. Within my ample hall,
The worn out man of arms, shall o'tip-toe tread,
Tossing his grey locks from his wrinkled brow
With cheerful freedom, as he boasts his feats
Of days gone by.—Music we'll have; and oft
The bick'ring dance upon our oaken floors
Shall, thund'ring loud, strike on the distant ear
Of 'nighted trav'llers, who shall gladly bend
Their doubtful footsteps tow'rds the cheering din.
Solemn, and grave, and cloister'd, and demure
We shall not be. Will this content ye, damsels?
Ev'ry season
Shall have its suited pastime: even winter
In its deep noon, when mountains piled with snow,
And chok'd up valleys from our mansion bar
All entrance, and nor guest nor traveller
Sounds at our gate; the empty hall forsaking,
In some warm chamber, by the crackling fire,
We'll hold our little, snug, domestic court,
Plying our work with song and tale between.' p. 27, 28.

The reader may take next Orra's exaggerated description of the empty and dismal apartments of the castle; which is in a loftier vein of poetry.

'Thy taper's light,
As thus aloft thou wav'st it to and fro,
The fretted ceiling gilds with feeble brightness;

Whilst

Whilst over-head its carved ribs glide past
Like edgy waves of a dark sea, returning
To an eclipsed moon its sullen sheen.
Alas! how many hours and years have pass'd
Since human forms have round this table sat,
Or lamp or taper on its surface gleam'd!
Methinks I hear the sound of time long past
Still murm'ring o'er us in the lofty void
Of those dark arches, like the ling'ring voices
Of those who long within their graves have slept.
It was their gloomy home; now it is mine.' p. 47.

The following are some of her horrors when under the immediate influence of her constitutional terrors.

'O, if it look on me with its dead eyes!
If it should move its lock'd and earthy lips,
And utt'rance give to the grave's hollow sounds!
If it stretch forth its cold and bony grasp——
O horror, horror!
O that beneath these planks of senseless matter
I could, until the dreadful hour is past,
As senseless be!
O open and receive me,
Ye happy things of still and lifeless being,
That to the awful steps which tread upon ye
Unconscious are!' p. 71.

'The icy scalp of fear is on my head—
The life stirs in my hair: it is a sense
That tells the nearing of unearthly steps,
Albeit my ringing ears no sounds distinguish.' p. 77.

The most powerful part of the play, however, is, beyond all question, the representation of the heroine's insanity. This is touched throughout with a strong and skilful hand;—and though it is merely horrible, and therefore altogether unfit for representation, it cannot fail to give a very high idea of the author's force of conception, and even, in some places, of her power of expression. On her first rushing out from the cave, she shrinks back, exclaiming,

'Come back, come back! The fierce and fiery light!
Theo. Shrink not, dear love! it is the light of day.
Or. Aye, so it is; day takes his daily turn,
Rising between the gulphy dells of night
Like whiten'd billows on a gloomy sea.
Till glowworms gleam, and stars peep thro' the dark,
And will-o'-the-wisp his dancing taper light,
They will not come again.
Hark, hark! Aye, hark:
They are all there: I hear their hollow sound
Full many a fathom down.' p. 91, 92.

'*El.*

' *El.* O rave not thus! Dost thou not know us, Orra?
Or. (*hastily*) Aye, well enough I know ye.
Urst. Ha! think ye that she does?
Or. Away! your faces waver to and fro;
I'll know you better in your winding-sheets,
When the moon shines upon ye.' p. 97.
I'll tell thee how it is:
A hideous burst hath been: the damn'd and holy,
The living and the dead, together are
In horrid neighbourship.—'Tis but thin vapour,
Floating around thee, makes the wav'ring bound.
Poh! blow it off, and see th' uncurtain'd reach.
See! from all points they come; earth casts them up!
In grave-clothes swath'd are those but new in death;
And there be some half bone, half cased in shreds
Of that which flesh hath been; and there be some
With wicker'd ribs, thro' which the darkness scowls.
Back, back!—They close upon us.—Oh the void
Of hollow unball'd sockets staring grimly,
And lipless jaws that move and clatter round us
In mockery of speech!—Back, back, I say!
Back, back!

It is immediately after this speech that the curtain drops;—and closes a play which, though in the main absurd and uninteresting, contains scenes that indisputably entitle the author to the honours of original genius.

The next piece is entitled ' The Dream,' a tragedy in prose, in three acts; of which we are neither able nor willing to say half so much as we have done of the preceding. The merit of this piece is, that it is short and intelligible, and tells its story without vexatious entanglement, and with a good deal of solemn effect. Its fault is, that there is not enough of story, and scarcely any variety of interest or passion. The incident upon which it is founded would do very well, in short, for an after-supper narrative in a quiet country family; but much higher powers than Miss Baillie's could not work it up into a taking tragedy for an audience of town-bred critics. The story is shortly as follows:—Count Osterloo had, in his youth, assassinated a foreign nobleman, who had given him cause of jealousy; but, being afterwards employed in active service, had, in the course of many years, lost in a great measure the sense and the memory of his offence. The brother of his victim, in the mean time, had been appointed Prior of the abbey of St Maurice; and had recently found reason to suspect the fate of his kinsman, and that he was actually interred in the abbey. Having found that Osterloo was to pass by

by his walls at the head of a detachment of the army, he takes advantage of an epidemic sickness in the neighbourhood, to persuade two of the brotherhood to give out that they had been warned in a vision to stop the first military detachment that passed by, and choose from them, by lot, one man, whom they should detain for a night within the walls, for the expiation of concealed guilt. Osterloo, accordingly, is stopped; and, by a little management, the lot falls upon him. He is then led to the spot where the bones of his victim are interred; and is moved by awe and remorse to disclose his secret guilt. The Prior then takes advantage of his seignorial rights to sentence the unhappy culprit to immediate death; and the whole power of the author is displayed in depicting the extraordinary dejection, horror and consternation, that instantly seizes upon the spirit of this brave and impetuous warrior. A good deal of talent is shown, too, both in redeeming the hero from the degradation of this too potent despair, and in reconciling it to the character of habitual gallantry, by restoring him for a moment to liberty, by the mediation of a compassionate monk and a pitying female. After his own escape is secured, he turns, with generous and reckless courage, upon a whole band of opponents, for the rescue of his less fortunate deliverers; and, in this desperate attempt, is again made captive, and remanded to his dungeon and unnerving agony. Miss Baillie's *forte*, we think, is in the delineation of horrors; and the scene of the execution is drawn with strong colours, and by a steady and skilful hand. The unhappy Osterloo, complaining of darkness in the midst of a blaze of torches, and letting all things slip from his memory, his fingers, and his tongue, has his head at last bent down to the block; and the executioner is just raising the axe, when the Imperial ambassador rushes into the hall, arrests the proceedings, and orders the rescued general to rise. The shouts of deliverance, however, are pealed in an unconscious ear; and, upon raising the miserable victim from the block, the agony of the mind is found, of itself, to have extinguished for ever the sense of human suffering.

The third piece in the volume is 'The Siege;' a comedy in five acts on the subject of Fear,—to which we really cannot afford even the very moderate praise of being better than Miss Baillie's other comedies. The story is neither striking nor probable; and the principal characters are the old hackneyed ones of a boastful coward—a testy but worthy old gentleman—a modest and gallant youth—and a designing and coquetting old flatterer, represented certainly with no extraordinary spirit, nor contrasted by any very ludicrous combinations. The scene is laid, like that

that of the two preceding plays—and perhaps for deep reasons—in a castle in Germany; and this is the outline of the fable. The Lady Livia is heiress of the castle; and Valdemere, the coward, is her lover; a forward, handsome, well-spoken youth—not quite so entertaining as Parolles,—but plausible enough to throw altogether into the shade the valiant Count Antonio, who is also an admirer of the lady—though too bashful in her presence almost to make known his pretensions. Some friends of his, who suspect the courage of his more prosperous rival, devise a scheme for putting it to the test, by getting a party of troops that are on duty in the neighbourhood, to make a mock attack on the castle. The success of this plot is perfect. Valdemere is exposed before the whole household, and runs to hide himself in the cellar, from which he is dragged, amidst the derision of the whole party but Antonio, who generously attempts to extenuate his frailty, and by this and his other virtues, completely wins the heart of the heiress. To enhance the dignity of this story, and lend a little more eclat to her hero, Miss Baillie does not hesitate altogether to destroy its probability;—for, at the very moment of the mock attack, she makes a much stronger party of the enemy commence a real attack upon the castle and its feigned assailants;—and brings Antonio again upon the back of those *boná fide* besiegers, with a force that demolishes them in an instant. There is an underplot between Livia's old guardian and the mother of Valdemere, who tricks him out of many necklaces and snuff-boxes, and is in a fair way of inveigling him into matrimony, by praising his sonnets and personal graces, till he is undeceived, by going to her in the character of a Jew broker, and buying his own picture at a very cheap rate—at the same time that he hears her and her chambermaid laughing immoderately at his poetry. Valdemere is moreover obliged to marry a sister of his page's, whom he had formerly seduced. Poor as this play is, however, in contrivance and character, and destitute of comic effect, it could not have been written by an ordinary person. There is a chastity in the style, and a tone of strong good sense in much of the dialogue, that place it far beyond the things that have lately been produced as comedies on our theatres.

The last piece in the volume is the shortest, and the best. It is entitled, 'The Beacon;' a serious drama of two acts, in blank verse, and interspersed with songs. The subject is Hope; and the story is very simple, and without any pretensions to probability. Aurora, a fair maid in one of the small islands in the Mediterranean, was betrothed to Ermingard, a noble youth, who

who had gone in pursuit of glory to the Holy Land, in the time of the Crusades, and had not been seen or heard of for many months after a great battle, in which he had been engaged, and was universally supposed to have perished. As his body was not found among the slain, however, Aurora refuses to believe that he is dead; and insists upon lighting a beacon flame every night, on the eastern cape of the island, to guide the vessel which she still hopes is to restore him to her arms. Her guardian, Ulrick, is himself a suitor for her hand, and labours to persuade her of the extravagance of her expectations. The play opens with a dialogue between him and one of her attendants; to whom he announces, that he can no longer countenance the folly of her eager hope; and that the ensuing night is the last in which he will allow her beacon to be kindled. He is then called away to attend on the Pope's legate, who has accidentally landed on his way from Palestine. The next scene shows Aurora herself in conversation with her attendants;—at first sunk and desponding; but gradually catching hope and animation from the wishes and possibilities upon which she delights to dwell; till at last her imagination is so raised, that, when one of the Legate's companions is admitted to an audience of her, she is persuaded that it is Ermingard himself; and refuses to part from the hope that sustains her being, even when she hears from him that the universal persuasion among his associates was, that he had perished in the fight, out of which he was never seen to return.

The second act introduces us to the beacon, and two fishermen singing as they watch round it. Intelligence is then brought that a boat is approaching the shore in a dangerous direction; and the sailors go out to lend them assistance. Aurora then enters; and, by and by, a hymn, which some of her attendants recognise to be a part of the service of the Knights of Jerusalem, is heard from the beach below; and a train of those brave and holy persons, in the habits of their order, ascend to the beacon which had guided them to the shore. Aurora, inquiring eagerly after the fate of her beloved, is referred to a young Knight, who had fought in the battle where he was supposed to fall, and who answers mournfully, that she must learn to think of him as of the dead. She is struck with his voice; and, tearing off his mantle, discovers the features of her Ermingard himself! They are in great perplexity, however, about his vow of celibacy, which he had been induced to take, and to conceal his name, in consequence of a false report that she had married Ulrick in his absence; and some very pleasing and tender scenes pass between them on that subject. The Pope's legate, however, informs

forms them, that if it be made plain that he had taken that vow upon an erroneous belief as to the state of the fact, his Holiness will not hesitate in releasing him from its bond; and offers to take them with him to Rome as soon as the wind is favourable. The piece ends with Aurora exclaiming that it will change immediately.

The merit of this piece certainly does not consist in the fable—nor in the delineation of character,—though there is something pleasing in the female variableness, the purity and buoyant confidence of Aurora; but in the fanciful and poetical cast of the whole composition—the multitude of pleasing images with which it abounds, and the beauty of several of the songs with which it is intermingled. The poetry is of a less laboured kind than that which Miss Baillie usually attempts, and has less pretension and less heaviness. The songs have all a great deal of beauty—and are thick set with images and ideas. Indeed, the whole style is more richly adorned with figures of thought and of speech than in any of her other performances; and both from this circumstance, and its being less constrained in its flow, approaches much nearer to the genuine standard of those older writers of whom her obsolete words have sometimes reminded us rather unluckily. The reader may take the following as a fair specimen. Aurora enters in one of her desponding moods. Her attendant speaks.

'*Ter.* Here you will find a more refreshing air;
The western sun beats fiercely.
Aur. Western sun!
Is time so far advanced? I left my couch
Scarcely an hour ago.
Ter. You are deceived.
Three hours have past, but past by you unheeded;
Who have the while in silent stillness sat,
Like one forlorn, that has no need of time.
Aur. In truth I now but little have to do
With time or any thing besides. It passes;
Hour follows hour; day follows day; and year,
If I so long shall last, will follow year:
Like drops that through the cavern'd hermit's roof
Some cold spring filters; glancing on his eye
At measured intervals, but moving not
His fix'd unvaried notice.' p. 276, 277.

After her fancy and hopes are kindled, her companion endeavours to moderate her confidence; and observes, that she makes her

'————after sorrow more acute
When these vain fancies fail.
Aur. And let them fail! Though duller thoughts succeed,
The bliss e'en of a moment, still is bliss.

Viol.

Viol. (*to* Ter.) Thou would'st not of her dew-drops spoil
the thorn
Because her glory will not last till noon;
Nor still the lightsome gambols of the colt
Whose neck to-morrow's yoke will gall. Fie on't!
If this be wise, 'tis cruel.———
Aur. Thanks, gentle Viola! Thou art ever kind.
We'll think to-morrow still hath good in store,
And make of this a blessing for to-day.' p. 281, 282.

The following is a conversation round the beacon.

'*Bast.* Here is, indeed, a splendid noble fire
Left me in ward. It makes the darkness round,
To its fierce light oppos'd, seem thick and palpable,
And clos'd o'er head, like to the pitchy cope
Of some vast cavern.——Near at hand, methinks,
Soft female voices speak: I'll to my station.' p. 295.

Upon the entrance of Aurora and her attendants, this person apologizes for his intrusion; though he adds,

'I've clamber'd o'er these cliffs, ev'n at this hour,
To see the ocean from its sabled breast
The flickering gleam of these bright flames return.
Aur. Make no excuse I pray thee.
How many leagues from shore may such a light
By the benighted mariner be seen?
Bast. Some six or so, he will descry it faintly,
Like a small star, or hermit's taper, peering
From some cav'd rock that brows the dreary waste;
Or like the lamp of some lone lazar-house,
Which through the silent night the traveller spies
Upon his doubtful way.
Viol. Fie on such images!
Thou should'st have liken'd it to things more seemly.
Thou might'st have said the peasant's evening fire
That from his upland cot, thro' winter's gloom,
What time his wife their evening meal prepares,
Blinks on the traveller's eye, and cheers his heart;
Or signal-torch, that from my lady's bower
Tells wandering knights the revels are begun;
Or blazing brand, that from the vintage-house
O' long October nights, thro' the still air
Looks rousingly.' p. 296-98.

The last extract we shall make from the dialogue part of the play shall be from the scene where Aurora, after the recovery of her lover, and under the belief of their being eternally separated in consequence of his vow, endeavours to reconcile him to that tantalizing destiny. After observing that she cannot attend him as a page, she adds—

'But

' But I have heard
That, near the sacred houses of your order,
Convents of maids devout in Holy Land
Establish'd are—maids who in deeds of charity
To pilgrims and to all in warfare maim'd,
In sacred warfare for the holy cross,
Are deem'd the humble partners of your zeal.
Erm. Aye, such there are; but what availeth this?
Aur. There will I dwell, a vow'd and humble sister.
We shall not far be sever'd. The same winds
That do o'nights thro' your still cloisters sigh,
Our quiet cells visiting with mournful harmony,
Shall lull my pillow too. Our window'd towers
Shall sometimes show me on the neighbouring plains,
Amidst thy brave companions, thy mail'd form
Crested with glory, on thy pawing steed
Returning from the wars. And when at last
Thou art in sickness laid—who will forbid
The dear sad pleasure?—like a holy bride
I'll by thy death-bed stand, and look to heaven
Where all bless'd union is. O! at the thought,
Methinks this span of life to nothing shrinks,
And we are bless'd already.' p. 310, 311.

We must make room now for some of the songs with which Miss Baillie has embellished this pleasing and elegant performance; and which she has contrived to introduce in such a way as to avoid the common objection of making people sing in situations where such an operation is obviously unnatural. All her songs are introduced (as Shakespeare's are), as being sung by the inferior persons of the drama for the entertainment of the superior;—not as the extemporaneous productions of the chief characters themselves. The following is sung to Aurora by one of her female attendants, and we think has very considerable beauty,—though the concluding line of the stanza is both weak and unmelodious.

' Wish'd-for gales the light vane veering,
Better dreams the dull night cheering;
Lighter heart the morning greeting,
Things of better omen meeting;
Eyes each passing stranger watching,
Ears each feeble rumour catching,
Say he existeth still on earthly ground,
The absent will return, the long, long lost be found.

In the tower the ward-bell ringing,
In the court the carols singing;
Busy hands the gay board dressing,
Eager steps the threshold pressing,

Open'd

Open'd arms in haste advancing,
Joyful looks thro' blind tears glancing;
The gladsome bounding of his aged hound,
Say he in truth is here, our long, long lost is found.

Hymned thanks and beedsmen praying,
With sheath'd sword the urchin playing;
Blazon'd hall with torches burning,
Cheerful morn in peace returning;
Converse sweet that strangely borrows
Present bliss from former sorrows,
O who can tell each blessed sight and sound,
That says, he with us bides, our long, long lost is found.

There is the same crowd and condensation of images in the following *reveillée*, with which the piece opens.

'Up! quit thy bower, late wears the hour;
Long have the rooks caw'd round thy tower;
On flower and tree, loud hums the bee;
The wilding kid sports merrily:
A day so bright, so fresh, so clear,
Shineth when good fortune's near.

Up! Lady fair, and braid thy hair,
And rouse thee in the breezy air;
The lulling stream, that sooth'd thy dream,
Is dancing in the sunny beam;
And hours so sweet, so bright, so gay,
Will waft good fortune on its way.' p. 269.

We shall quote but one more, which possesses greater unity of subject, though the description in the latter part is equally brief and beautiful.

'Where distant billows meet the sky,
A pale dull light the seamen spy,
As spent they stand and tempest-tost,
Their vessel struck, their rudder lost;
While distant homes where kinsmen weep,
And graves full many a fathom deep,
By turns their fitful, gloomy thoughts pourtray:
"'Tis some delusion of the sight,
Some northern streamer's paly light."
"Fools!" saith rous'd Hope with gen'rous scorn,
"It is the blessed peep of morn,
And aid and safety come when comes the day."

And so it is; the gradual shine
Spreads o'er heaven's verge its lengthened line:
Cloud after cloud begins to glow
And tint the changeful deep below;
Now sombre red, now amber bright,
Till upward breaks the blazing light;

Like

Like floating fire the gleamy billows burn:
Far distant on the ruddy tide,
A black'ning sail is seen to glide;
Loud bursts their eager joyful cry,
Their hoisted signal waves on high,
And life and strength and happy thoughts return.' 277-8.

We do not know that these pieces are very lyrical; but they have undoubtedly very great merit, and are more uniformly good, than any passages of equal length in the blank verse of the same writer. We should guess that Miss Baillie writes slowly, and with considerable labour; and the trouble which it probably occasions her to find rhymes, may perhaps be one cause of the goodness of her rhymed poetry. It leads obviously to the great merit of brevity and condensation of sentiment, as well as to the rejection of weak or ordinary images;—for it is only upon precious materials that a prudent artist will ever bestow his most costly and laborious workmanship. But whatever be the causes of their excellence, it affords us great pleasure to bear testimony to the fact; and it would go far to console us for the determination which Miss Baillie announces, to publish no more plays on the passions during her life, if we could be permitted to hope that she will favour us now and then with a little volume of such verses as those we have just been transcribing.

ART. II. *The Crisis of the Dispute with America.* By a Merchant of the Old School. 8vo. London, 1811.

THIS is a sensible and useful pamphlet, published by a very respectable merchant, who writes on a subject in which he feels the interest of one actually engaged in the affairs he treats of, and suffering severely under the evils of which he complains. He has inserted the very admirable letters recently addressed to the Prince Regent by Mr Cobbet, which contain a great variety of arguments, urged with the usual force and effect of that writer; and on a side of the question much more sound, in our apprehension, than that which he used formerly to espouse. Nothing can be more gratifying to those who really love truth, and seek the good of their country, than to see such instances of able and well-informed men meeting on the same ground, after being kept separate by honest differences of opinion: and they who brawl against such changes of sentiment, only show themselves equally careless of the interests of

the state and the cause of truth, and incapable of estimating the merits of that candour which acknowledges and retracts an involuntary error.

We propose, on this occasion, to offer a few reflections to our readers upon the subject of the disputes with America. Not that it is at all our intention to enter fully into the question of the negotiation now pending with the government of the United States;—but, from a conviction of the ruinous consequences of an American war, and the utter worthlessness of the objects for which our rulers are contending, we feel it quite incumbent on us to say a few words on some of the points in issue between the two countries. In truth, there is but one question, in the present times, more important than the American—we mean the Irish; and it seems to be the design of the government, to exercise the patience of the nation, and rouse the alarms of all men of sense and worth, in a pretty equal degree, on both those momentous topics. The scruples under which his Majesty's conscience was said to labour, affording no longer any pretence for deferring that act which strict justice, as well as the soundest policy, has so long enjoined towards the sister kingdom,—and the Illustrious person at the head of affairs having heretofore been supposed to feel any thing rather than reluctance to grant the Catholics a participation in the constitution—his Royal Highness being in truth understood to be pledged to the cause by repeated declarations and promises—it is with incredible sorrow and disappointment, that the country now sees the question of *time* once more raised—the measure again deferred—and the whole influence of government—of the Prince of Wales's government!—exerted to prevent the Catholic question from being carried. However little men of observation, and knowing in the discernment of human character, might have expected from the executive government of the Prince, in other respects—how much soever they might shut their ears to the fairy tales of a golden age, and a patriot king, wherewithal they had been flattered by more sanguine seers—still we believe the least credulous were unprepared for the strange spectacle with which the new reign has actually opened—the total abandonment of the Irish cause to its avowed enemies—and the Prince of Wales ranging himself all at once among the most decided adversaries of the Catholic body. *This* is disappointment wholly unparalleled in the history of political predictions; it is *change* of sentiment, more sudden, and more violent, than any in the records of party conduct; it is a *departure* from a previous system—an *exchange* of feelings—a surrender of antipathies, and shifting of predilections—a *new-moulding* of political principles, of which the whole annals

annals of courts and senates may in vain be searched for a parallel;—and they who viewed, in the Prince's former conduct towards Ireland, only matter of regret—who saw his attachment for the rights of the Catholics with alarm for the safety of the Church, may now congratulate themselves on the most marvellous instance of a total regeneration which the entire range of profane history can furnish.

After this wondrous manifestation of the powers of what is called *influence*, it would be foolish to admire any longer at lesser miracles—to pause over any favour which may be shown to corrupt men and measures inconsistent with reform—or to feel any disappointment at the near prospect of a most lamentable extension of the hostilities which already press upon the resources of the country. But it is good to have our eyes at length opened—to see things, *and men*, in their real colours and natural proportions—and to know upon whom we can *now* rely for the salvation of the state, from the only remaining perils which it has yet to encounter. We now *must* allow, that the people themselves alone can extricate the country from its difficulties; and that it would be idle to seek for a check to the pernicious system of the court and its ministers from any other quarter than the public voice. That voice, if firmly, yet peacefully raised, is, we know, irresistible. It has awed the most undaunted—steadied the most capricious—and disconcerted the most perfidious of princes. It has been found more than a match for monarchs, whose courage, seconded by the decent regularities of their private life, and upheld by talents of no ordinary description, seemed well fitted to overpower the liberties of their subjects, and to establish a dominion in which the royal will might prevail, uncontrolled by the sentiments or wishes of the community. Even against such an influence we have no doubt that it may still make itself heard with effect; and assuredly it can have nothing to dread from a conflict (if in the course of ages such a conflict should await it) with adversaries of a different description. Let this voice but interfere, and Ireland may yet be saved to the empire; and peace with our brethren in America may still be maintained.

With a view to assist the people in considering the questions relating to this last subject, we purpose at present to treat of them in a plain and intelligible shape. They are indeed such as any one may easily understand; and it would be hard to conceive a point more worthy of exercising the attention of the country, or a moment better calculated to rouse them to a view

of their dearest interests. The universal prevalence of distress, and the general tendency towards discontent, are admitted. To a certain degree, say one class of reasoners, the policy of the enemy has succeeded; and the Continent is closed to our trade. The enemy's policy, say their opponents, seconded by our own, has effected what, alone, it never could have done; and, by the concurrence of the two systems, England is excluded from the Continental market. Both agree in the fact; each party acknowledges that the result has been, to confine our trade, and reduce the demand for our wares. Then, the next measure of our rulers being an American war, it is for the country to reflect, how vast an addition this would make to its distresses. Or, if the interruption of intercourse with America has already been complete, and if to this cause is to be ascribed a part of the pressure, it is for the country to consider, how great, and how instantaneous a relief the renewal of that intercourse would bring. Why then should we go to war with America? And wherefore do we not suffer that intercourse to be restored? These are questions which every one must desire to see answered, who reflects that the United States buy yearly from Yorkshire and Lancashire, and the neighbouring counties, above twelve millions worth of their manufactures; and that if, to a final shutting up of this vast market, were added an open rupture with the Americans, they have above fifteen thousand sail of vessels ready to become privateers, and to prey on whatever commerce might remain to us—sheltered by almost all the ports in Europe, and by those which stud a coast of 1500 miles in length on the other side of the Atlantic, in the midst of all our colonies. We urge not these matters as reasons for taking fright, and being driven by America into any concessions derogatory to our honour, or inconsistent with our interests: But we mention them as very good reasons for pausing before we determine, that the points demanded are such as we cannot, either in honour, or for our interest, yield; and we think they render it incumbent on those who would hold out at such a price, to satisfy themselves beyond all doubt that the right side of the argument is theirs.

The Americans are, in every respect, the most important, and, in some sort, the only nation which has kept clear of all actual share in the wide-spreading hostilities that have swept over the face of the world during the last twenty years. To maintain this neutrality has, no doubt, been the leading object of many states; but, except America, no one has been able to succeed; and she unquestionably owes her success to the distance of her situation from the scene of hostilities. In every

war, neutrals are liable to be viewed with distrust and dislike by the contending parties, whose passions being roused, cannot easily excuse the calm unconcern of such as chuse to remain bystanders; and whose losses and privations, the result of the war, fill them with envy towards those who not only escape unhurt by it, but gain a great portion of what the belligerents lose. Thus it always happens, that neutrality becomes odious to the combatants, instead of appearing, as it really is, an alleviation of the evils which their own passions are inflicting on the world, and on each other.

First, it is found out that '*this war*' is unlike all former wars;—that it is a war for national existence;—and that to take no part, which in other cases might be allowable and even laudable, in *this* grand contest, is highly criminal. Nor can any war be found, to which the same description and the same remarks have not been applied;—from contentions about a few acres of snow—or a fishing or a fur station,—to the Polish partition, and the French and Spanish revolutions. This feeling being at the bottom of the sentiments entertained towards neutrals, an opportunity is speedily found or made, for giving vent to it in a regular and formal manner. The neutral is accused by one belligerent of assisting the other; and this branches into an infinite variety of charges. Sometimes this aid is given by employing the neutral vessel to cover the enemy's property. The belligerents take different views of the point; and the one which is most powerful at sea looks to the real ownerships of the cargo, while the other maintains, that the character of the vessel should be the only criterion whereby to judge of the character of the lading. Hence the question, whether free ships make free goods or not? A question which, in our humble apprehension, in point of right, is clearly with England—however remote her interest may be in asserting it, considering the vast interest she has in the extension of commercial dealings beyond that of any other country.

Then it is found that neutrals trade in articles immediately subservient to the military operations of one of the parties. The neutrals cannot deny that such conduct would be an infraction of neutrality; but they deny the fact, and refuse to be searched on their voyages—the only means whereby the belligerent can ascertain whether the charge be well founded or no. Thus arises the question of right of search, mixed up with some lesser discussions as to what shall be deemed contraband of war. This right of search has been extended to a case of a more delicate nature—for the reclaiming of deserters from the navy of a belligerent, sheltering themselves

themselves on board of neutral vessels—a right rendered still more delicate in the case of the British navy, where the men are not voluntarily enlisted, but forced into the service. When such deserters have taken refuge in neutral merchantmen, it seems as if it were no very violent extension of the right of search to allow the recovery of those men. But an attempt has been made to carry the claim a step farther, and search the vessels of the state;—an attempt so inconsistent with all sound principle, and so utterly repugnant to the law of nations, that it was abandoned, almost as soon as it was challenged; and forms the solitary instance, we believe, of a dereliction of any maritime pretension on the part of this country during the late, or the present war.

Again, the neutral engages, during war, in trades from which he was excluded during peace; and each belligerent uniformly encourages this interposition of the neutral flag. Thus France opens her colonial trade to the neutral on the commencement of hostilities; and England, as regularly as she passes the Prize act, begins each war with a suspension of the branch of the Navigation act, which excludes foreigners from the carrying trade. But although each belligerent approves this in his own case, he wishes to prevent the other from benefiting by it; and as the party which is weak at sea benefits the most, the party preponderating in this respect most zealously attempts to check it; and hence the principle contended for by England chiefly in the war 1756, and which has from that date received its name. But the most fruitful source of discord arises from the right of blockade; and as no assumed privilege of war more largely affects the neutral, or gives rise to more plausible complaints on his part, so it seems to merit somewhat of a nearer examination. It involves the whole question of Orders in Council, and the present disputes with America.

The right to blockade a strong place, as a fortress, or a city, of the enemy, that is to say, of cutting off all communication with it, for the purpose of compelling it to surrender, is as ancient and undoubted as the right of making war. This interruption of communication may, and in most cases probably will, affect peaceable subjects as well as persons bearing arms; and it may frequently affect the interests of third parties, or neutrals, by depriving them of a beneficial intercourse with the blockaded place. But the right to injure neutrals in this manner has never been denied; because the course of hostile operations absolutely required it, and the exercise of it had a tendency, by severely distressing the enemy, and producing a great change in the relative strength of the belligerents, to shorten the period of hos-

tilities, and attain the great end of all war—the end to which every principle should bear a reference—the restoration of peace. From this clear and admitted right of blockade, it is perhaps a slight, but unquestionably a certain deviation, to allow the blockade of a place, not in its nature and position military—as a large and wealthy manufacturing town, or a convenient place of maritime trade. Here the sufferers are, in the first instance, peaceable citizens—who furnish indeed, by their wealth and their industry, the resources of war, but the protection of whom ought in general to be an object of public law. Yet the impossibility of drawing a line between those cases in which the distress of an enemy's financial resources may contribute to shorten the conflict, and *on the whole* to lessen the evils of war, and those where it can only make the contest more miserable, without abridging its duration,—renders it quite necessary to allow of this extension of the right of blockade; and, accordingly, no one can deny the title of a belligerent to blockade any harbour, or any city, or any moderately large district, without regard to its military character, unless he is also prepared to dispute the right of privateering by sea, and of levying contributions, and quartering troops; and, in a word, marching troops through a territory on shore. War between governments, and peace between nations, is indeed a notion beautiful to contemplate; but it was not made for human affairs; and when pursued ever so short a way, will be found wholly inconsistent with the nature of hostilities. At any rate, it never was recognized, either by the practice of nations, or by any authority whatever, on matters of public law. It can form no part then of our present consideration.

If from single towns, or harbours, or small districts, we extend our view to large territories—to whole provinces—or large lines of coast—very different considerations must enter to qualify our inferences. Suppose a belligerent powerful enough to surround a whole kingdom by a cordon of troops, in such force as to prevent, by physical superiority, all ingress and egress at any part of the circle; and the question is raised, not whether the entrance or egress of troops and stores may lawfully be stopt by these means; but whether every cart, horse, and foot passenger may thus be stopt, and his goods confiscated, and his person imprisoned, for making the attempt—we acknowledge that there appears some difficulty in giving this question an affirmative answer. For here is evidently a most grievous injury inflicted upon the neighbouring neutral—so grievous indeed, that the case may well be put, in which the pressure of such a measure of hostility would fall as heavily on the neutral as on the enemy—on the party not intended

intended to be at all affected by it, as on him against whom it was professedly levelled. For if two nations, lying contiguous, as Holland and Brabant, should be, as they naturally will be, each the best customer of the other, the blockade of the one which is at war with us, operates exactly as a blockade of the other also, which, so far from being at war, ought by all the principles of public law to be encouraged in its neutrality, and favoured, so long as it preserves a real and sincere indifference in its conduct towards the belligerents. To visit a nation of this description so severely, is surely a consummation to be greatly deprecated; unless where some inducement of a very high and paramount kind may seem to dispense with the natural and just feeling of favour, and to authorize, upon more large views of general expediency, such a departure from ordinary principles. But as the prospect of speedily terminating hostilities by some such extraordinary pressure on the enemy, may be thought to justify even such a blockade as this—we are not disposed to deny it absolutely as a general principle; and the admission must consequently be extended to such a blockade by sea of a whole coast, as a very powerful fleet, aided by innumerable attendant vessels, may be capable of establishing so strictly, that at each part of the line ingress and egress may be prevented. This is perhaps a large admission; but we know not where else to draw the distinction: and at all events, we should never forget, that it is an admission full of danger, and leading to utter subversion of principle, in the utter disregard of neutral rights, unless it be carefully limited by its appropriate checks.

Now, what are those checks?—If there be no limit to this right but the good pleasure of the belligerents—if each party may bid against the other in mutual animosity, for the overthrow of the rights of third parties—and if those neutral rights may be encroached upon by both belligerents, according to their several desires of hurting each other, and their respective disregard of all other parties, or rather their respective dislike towards all who are not mixed in the contest,—then it is in vain to talk of neutral rights, or of neutrality at all. For each belligerent will begin by going to the utmost extremity—each will decree that the other shall be cut off from all communication with the rest of mankind—and the party which is weakest, and whose threat cannot be executed, will be despised by neutrals, while they will be drawn into the quarrel against the stronger power. Such a right, then, can only increase the calamities of war, in the first instance; and speedily it must enlarge their range, by involving all other nations in the dispute between the belligerents, and putting an end to the very character

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and condition of neutrality all the world over. *Some* limit then must evidently be fixed; and the one which the nature of things presents to us, seems, on every account, the reasonable and safe one to choose. *The power* of each party *to execute* his intentions, appears to be this natural limit. Each belligerent should be strictly confined to such a blockade only as he has actual means of enforcing. While this is clearly understood, it seems scarcely possible that the general principle can be liable to great abuse; for, whatever may be the wishes of the parties, they cannot go beyond certain bounds; and, as far as they can go, they exercise a real hostility,—to which, as their adversaries must expect they shall be exposed, so, neutrals must submit to its indirect consequences, in the hope that it may ultimately shorten the period of war.

That *this* limitation has, in general, and in the best times, been held by jurists, and admitted, by the practice of nations, to constitute an essential part of the right of blockade, we need not take great pains to show from history or from authority. We say, in general; for we are aware of attempts to disregard it having now and then been made in times of peculiar confusion and national animosity, when the voice of reason was little likely to be heard. The Dutch in Philip II.'s time, and the French during the revolution war, both acted, or attempted to act, in contravention of this principle. Thus, the *decree of the 18th January* 1797 declares, that all vessels found on the high seas, with any English goods whatever on board, to whomsoever belonging, shall be good prize; and it requires *certificates of origin*, under the hands of French Consuls, exactly as the more recent decrees of Berlin and Milan do. (See *Robinson's Admiralty Reports*, *vol. I. p.* 342.) England at different times has declared large lines of coast, and whole colonies, to be in a state of blockade; but she has (*till the present war*) uniformly provided a naval force sufficient to make this blockade real and effectual; and as often as a question arose respecting the rights of neutrals to enter or sail from ports within such blockades, the inquiry essential to the decision has always been, whether such a force was stationed on the coast as was sufficient to blockade it effectually. According as this question was answered in the affirmative or negative, the decree of blockade was held to be good and lawful, or a mere nullity. As nothing can be more instructive than the decisions of our prize courts on this point, so, nothing can give us more gratifying views of the purity with which those tribunals administer the law of nations, and their impartiality in trying the delicate questions which come before them, between their own sovereign or their own countrymen, and the

the rulers or the people of foreign states. It is with pleasure, therefore, that we pause here, to consider how clearly the principles for which we are contending have been recognized, and indeed how anxiously and rigorously they have been enforced by the High Court of Admiralty under the presidency of Sir William Scott, and the Court of Prize Appeal, composed, practically speaking, of that learned and honourable Judge, the late and the present Masters of the Rolls, and Sir William Wynne. In observing the train of decisions, it will be essential to keep the eye upon *dates* as well as points; the *time* is material in this question.

In the case of the *Frederick Molke*, *Boysen*, *December* 10*th*, 1798, Sir William Scott lays it down, 'that nothing further 'is necessary to constitute blockade, than that there should be 'a force stationed to prevent communication, and a due notice 'or prohibition given to the party.' (1. *Rob.* 86.) In the *Mercurius Gerdes*, *December* 7*th*, 1798, referring to the doctrines maintained by the armed neutrality of 1780, he describes a place to be in a state of blockade, '*when it is dangerous to attempt to enter it.*' (*ibid. p.* 84.) In the same case he says, still more precisely, that 'a blockade may exist without a pub-'lic declaration, although *a declaration, unsupported by fact*, '*will not be sufficient to establish it.*' And in support of this doctrine, he refers to the case of the West Indian blockade of 1794, as decided by the Lords of Appeal. That case merits our attention; and, though there is no report of it in the books, yet it is sufficiently known, from the frequent references made to it in other cases, and from one or two reported cases expressly ruled on the principle of it. Such was the case of the *Betsey*, *Murphy*, *December* 18*th*, 1798, in which the principle in question was the chief point. It was the case of an American taken by the English at the capture of Guadaloupe, April 1794, and retaken by the French, at the recapture of the island in the following June. The question arose on the legality of the first seizure, which had been made on the ground that the vessel had broken the blockade of Guadaloupe. The captors stated by affidavit, 'that on the arrival of the British forces in the 'West Indies, a proclamation issued, inviting the inhabitants 'of *Martinique*, *St Lucie*, and *Guadaloupe*, to put themselves 'under the protection of the English; that, on a refusal, hos-'tile operations were commenced against them all;' and 'that, in January 1794, Guadaloupe was summoned, and was 'then put into a state of complete investment and blockade.' Upon this statement the learned Judge observes, 'The word '*complete* is a word of great energy; and we expect from it to

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'find that a number of vessels were stationed round the entrance of the port, to cut off all communication. But, from the protest, I perceive that the captors entertained but a very loose *notion* of the true nature of a blockade; for it is there stated, that on the 1st of January, after a general proclamation to the French islands, they were put into a state of complete blockade.'—'It is a term, therefore, which was applied to all those islands at the same time under the first proclamation. The Lords of Appeal' (he continues) 'have pronounced, that such a proclamation was not, in itself, sufficient to constitute a legal blockade. *It is clear, indeed, that it could not, in reason, be held to produce the effect* which the captors erroneously ascribed to it. From the misapplication of these phrases in one instance, I learn that we must not give too much weight to the use of them on this occasion; and, from the generality of these expressions, I think we must infer, that there was not that *actual blockade which the law is now distinctly understood to require.*' An argument in favour of the blockade having been raised upon a declaration of the municipality, that '*the island was in a state of siege*,' Sir William Scott, with an indignant sneer at the revolutionary politicians of France, whom a dispenser of the public law may, above all other judges, be excused for holding in abhorrence, as the great contemners of the rights of neutrals, and the rash innovators on the ancient code of Europe, observes, that this 'is *a term of the new jargon* of France, which is sometimes applied to domestic disturbances, and certainly is *not so intelligible* as to justify me in concluding, that the island was in *that state of investment* from a foreign enemy *which we require to constitute blockade.*' How rapid the progress of the *jargon* has been—how it has worked its way into the recesses of the Civil law, as well as of the Cabinet—how a single hint conveyed in that outlandish tongue has since become sufficient to convey ideas which whole sentences were formerly incapable of rendering intelligible—and how those who, in the infancy of their studies under French Doctors of the Law, had not organs of comprehending forms of blockade, which now-a-days they deal with as familiarly as if they had never been out of the University of Paris,—we shall probably have occasion to see more nearly before we close the present discussion. In the mean while, it may suffice to observe, as touching the *Betsey*, that the learned Judge having, for the reasons already mentioned, '*denied that a blockade existed till the operations of the forces were actually directed against Guadaloupe*,' (notwithstanding the proclamation of blockade months before), pronounced it, on this ground, to be a case of restitution. (1. *Rob.* 94. *et seqq.*)

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To seek for confirmations of the same sound and correct principles, would be only to take at random the *dicta* of the same distinguished Judge during any part of the last, and the earlier stages of the present war, in every question that hinged upon the right of blockade, or incidentally connected itself with it. We have the principle in the logical form of a general definition, in the case of the *Vrouw Judith, Valkerts*, Jan. 17. 1799. 'A blockade is a sort of circumvallation round a place, by which 'all foreign connexion and correspondence is, *as far as human* '*force can effect it, to be entirely cut off.*' (1. Rob. 151.) It meets us again in the exhaustive shape—in a specification of the classes which compose the genus blockade; and from which blockade by mere declaration is carefully excluded. 'There 'are two sorts of blockade:—One by the *simple fact* only; the 'other by a notification accompanied with the fact. In the 'former case, when the fact ceases, otherwise than by accident 'or the shifting of the wind, there is immediately an end of the 'blockade.' He then says, that where a blockade has been notified, a counter-notice should be given at the same time that the fact ceases. 'It is, he adds, the duty undoubtedly of a bel-'ligerent country, which has made the notification, to notify in 'the same way, and immediately, the discontinuance of it. To 'suffer the fact to cease, and to apply the notification again at 'a distant time, would be a fraud on neutral nations, and a con-'duct which we are not to suppose that any country would pur-'sue. I do not say that a blockade of this sort may not, in any 'possible case, expire *de facto*; but, I say, such a conduct is not 'hastily to be presumed against any nation.' (*Neptunus, Knyp*, 1. *Rob.* 171.) Nor does there appear, in any of the cases argued before the court, as far as the very admirable reports of Sir C. Robinson, the present King's Advocate, have preserved the history of them, any attempt, in these days, even by the ingenuity of counsel, when labouring under a heavy case, to contend for any blockade other than such as actual force is employed to begin and support.

Such, then, we take to be the law of nations, as expounded by the highest authority on this important point. But, suppose that one of the belligerents neglecting, or openly violating this law, shall disregard the limits fixed by its own strength, and issue decrees, pretending to order what, in fact, it has no power to execute—*proclaiming* the coasts of its adversary to be blockaded, without providing a force sufficient even to attempt their circumvallation;—that the neutral may regard such conduct as wholly illegal, we have already seen; but what rights does it bestow, and what duties does it impose, on the other belligerent?

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Does this proceeding, in short, entitle the enemy *to retaliate?*—We shall again seek for a solution in the records of the first Prize tribunal in the world, and in the words of its ablest sage. In the noted case of the *Flad Oyen*, *Martenson*, a case, not of the less authority on the present occasion, that it overrules a material pretension introduced by the enemy during the last war, and favoured pretty anxiously by neutrals, Sir W. Scott combats the argument, that the practice followed, in some instances, by Great Britain, of condemning prizes in neutral ports, could ever justify France in a similar proceeding. 'That consequence, he 'says, I deny: *The true mode of correcting the irregular practice* '*of a nation is by protesting against it*, and by inducing that 'country to reform it. It is *monstrous* to suppose, that because 'one country has been guilty of an irregularity, every other 'country is let loose from the law of nations, and is at liberty to 'assume as much as it thinks fit.' (1. *Rob.* 142.) This sentence would of itself be sufficient to establish, on an imperishable basis, the fame of the eminent judge who uttered it, and avowed himself ready to act upon its principles. Those principles are truly incontrovertible;—and we rejoice to reflect how constantly they have been illustrated in the practice of the more enlightened states of Europe, but especially of England. What but a conviction of their soundness prevented the fatal play of partition from making the round of the continent in 1774? What other consideration dissuaded the English cabinet during the greater part of the last war from imitating, under the mask of retaliation, the unjust and violent decrees of the French government against this country, and their manifest violation of neutral rights? Why else did the commanders of our army in 1794 meet the abominable edicts of the Jacobins prohibiting quarter to the English, with a reproof to those insane rulers—a protest in the face of the world—and a generous recommendation to our troops to abstain from retaliation? In truth, were the contrary maxims allowed, the smallest breach of the law of nations would ensure the immediate and total overthrow of the system, which has done more for the civility and peace of the world than conquerors or mobs have been able to effect against those inestimable blessings.

The doctrine here laid down, was no doubt broached by Sir W. Scott incidentally, in the course of an elaborate argument, of which it did not form the main drift;—it was more of an *obiter dictum* than of a point ruled; and, unquestionably, it was not the principal point in the case. But the *dicta* of judges must not be taken like admissions of advocates in the course of argument—concessions of one point in order to justify another,

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A judge rules more or less solemnly, on every point which he deliberately decides upon; and as he is not arguing to support a particular doctrine, all that he lays down for law in explaining and recommending that doctrine must be taken to be law, as far as his authority can make it so.

What, then, it may be asked, is the one belligerent to do when the one violates the clear law of nations, by establishing a blockade unsupported by actual force? The principle now contended for, and on the great authorities referred to, would justify this answer,—that the utmost extent of retaliation is to assist all neutrals in evading such an order of blockade. But if neutrals should be found willing to obey the order, it may seem fit that the retaliation should proceed a step further; and that England, for example, being declared in a state of blockade by France, should be authorised, in her turn, to declare France in a state of blockade with respect to whatever neutrals may acquiesce in the French declaration. This principle, however, must be taken with some limitations; because, if the French proclamation be a mere empty threat, a mere insult to the neutrals, incapable of really injuring either them or us, we shall not surely be justified in inflicting such a blockade as may utterly annihilate their intercourse with the enemy. The French decree says to America—Your ships shall not go to and from England;—it is a decree which France cannot execute: And if America refuses to go to war with her on account of it, what does she more, than despise a mere idle threat, or put up with an empty insult? This is no ground for retaliating on America. No one can pretend that England has a right to insist upon America accounting to her for all the insults she may endure; or to make that neutral state receive real injuries at her hands, because she has taken insults at the hands of her enemy. If, indeed, America not only refuses to quarrel with France on this score, but ceases, in consequence of the French decree, to trade with England, it may be thought more reasonable that England should have the same right of preventing her from trading with France. Nevertheless, they who maintain this point, must be prepared to admit that neutrals have no longer a right to trade with whomsoever they please, and to give up a certain commercial intercourse at their own pleasure. The support of this doctrine of retaliation would lead to an acknowledgment, that a cessation of commercial intercourse is a just ground of war. However, we are not disposed to raise speculative questions, and argue on a state of facts which has never existed. America never did acquiesce in the French decrees; and she ceased to trade with England, only when England adopted a particular and strange modification

modification of the new French principles of blockade. We shall take for granted the right of retaliating on the enemy at the expense of the neutral, and inquire how this right is limited, and whether it has been exercised under the fit limitations?

If any one were asked, what would be a proper retaliation of the blockade proclaimed against England? he would naturally answer—a similar blockade proclaimed against France. The object of such a measure would be sufficiently intelligible. Whether attainable or not is another question,—and one which belongs to the political view of the case—a view not now before us: But a blockade of France would have an intelligible reference to the blockade of England; and, while it only called upon neutrals to bear from us as much as they chose to bear from our enemy (the sole, though we fear no very triumphant justification of such a retaliating measure as relating to neutrals), it would offer some chance of compelling the enemy to alter his conduct—recur to the old established law of nations, and cease violating neutral commerce. England, however, by the first Orders in Council, inflicted no such retaliation upon France. She endeavoured, on the other hand, to monopolize, instead of retaliating. In answer to a decree which said, No one shall trade with England; she said, Every one shall trade with England, or give up all trading whatsoever,—instead of saying, as she ought to have done, No one shall trade with France. The blockade was thus affected to be retaliated; but it was in reality met,—not with a counter blockade, but with a monopoly;—and this conduct was both contrary to the rule which it pretended to follow, and wholly incapable of either making the neutral cease to acquiesce in the enemy's illegal proceedings, or compelling the enemy to abandon those measures. For it neither prevented the neutral from trading as extensively as before, nor distressed the enemy by cutting off his intercourse with neutrals;—it only hampered, and insulted and harassed the trade of the former, and prescribed the way in which the latter should be traded withal. Both neutral and enemy might trade as largely as before, provided they chose to drive that traffic through the medium of British ports, and in such a way as somewhat, though very little, to assist the trade of those ports. It is therefore quite impossible to defend the Orders in Council of 1807 on the principle of retaliation. Their preamble states that principle—but only to abandon it, and adopt another of a perfectly different kind. The preamble says, we have a right to retaliate;—but the Order says, we will not do so useless and unprofitable a thing as to retaliate;—we will endeavour to get a little good trade out of the fire.

fire. The substance of the proclamation is—Whereas we have a right to retaliate by blockade; therefore we choose not to do so; but we prefer making a certain profit by monopoly.

In April 1809, these orders were repealed; and another set substituted in their place. The principle now resorted to was a blockade of a limited extent, comprehending the coasts of France, Holland, part of Germany, and the north of Italy;—and as this blockade was absolute, admitting of no exceptions, and no evasion, by touching at British ports, it wears on the face of it an appearance of more strict retaliation than the measure to which it succeeded.—Yet, how has it been followed up in practice? By a series of Orders in Council, adapted to particular cases, authorising thousands of exceptions in a year to the blockade originally imposed, or pretended to be imposed, the breach of the blockade has now become the rule, instead of the exception: And, while we affect to prevent France from trading with any other country, in order to starve her into a compliance with the law of nations;—while we tell America that we are reduced, by the state of the war and the conduct of the enemy, to the disagreeable necessity of preventing all commerce with France,—while we express our *unfeigned* regret, that the course of hostilities should fall heavy upon American trade, and protest, that nothing could reconcile us to such an act of apparent harshness towards neutral rights, but the absolute impossibility of permitting the enemy of all order, to trade in any degree whatever with any nation in the world (for our case is this, or it is nothing): We at the same time encourage our own clandestine traffic with that same enemy as much as we can, and allow all neutrals who will submit to certain indignities, and to conditions beneficial to ourselves, as ample a trade with *blockaded* France as they ever before enjoyed: So that the principle of the original orders of 1807 is revived underhand, and in detail; and the blockade of 1809, when interpreted by the licenses, is found to mean, like that of 1807, only a monopoly, under the imposing disguise of such a measure as might press hard on the enemy, and oblige neutrals to resist his encroachments, while it forced him to observe the public law of Europe.

In what light such measures are viewed in our Prize courts, we may easily see, by consulting their latest decisions: for, till lately, they would allow of no illegal proceedings, even when strictly retaliatory. But, now that they have relaxed the ancient rules, and allowed one belligerent to break the law, in order to punish another for a breach of it, we shall still find them confining within much narrower bounds than the Government is disposed to walk by, this right of retaliation. The

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case of the *Fox*, recently decided by Sir William Scott, is on many accounts of peculiar authority in the present discussion; but chiefly for this reason, that no former judgment of our Prize tribunals ever showed such deference to the municipal legislation of the country, and such disposition to mix it up with the public law in regulating their decisions. In the outset, Sir William Scott declares our Orders in Council to be purely 'retaliatory. They are so declared in their own language, 'and in the uniform language of the Government which 'has established them. I have no hesitation in saying, that 'they would cease to be just if they ceased to be retaliatory; 'and they would cease to be retaliatory, from the moment the 'enemy retracts, in a sincere manner, those measures of his, 'which they were intended to retaliate.' p. 4.

It having been objected by Dr Herbert, one of the counsel for the claimant, that the Orders in Council are not retaliatory, inasmuch as they are accompanied with the License trade, the learned Judge thus proceeds to comment on that objection. 'It is incumbent upon me, I think, to take notice of an objection of Dr *Herbert*'s, to the *existence* of the Orders in Council—namely, that *British* subjects are, notwithstanding, permitted to trade with *France*, and that a blockade, which excludes the subjects of all other countries from trading with 'ports of the enemy, and at the same time permits any access 'to those ports to the subjects of the State which imposes it, is 'irregular, illegal, and null. *And I agree to the position, that 'a blockade, imposed for the purpose of obtaining a commercial 'monopoly for the private advantage of the State which lays on 'such blockade, is illegal and void, on the very principle upon 'which it is founded.*' (p. 10.) He then endeavours to show that the License trade is not so extensive as to come, or to bring the measure of which it forms a part, within the scope of this observation. The fact, however, it now appears, is otherwise; a very large trade having been carried on under license between this country and the coast pretended to be blockaded by our Orders in Council. He further remarks, that the License trade is chiefly in the hands of foreigners: But surely it signifies nothing to the principle, whether we, underhand, violate our own blockade by our own or by foreign vessels, so long as we prohibit neutrals from trading with France directly. The last answer which he gives to the objection amounts to this, that the French decrees, conferring on us a right to blockade France rigorously, 'it is not for other countries to inquire how far this 'country may be able to relieve itself further from the aggressions of the enemy.' But why is it not? and how does this agree with the large admission, that a blockade, which ends in

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'commercial monopoly, is illegal and void, on the very princi-'ple upon which it is founded?' Is not this relaxation of the blockade, take it in whatever light we may, a relaxation, in our own favour, of the pressure which we pretend must needs be inflicted upon the enemy, and which we vindicate in regard to its effects upon neutrals, only on the ground of its absolute necessity to the subjugation of that enemy? Has not then the neutral a full right to complain of our conduct, in pretending to destroy his trade, for the better management of the war, and the more speedy attainment of peace, when all that we do, in reality, is to transfer it out of his hands into our own, for the more profitable carrying on of business, and the more speedy acquisition of wealth?—Have *we*, who do such things, any right to abuse the Dutch, who blockaded a city, and secretly sold it provisions and stores—determined, it should seem, to make the most of their war, and, if they could not take the place, to turn its resistance to a good account?

The principle, then, of the new system—new at least in *our* Prize courts, and repugnant to the rules laid down by our most eminent Judges heretofore, is profit and monopoly, and not retaliation or self-defence. But, more recently, it has been recommended on such grounds, in a manner still more avowed and unblushing. His Majesty's ministers are said to have lately declared, that the defence of their measures rested, not so much on their forcing the enemy to retract—for this ground it was necessary to abandon in the face of the notorious facts—but on their tendency to protect our trade from injurious competition. (*See Reports of the Debate on Lord Lauderdale's and Mr Brougham's Motions upon the Orders in Council.*) It was contended, that if the Orders were withdrawn, there would be nothing to prevent the manufactures of the Continent from getting into other markets, as that of South America, possibly at peace freights, under cover of the American flag; and that we should be undersold, or at any rate lose the exclusive possession of those markets. It was inferred, that to the new measures we owed our present trade in a great degree; and that, to protect that trade, those measures must at all events be persevered in. We shall here wave all dispute about the matter of fact, on which this portentous doctrine rests. We shall not inquire, whether our manufactures are really come to such a pitch, that they can only keep their ground by the assistance of main force. Nor shall we ask what the manufacturers themselves say upon this matter, and whether they have any such panic fears? We are at present dealing with a dry question of law—with mere matter of right; and to clear the way for the argument—indeed to raise the question at all—we must admit the facts, on the assumption

of which this most strange of doctrines is brought forward; and for the first time, in the history of civilized governments, openly and daringly avowed, how often soever it may have been covertly acted upon, at least with a more decent shame.

We say, then, that though all the facts should be admitted—though the greatest gain should be allowed to flow from the Orders in Council, and in general from the newfangled right of blockade;—this affords not only no defence of those measures, if they are otherwise untenable upon principles, but is a topic which cannot even be stated *at all* in the argument;—that it has no more to do with the question, than the great value of the booty has with the defence of the pirate who is on trial for having plundered it. The Americans have a right to trade with our enemy, unless we can show that justice, and the acknowledged rights of belligerents with regard to neutrals, limit or abrogate that right. We say, they shall not trade with our enemy; and when they complain of this infraction of their rights, we answer, that if they were permitted to carry on such a trade, it would interfere with the gains of our own commerce!

They who maintain such a monstrous position—they who throw it out even as a makeweight in the present discussion—must be prepared to contend, that the love of gain is a just cause of hostilities;—and that a nation is at any time entitled to make war upon its neighbours, for the sake of increasing its own trade. Nay, they must be ready to maintain (for it is scarcely going a step further), that we have a just right to quarrel with an unoffending people, for the sake of plundering their ships, and ransacking their warehouses. Now, England has sometimes swerved from the only path which a great nation can ever pursue, consistently with its honour and character. She has carried on the slave-trade, and defended it because it was lucrative. She has seized the property of her neighbours, while they confided in the subsisting relations of peace. She has, on some plea of state-necessity, burnt the capital of a friendly state, in order to obtain possession of its warlike resources: But, to this period of time, she has never laid it down openly as a maxim, that all right, and all public law, is at an end—that interest alone is her guide—and that she has a title to despise all principles—to make a mock of every thing like justice among nations, as often as she can make a profit by such monstrous deeds of perfidy and violence. Let us hope that such principles have been rashly hazarded, and will be quickly retracted. Surely, if an American war is so dear to our rulers—if they must at all risks have a rupture with the only free people beside ourselves now left in the world—if they are quite resolved upon finally shutting up the best and safest market which yet remains to our industry—they may find some less revolting pretext on

which to found their measure; and we fervently trust, that so great a calamity may fall upon the country and the world, unattended by the additional and most needless aggravation of a manifesto, which outrages all the principles that hold either men or nations together, and stand between us and universal anarchy.

We have had occasion to speak of the legality, or illegality, of the Orders in Council, and the instructions connected with them, as a matter capable of being discussed and decided upon in judicatures actually existing. We have been supposing, that there are courts where redress may be obtained by individuals against acts of force, inconsistent with the law of nations; and we are willing to please ourselves with the idea, that the pernicious example of France has not shut up those fountains of justice, and left in their room some impure and uncertain channels, flowing at the command, or by the caprice, of politicians. The Prize courts are understood to be judicatures, which decide the questions coming before them according to the principles of the general law of nations, recognized all over the civilized world. This law is proverbially the same in every country, like that of nature: *Non est alia Romæ, alia Athenis.* Were it otherwise, indeed, there could be no such thing; and to speak of a *law of nations* would be a mockery. Two parties, then, come before such a court; the one demanding condemnation of a vessel or cargo, seized under a certain Order of Council, and the other resisting the demand, and claiming restitution. What questions do they thus raise for adjudication? First, whether the Order in Council was consistent with, or repugnant to the law of nations? Next, whether the seizure was made within the terms of the Order? The first of these questions is to the full as material as the second; because the court must decide according to the law of nations, and distribute equal justice between the government of the country where it happens to sit, and the governments or subjects of foreign states; and the Order being, in truth, a mere act of one of the two governments, its legality is a question for the court.

Such is the general doctrine, we apprehend, on this subject—but it is laid down so much more clearly and forcibly by the celebrated Judge to whose opinions we have so often referred, that we must be excused for calling in his justly revered authority to our support.—We allude to his beautiful judgment in the famous case of the Swedish convoy (The *Maria*, *Paulsen*, *June* 11, 1799.) This was a question, as our readers will recollect, respecting the right of search for contraband of war. The Swedish convoy had been met by an English cruizer; and, acting under the undisputed orders of their own govern-

ment, they had refused to be searched. For this refusal of the convoy ship, and for preparing to repel force by force, the merchant ships were seized and brought in for condemnation. Each party acted under the orders of their respective governments, who severally held the opposite opinions touching the right of search;—England maintaining it in proclamations, orders and manifestoes—Sweden, with the other Baltic powers, denying it, as they had done twenty years before; and embodying their denial in state papers and conventions. To determine this important and much disputed question between the two parties, was the delicate task which now devolved upon Sir William Scott—and which is universally admitted, we believe, to have been performed by him with the greatest justice and ability. 'In forming my judgment, (says this distinguished Judge), I 'trust that it has not escaped my anxious recollection for one 'moment what it is that the duty of my station calls for from 'me; namely, to consider myself as stationed here, not to deliver occasional and shifting opinions, to *serve present purposes of particular national interest*, but to administer, with indifference, that justice which the law of nations holds out, without distinction, to independent states, some happening to be neutral, and some to be belligerent. The seat of judicial authority is indeed locally here in the belligerent country, according to the known law and practice of nations; but *the law itself* HAS *no locality.* It is the duty of the person who sits here, to determine this question exactly as he would determine the same question if sitting at Stockholm;—to assert no pretensions on the part of Great Britain which he would not allow to Sweden in the same circumstances;—and to impose no duties on Sweden as a neutral country which he would not admit to belong to Great Britain in the same character. If, therefore, I mistake the law in this matter, I mistake that which I consider as the universal law upon the question;—a question regarding one of the most important rights of belligerent nations, relatively to neutrals.' (1. *Rob.* 350.)

He then inquires, whether the claim of England is supported by the principles of the law of nations, as collected from authority and from the general practice of states;—and, determining that it is consistent with those principles, he asks, whether the authority of the neutral sovereign, being interposed, can legally vary the rights of the belligerent—which he answers very clearly in the negative: and, in every part of his argument, where he appeals to the practice of nations, he will be satisfied with nothing short of uniform and constant usage;—where he relies on pretensions, those pretensions must have been acquiesced in by

by the world generally. Indeed, when he quotes the proclamation 1672, and the Order of Council 1664, he says, 'I am 'aware, that in those orders and proclamations are to be found 'some articles not very consistent with the law of nations, as 'understood now, or indeed at that time, for they are expressly 'censured by Lord Clarendon.' 'But,' he adds, 'the article I refer to is not of those he reprehends; and it is observable, that Sir Robert Wiseman, then the king's advocate-general, who reported upon the articles in 1673, and expresses 'a disapprobation of some of them as harsh and novel, does not 'mark this article with any observation of censure.' (*ibid.* 368.)

In the same spirit we find the learned Judge ruling another great question, in the case of the *Flad Oyen*, *Martenson*, already referred to. Mentioning the pretension of the French government to condemn in neutral ports as 'an attempt made 'for the very first time in the world, in the year 1799,' he adds, 'In my opinion, if it could be shown that, regarding mere 'speculative general principles, such a condemnation ought to 'be deemed sufficient, that would not be enough;—more must 'be proved: *it must be shown that it is conformable to the usage 'and practice of nations.*'—'A great part,' he continues, 'of 'the law of nations, stands on no other foundation. It is introduced, indeed, by general principles, but it travels with 'those general principles only to a certain extent; and if it 'stops there, you are not at liberty to go further, and to say 'that mere general speculations would bear you out in a farther 'progress. For instance, on mere general principles it is lawful to destroy your enemy; and mere general principles make 'no great difference as to the manner by which this is to be 'effected; but the conventional law of mankind, which is evidenced in their practice, does make a distinction, and allows 'some, and prohibits other modes of destruction; and a belligerent is bound to confine himself to those modes which the 'common practice of mankind has employed, and to relinquish 'those which the same practice has not brought within the 'ordinary exercise of war, however sanctioned by its principles 'and purposes.' We earnestly recommend this excellent passage to the attention of those who sent a brigade of blood-hounds to track and tear in pieces the Maroon negroes in Jamaica; and more recently endeavoured to deprive the enemy's hospitals of one of the most healing plants which providence has bestowed upon suffering mortals. To the authors of the same measures we would submit the following paragraph. 'It is my duty not 'to admit, that because one nation has thought proper to depart from the common usage of the world, and to meet the

'notice of mankind in a new and unprecedented manner, that 'I am on that account under the necessity of acknowledging 'the efficacy of such a novel institution, merely because general 'theory might give it a degree of countenance, independent of 'all practice, from the earliest history of mankind. The *institution must conform to the text law, and likewise to the constant usage upon the matter.*' (1. *Rob.* 139. *et seqq.*)

When we bear in mind the utter novelty of the new principles of blockade,—their repugnance to constant usage, and to all sound general principle, and apply to them the reasonings now cited, we may feel disposed to conclude this part of the argument in the words of the same high authority, while discussing the doctrines of the armed neutrality. 'It is high time that the *legal merit* of such a 'pretension should be disposed of one way or other:—It has been 'for some few years past preparing in Europe,—it is extremely 'fit that it should be brought to the test of *judicial decision*; 'for a worse state of things cannot exist, than that of an undetermined conflict between the ancient law of nations, as understood and practised for centuries by civilized nations, and a 'modern project of innovation, utterly inconsistent with it; 'and, in my apprehension, not more inconsistent with it than 'with the amity of neighbouring states, and the personal safety 'of their respective subjects.' (1. *Rob.* 377.)

Such were the sound, enlightened, and consistent doctrines promulgated by the learned Judge, in the years 1798 and 1799—doctrines wholly unconnected with any '*present purpose of* '*particular national interest*;'—uninfluenced by any preference or '*distinction to independent states*;'—delivered from a *seat* '*of judicial authority locally here*' indeed, but according to a law which '*has no locality*,' and by one whose '*duty it is to determine the question exactly as he would determine the same question*, '*if sitting at Stockholm*,'—'*asserting no pretensions, on the part* '*of Great Britain, which he would not allow to Sweden.*' If a question had *then* arisen on the legality of a seizure under the new law of blockade, we can entertain but little doubt how this eminent Judge would have dealt with it; and, certainly, none whatever, as to the authority which he would have allowed to the mere proclamation of the one belligerent, when cited in the manner, and with the force of statute law, to overrule the claim of a neutral. So, too, must neutral nations have thought; and, satisfied with the sound and impartial principles which were so explicitly laid down in the *cases of the Flad Oyen* and *Swedish convoy*, they acquiesced in the particular application of them, hard though it happened to bear on their interests in those individual instances.

Twelve

Twelve years have passed away since the period of those beautiful doctrines—an interval not marked by any general change of character among neutrals, or any new atrocities on the part of the belligerents,—distinguished by no pretensions which had not frequently before been set up by the different parties in the war, except that on both sides the right of unlimited blockade had been asserted. France complaining that England, in 1806, and previously, exercised this power, had declared England and her colonies in a state of blockade; and England, in her turn, proclaimed all France, and her allies, blockaded. There were orders and decrees on both sides; and both parties acted upon them. The neutrals protested; and, recollecting the sound and impartial principles of our Prize courts in 1798 and 1799, they appealed to that 'judicial authority which has 'its seat locally here,' but is bound to enforce 'a law that has 'no locality,' and 'to determine in London exactly as it would 'in Stockholm.' The question arose, whether those orders and decrees of one belligerent justified the capture of a neutral trader; and on this point we find Sir W. Scott delivering himself with his accustomed eloquence,—with a power of language, indeed, which never forsakes him,—and which might have convinced any person, except the suffering parties to whom it was addressed.—*Case of the Fox, 30th May,* 1811.

'It is strictly true, that by the constitution of this country, 'the King in Council possesses legislative rights over this Court, 'and has power to issue orders and instructions which it is 'bound to obey and enforce; and these constitute the written 'law of this Court. These two propositions, that the Court is 'bound to administer the Law of Nations, and that it is bound 'to enforce the King's Orders in Council, are not at all inconsistent with each other; because these Orders and Instructions 'are presumed to conform themselves, under the given circumstances, to the principles of its unwritten law. They are either 'directory applications of those principles to the cases indicated 'in them—cases which, with all the facts and circumstances 'belonging to them, and which constitute their legal character, 'could be but imperfectly known to the Court itself; or they 'are positive Regulations, consistent with those principles, applying to matters which require more exact and definite rules 'than those general principles are capable of furnishing.

'The constitution of this Court, relatively to the legislative 'power of the King in Council, is analogous to that of the 'Courts of Common Law relatively to that of the Parliament 'of this kingdom. Those Courts have their unwritten law, the 'approved principles of natural reason and justice;—they have

'likewise

'likewise the written or statute law in Acts of Parliament, which 'are directory applications of the same principles to particular 'subjects, or positive regulations consistent with them, upon 'matters which would remain too much at large, if they were 'left to the imperfect information which the Courts could ex- 'tract from mere general speculations. What would be the 'duty of the individuals who preside in those Courts, if re- 'quired to enforce an Act of Parliament which contradicted 'those principles, is a question which I presume they would 'not entertain *a priori*; because they will not entertain *a priori* 'the supposition that any such will arise. In like manner, this 'Court will not let itself loose into speculations as to what would 'be its duty under such an emergency; because it cannot, with- 'out extreme indecency, presume that any such emergency will 'happen; and it is the less disposed to entertain them, because 'its own observation and experience attest the general conformity 'of such orders and instructions to its principles of unwritten 'law.' p. 2, 3.

Here there are two propositions mentioned, asserting two several duties which the Court has to perform. One of these is very clearly described;—the duty of listening to Orders in Council, and proclamations issued by one of the parties before the Court;—the other, the duty of administering the Law of Nations, seems so little consistent with the former, that we naturally go back to the preceding passage of the judgment where a more particular mention is made of it. 'This court,' says the learned Judge, 'is bound to administer the Law of Nations to 'the subjects of other countries, in the different relations in 'which they may be placed towards this country and its go- 'vernment. This is what other countries have a right to de- 'mand for their subjects, and to complain if they receive it 'not. This is its unwritten law evidenced in the course of its 'decisions, and collected from the common usage of civilized 'states.'

The faultless language of this statement all will readily confess and admire. The more judicial virtues of clearness and consistency may be more doubtful in the eyes of those who have been studying the Law of Nations under the same Judge, when ruling the cases of the *Flad Oyen* and *Swedish Convoy*. It is with great reluctance that we enter upon any observations which may appear to question any thing stated by such accurate reporters as Dr Edwards and Sir C. Robinson, to have been delivered in the High Court of Admiralty. But we have no choice left;—we must be content to make our election between the doctrines of 1799 and 1811, and to abandon one or the other. The reluctance

luctance which we feel is therefore materially diminished; for, if we venture to dispute the law recently laid down by the learned Judge, it is upon his own authority in times but a little removed from the present in point of date, and nowise differing from them in any other respect.

How then can the Court be said to administer the unwritten law of nations between contending states, if it allows that one government, within whose territories it 'locally has its seat,' to make alterations on that law at any moment of time? And by what stretch of ingenuity can we reconcile the position, that the Court treats the English government and foreign claimants alike, determining the cause exactly as it would if sitting in the claimant's country, with the new position, that the English government possesses legislative powers over the Court, and that its orders are in the law of nations what statutes are in the body of municipal law? These are questions which, we believe, the combined skill and address of the whole Doctors of either law may safely be defied to answer.

Again:—What analogy is there between the proclamations of one belligerent, as relating to points in the law of nations, and the enactments of statute, as regarding the common law of the land? Were there indeed any general council of civilized states—any congress such as that fancied in Henry IV.'s famous project for a perpetual peace—any amphyctyonic council for modern Europe; its decisions and edicts might bear to the established public law the same relation that statutes have to the municipal code; because they would be the enactments of a common head, binding on and acknowledged by the whole body. But the edicts of one state, in questions between that state and foreign powers—or between that state and the subjects of foreign powers—or between those who stand in the place of that state and foreign governments or individuals, much more nearly resemble the acts of a party to the cause, than the enactments of the law by which both parties are bound to abide.

Mark the consequences of such loose doctrines—such feeble analogies. They resolve themselves into an immediate denial that any such thing as the law of nations exists, or that contending parties have any common court, to which all may resort for justice. There may be a court for French captors in France, and for English captors in England. To these tribunals such parties may respectively appeal in safety; for they derive their rights from edicts issued by the governments of the two countries severally; and those edicts are good law in the Prize courts of each. But, for the American claimant, there is no law by which he may be redressed—no court to which he may resort.

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The edicts of *his* government are listened to in neither the French nor the English tribunals; and he is a prey to the orders of each belligerent in succession. Perhaps it may be thought quite a sufficient hardship, without this aggravation, that even under the old and pure system laid down in 1798 and 1799, the neutral was forced to receive his sentence in a foreign court—always in the courts of the captor's country. But this undoubted rule of law, tempered by the just principles with which it was accompanied, appeared safe and harmless. For, though the court sat locally in the belligerent country, it disclaimed all allegiance to its government; and professed to decide exactly as it would have done sitting in the neutral territory. How is it now, when the Court, sitting as before, has made so large a stride in allegiance, as to profess an implicit obedience to the orders of the belligerent government within whose dominions it acts?

That a government should issue edicts repugnant to the Law of Nations, may be a supposition unwillingly admitted; but it is one not contrary to the fact; for all governments have done so—and England among the rest, according to the learned Judge's own statement. Neither will it avail to say, that, to inquire into the probable conduct of the Prize courts in such circumstances, is to favour a supposition, which cannot be entertained '*without extreme indecency*;' or to compare this with an inquiry into the probable conduct of municipal courts, in the event of a statute being passed repugnant to the principles of municipal law. The cases are quite dissimilar. The line of conduct for municipal courts in such an emergency, is clear. No one ever doubted that they must obey the law. The old law is abrogated, and they can only look to the new. But the courts of prize are to administer a law which cannot, according to Sir William Scott, (and, if we err, it is under the shelter of a grave authority), be altered by the practice of one nation, unless it be acquiesced in by the rest for a course of years; for he has laid down that the law, with which they are conversant, is to be gathered from general principles, as exemplified in the constant and common usage of all nations.

Perhaps it may bring the present case somewhat nearer the feelings of the reader, if he figures to himself a war between America and France, in which England is neutral. At first, the English traders engross all the commerce which each belligerent sacrifices to his quarrel with his adversary. Speedily the two belligerents become jealous of England, and endeavour to draw her into their contest. They issue decrees against each other nominally, but, in effect, bearing hard on the English trade; and

and English vessels are carried by scores into the ports of America and of France. Here they appeal to the law of nations; but are told, at Paris, that this law admits of modifications, and that the French courts must be bound by the decrees of the Tuilleries; at New York, that American courts take the law of nations from Washington; and, in both tribunals, that it is impossible, '*without extreme indecency*,' to suppose the case of any public act of state being done, which shall be an infringement on the law of nations. The argument may be long, and its windings intricate and subtle; but the result is short, plain, and savouring of matter of fact, rather than matter of law:—All the English vessels carried into either country would be condemned as good and lawful prize to the captors.

Let us not inquire how short a time the spirit of *our* nation would endure such a state of *public law*, and how speedily the supposed case would cease to apply, by our flag ceasing to be neutral. But let us, on this account, learn to have some patience with a free and powerful people, quite independent of us, when we find them somewhat sore under the application of these new doctrines—these recent innovations on Sir William Scott's sound principles of law; and let us the more steadily bear in mind that great Judge's remark on another part of the subject. 'If it 'were fit that such a state should be introduced, it is at least 'necessary that it should be introduced in an avowed and in- 'telligible manner, and not in a way which, professing grave- 'ly to adhere to that system which has for centuries prevailed 'among civilized states, and urging at the same time a preten- 'sion utterly inconsistent with all its known principles, delivers 'over the whole matter at once to eternal controversy and con- 'flict, at the expense of the constant hazard of the harmony of 'states, and of the lives and safeties of innocent individuals.'

ART. III. *Lachesis Lapponica; or, a Tour in Lapland.* Now first published from the original Manuscript Journal of the celebrated Linnæus; by JAMES EDWARD SMITH, M. D. F. R. S. &c. President of the Linnæan Society. 2 vol. 8vo. London, 1811.

THE name of *Lapland* first occurs in the writings of Saxo-Grammaticus, who composed his History of Denmark about the close of the twelfth century. At the distance of three hundred years, it is again slightly mentioned by Eric of Upsala; and the meagre description of the country by Ziegler is supposed

posed to have first made it known beyond the limits of northern Europe. * ‘ Charles the Ninth, King of Swedland ’ (to use the language of Scheffer, as rendered by his Oxonian translator, ‘ in the year 1600), being desirous to know the truth ‘ of that country, sent two famous mathematicians, *M. Aron.* ‘ *Forsius*, a Swedish professour, and *Hieronymus Birkholten*, a ‘ German, with instruments, and all necessaries, to make what ‘ discoveries they could of *Lapland;* who, at their return, did ‘ certify, and make it out, that beyond the elevation of the pole ‘ 73 degrees, there was no continent towards the north but the ‘ great frozen sea; and that the farthest point was *Norcum*, or ‘ *Norcap*, not far from the castle of *Wardhorise.*’

John Scheffer himself was born at Strasburg, in 1621, and was, by Christina of Sweden, appointed professor of *Law and Rhetoric* in the University of Upsala. Of his erudite tomes, his *Lapponia*, which was printed at Frankfort in 1673, is still the most popular. It consists of thirty-five short chapters, which are distributed with little regard to method, and exhibit a greater display of learning than of philosophical discernment. In the arrangement of his materials, he was avowedly assisted by the Chancellor of Sweden; and appears not only to have had access to such manuscript and printed documents as could then be procured, and to have frequently availed himself of oral communications with native Laplanders, but, though the circumstance is noticed only incidentally, and as of no moment, to have actually travelled through part of the country which he describes.

In 1681, three rambling young Frenchmen, *Corberon*, *Fercourt*, and *Regnard* the dramatist, undertook a wild expedition to Holland, Denmark, and Sweden. At the suggestion of the King of the last mentioned country, they suddenly resolved to pay their respects to Lapland, and actually penetrated to *Tornotresk*, a lake *forty leagues* in length, and the source of the river

* There is a brief description of Lapland, in that great mass of obscure history, entitled, Hispania Illustrata, published at Frankfort in 1603. At p. 1314 of the 2d vol., there is a pathetic piece, called *Deploratio Gentis Lappianæ*, which is followed up by a short *Lappiæ Descriptio*,—both addressed to the Pope, by a learned person who takes the name of Damianus à Goes, under date of 1540. Mention is here made of their poverty, their rein-deer, and their incantations; upon which last subject there is the following edifying intelligence. ‘ Incantamentis sic pollent ut naves in medio cursu retineant, sic ut nulla vi ventorum amoveri possint. Quod malum *solo virginum excremento*, foris navium ac transtris illitis, curatur; a quo, ut ab incolis accepi, spiritus illi natura abhorrent. ’

ver Tornea. On the summit of an adjacent mountain, they erected a monument of their excursive wanderings, and graced it with the following Latin inscription, for the perusal of the bears, and other country gentlemen of Lapland.

'*Gallia nos genuit, vidit nos Africa, Gangem*
'*Hausimus, Europamque oculis lustravimus omnem ;*
'*Casibus et variis acti terraque marique,*
'*Hic tandem stetimus, nobis ubi defuit orbis.*
'DE FERCOURT, DE CORBERON, REGNARD.
'*Anno* 1681, *die* 22 *Augusti.*'

A lively and entertaining account of this expedition was afterwards published by Regnard; though not, as might be imagined, very remarkable for scientific accuracy.

The celebrated Maupertuis, one of the French academicians, who were commissioned to measure a degree of the meridian under the polar circle, has made a well-known report of their scientific operations; but his collateral descriptions and remarks refer chiefly to the neighbourhood of Tornea. A narrative of the same expedition, by the Abbé Outhier, though it did not appear till 1744, is nevertheless very inferior to that of Maupertuis, both in respect of sprightliness of expression, and correctness of style: yet, as it comprises several additional particulars, it may be regarded as a useful supplement.

Nearly about the same period, Pehr Högström, pastor of Gelliwhare, in the province of Lulea, published his account of Swedish Lapland; a work which abounds in valuable remarks, but in which, also, the prejudices of the Lutheran divine are laughably blended with chimerical projects for the *conversion* of these hyperborean deserts into fertile pastures and flowery meadows. The more rational and sedate statements of this good and well-meaning parson, may be profitably perused in conjunction with the agricultural and statistical observations of Ehrenmalm, who visited Asehele Lapland, or, as he terms it, *West Nordland*, in the summer of 1741, and whose principal defect is an overstrained sentimentality in favour of the savage condition of mankind.

Knud Leem, or Leemius, professor of the *Lapland language* at Drontheim, and who resided ten years in Lapland in the capacity of a Danish missionary, is the author of a treatise which, by the command of Christian VII, was published at Copenhagen in 1767, under the title of '*De Lapponibus Finmarchiæ Commentatio ;*' and which we regret that we have not been able to procure, since its character for accuracy is understood to stand very high with the literati of the North.

From this source, Mr Joseph Acerbi, a native of Italy, who,

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in 1798 and 1799, took a *cooling* jaunt through Sweden, Finland, and Lapland, to the North Cape, is reported to have drawn many of his observations on the character and customs of the Laplanders. His work, which was published in London, and in the *English* language, has obviously received *embellishments* from the hand of its manufacturer; but contains, nevertheless, much authentic and entertaining information, and is suitably illustrated by engravings and a large sheet map, copied from Baron Hermelin's collection.

Mr Consett would scarcely pardon us, perhaps, if we overlooked his seemly quarto. This gentleman accompanied Sir H. G. Liddell, Bart. and Mr Bowes on a trip to Tornea, occasioned by a wager. The gallant trio, in the course of about fifty days, measured over a space of three thousand seven hundred and eighty-four miles, and returned, in the same nimble style, with five rein-deer and two Lapland shepherdesses in their train! There are several judicious remarks upon cookery in the course of this volume;—but the sum of the author's *philosophy* is reserved for the conclusion, where he modestly announces this important and consoling truth, that nobody can 'describe 'the comfort arising from a *good dinner* and *a bottle of honest* 'port, so well as he who has been in want of both.'

In regard to the volumes now before us,—a very infatuated disciple of the Linnæan school, or a very enduring member of our own fraternity, may perhaps achieve their perusal in their original and disjointed form; but the bulk of our readers, we are persuaded, will thank us for selecting from the motley mass the substance of the more important statements, and distributing it under a few general heads. Before we proceed, however, to the discharge of this part of our duty, it may be proper to advert to some of those circumstances which have a more pointed reference to the journalist himself, and which, from their *individuality*, if we may be allowed the expression, are calculated to excite a certain degree of interest, independently of the local information which his notices are intended to convey.

From the short abstract inserted in the Appendix, we learn, that Linnæus had presented to the Royal Academy of Sciences of Upsala, a memorial relative to his projected tour; and that, in consequence of this application, he was commissioned by that Society to make a progress through Lapland, for the purpose of investigating its natural history. Having procured his instructions and passport, he accordingly sallied forth from Upsala, 'on the 12th of May 1732, at eleven o'clock, being at that 'time within half a day of twenty-five years of age.' The graphic style of his equipment and costume, would make no despicable figure in the writings of Cervantes.

'My

'My clothes consisted of a light coat of Westgothland linsey-woolsey cloth without folds, lined with red shalloon, having small cuffs, and collar of shag; leather breeches; *a round wig;* a *green* leather cap, and a pair of half boots. I carried a small leather bag, half an ell in length, but somewhat less in breadth, furnished on one side with hooks and eyes, so that it could be opened and shut at pleasure. This bag contained one shirt; two pair of false sleeves; *two half shirts;* an inkstand, pencase, microscope and spyingglass; a gauze cap to protect me occasionally from the gnats; a comb; my journal, and a parcel of paper stitched together for drying plants, both in folio; my manuscript Ornithology, *Flora Uplandica*, and *Characteres generici*. I wore a hanger at my side, and carried a small fowlingpiece, as well as *an octangular stick*, graduated for the purpose of measuring.'

As our chivalrous naturalist, thus accoutred, traversed, in the short space of five months, a route of six hundred and thirty-three Swedish, or three thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight English miles, through the wilds of the extreme North, we may reasonably suppose, that he would encounter divers mishaps, and cultivate an acquaintance with fatigue and peril. We find him, accordingly, commencing his noviciate, by sliding down a hill of ice, on the seat of honour, and at the risk of meeting with a loose fragment of rock, or a precipice, either of which would have dubbed him with the honours of scientific martyrdom. A repetition of the same critical mode of conveyance, among the Lapland Alps, threatened, as he slid along 'with the rapidity of an arrow from a bow,' to entomb him in an avalanche. On another occasion, in defiance of the remonstrances of the sober-minded natives, he boldly determined to explore a cavern in the mountain of Skirla. 'With much 'difficulty,' says he, 'I prevailed on two men to show me the 'way. We climbed the rocks, creeping on our hands and 'knees, and often slipping back again. We had no sooner advanced a little, than all our labour was lost by a retrograde 'motion. Sometimes we caught hold of bushes, sometimes of 'small projecting stones. Had they failed us, which was very 'likely to have been the case, our lives might have paid for it. 'I was following one of the men in climbing a steep rock; but 'seeing the other had better success, I endeavoured to overtake 'him. I had but just left my former situation, when a large 'mass of rock broke loose from a spot which my late guide had 'just passed, and fell exactly where I had been, with such force 'that it struck fire as it went. If I had not providentially 'changed my route, nobody would ever have heard of me more. 'Shortly afterwards, another fragment came tumbling down. 'I am not sure that the man did not roll it down on purpose.

'At

'At length, quite spent with toil, we reached the object of our 'pursuit, which is a cavity in the middle of the mountain.'

Our author having deflected from the main road in West-Bothnia, was speedily admonished of his error by his palfrey, which, at almost every step, stumbled on stones, at the hazard of his rider's life; and winded through devious and intricate tracks, which 'nothing human could have followed.' Animated, however, by 'the saying of the wise king, that nothing is 'impossible under the sun,' away he rushes, upon an unstuffed saddle, regardless of the fury of 'all the elements;' of the 'depending boughs, loaded with rain drops;' and 'aged 'pines,' which, 'overthrown by the wrath of Juno,' lay prostrate in his path. In traversing a glaciere, in Norwegian Lapland, he was 'often carried off his feet by the impetuosity of the 'blast, and rolled a considerable way down the hill.' This once happened in so dangerous a place, that, 'after rolling 'to the distance of a gunshot, I arrived near the brink of a 'precipice; and thus my part in the drama had very nearly 'come to an end.' Again, as the discharge of a fowlingpiece happened to interrupt our hero's innocent occupation of gathering strawberries, he perceived that the ball had struck a stone very near the spot on which he stood. 'God be praised,' he exclaimed, 'that it did not hit me!—The fellow ran away, and 'I never saw him after;—*but I immediately returned home.*' Soon after, we find him bewildered on the dark mountains, in the midst of a thick fog, which concealed from him the sun and moon, and inspired dreadful apprehensions of being precipitated into some torrent or abyss. Another fog having occasioned uncommon darkness during the night, while he was floating down a river on a raft, his crazy vehicle parted in the middle of the stream; and he narrowly escaped a watery grave.

In the forests of Lulean Lapland, danger awaited him in a new and still more alarming form, and has given occasion to a more animated description.

'Several days ago the forests had been set on fire by lightning; and the flames raged at this time with great violence, owing to the drought of the season. In many different places, perhaps in nine or ten, that came under my notice, the devastation extended several miles' distance. I traversed a space three quarters of a mile in extent, which was entirely burnt; so that Flora, instead of appearing in her gay and verdant attire, was in deep sable—a spectacle more abhorrent to my feelings than to see her clad in the white livery of winter; for this, though it destroys the herbage, leaves the roots in safety, which the fire does not. The fire was nearly extinguished in most of the spots we visited, except in ant-hills, and dry trunks of trees. After we had travelled about half a quarter of a mile across

one of these scenes of desolation, the wind began to blow with rather more force than it had done, upon which a sudden noise arose in the half-burnt forest, such as I can only compare to what may be imagined among a large army attacked by an enemy. We knew not whither to turn our steps. The smoke would not suffer us to remain where we were; nor durst we turn back. It seemed best to hasten forward, in hopes of speedily reaching the outskirts of the wood; but in this we were disappointed. We ran as fast as we could, in order to avoid being crushed by the falling trees, some of which threatened us every minute. Sometimes the fall of a huge trunk was so sudden, that we stood aghast, not knowing whither to turn to escape destruction; and throwing ourselves entirely on the protection of Providence. In one instance, a large tree fell exactly between me and my guide, who walked not more than a fathom from me; but, thanks to God! we both escaped in safety. We were not a little rejoiced when this perilous adventure terminated; for we had felt all the while like a couple of outlaws, in momentary fear of surprize.'

If to this catalogue of miseries and discomforts we add the summer plague of gnats and mosquitoes, and the threatenings of *tenesmus* from eating curdled milk and cheese, we may be allowed to dismiss the chapter of personal grievances. Whether the pleasures of the journey compensated, in the writer's estimation, his many moments of anxiety and apprehension, we pretend not to determine; but the extent of his pecuniary remuneration certainly exempts him from all suspicion of a mercenary motive; for the only receipt which he mentions is that of a hundred dollars *of copper money*, from the chief clergyman at Tornea; and the whole of his allowance from the Academy of Upsala, is said not to have exceeded ten pounds Sterling! We are tempted, in short, to harbour a lurking suspicion, that, with the exception of the botanical details, which were afterwards expanded and duly methodized in the *Flora Lapponica*, few portions of the *Lachesis* afforded the author any very soothing recollections, since he could permit it to remain in its rough unfinished state during the rest of his life, and since he appears to have executed only one of the three parts of the more condensed narrative which he had destined for the use of his learned employers.

Whatever truth there may be in this surmise, the singular document which suggested it, with all its defects and oddities, is neither devoid of interest, nor barren of instruction; but it strongly savours of that minute and technical propensity which delights in the discrimination and marshalling of individual objects, and which, though it constituted the most prominent features in the scientific character of Linnæus, is certainly to be reckoned

reckoned among the lower elements of philosophy. Few and feeble are any attempts at hypothesis or general discussion in the volumes before us. What confidence, for example, can we repose in the speculations of a writer, who gravely entertains a notion, 'that Adam and Eve were giants, and that mankind, 'from one generation to another, *owing to poverty and other* 'causes, have diminished in size,'—who seems surprized, that the upper regions of the atmosphere should be less dense than the lower,—and who insinuates, that *polar attraction* may twist the fibres of trees?

Akin to such intellectual weakness is credulity, of which also some notable examples occur in the present Journal. Thus, we are told of a woman of Lycksele, whose complaints were supposed to proceed from *a brood of frogs in her stomach*, from having swallowed the spawn of these animals in water. 'She 'thought that she could feel three of them; and that herself, as 'well as persons who sat near her, could hear them croak. 'Her uneasiness was in some degree alleviated by drinking 'brandy. Salt had no effect in destroying the frogs. Another 'person, who for some years had had the same complaint, took 'dozes of *Nux vomica*, and was cured; but even this powerful 'remedy had been tried on this woman in vain. I advised her 'to try tar; but that she had already taken, without success, 'having been obliged to throw it up again.' On this singular passage the learned and facetious Editor makes the following remark. 'Linnæus writes as if he did not absolutely disbelieve 'the existence of these frogs, which were as much out of their 'place as Jonah in the whale's belly.' To complete the absurdity of the poor woman's case, Linnæus himself, in another part of the work, assures us, that Lapland produces neither serpents nor frogs. Either he or M. Högström, however, must be incorrect with regard to this particular; for the latter informs us, that the natives name one of their months from the appearance of these animals—which they moreover believe to fall from heaven. Again, we are assured, that some of the Finlanders catch bears, by mixing the fresh dung of these animals with that of their own cows; as the bears are then fain to follow the cows from *magical sympathy*. The journalist, indeed, does not absolutely assert his belief in this extraordinary species of fascination; but he admits that the effect is 'certainly not more wonderful 'than many sympathies upon record.' In latitude of credence, however, it must be confessed, that he is occasionally surpassed by his precursor, Scheffer. 'For when the devil,' says the latter, 'takes a liking to any person in his infancy, as a fit in-'strument for his designs, he presently seizes on him by a

'disease, in which he haunts them with several apparitions; 'from whence, according to the capacity of his years and un-'derstanding, he learns what belongs to the art. Those which 'are taken thus a second time, see more visions, and gain great-'er knowledge. If they are seized a third time, which is seldom 'without great torment, or utmost danger of their life, the devil 'appears to them in all his shapes,' &c.

In the course of this Lapland tour we meet various derivations of the name of the country; some deducing it from the Latin *lippus* (*blear-eyed*); others from the Swedish *lappa*, to *sew* or *patch*, 'because their garments usually answer to that 'description;' and others from the Finnish *lappi*, *exiles*, or *runaways*, presuming on their migration or banishment from Finland; in support of which the learned Scheffer demonstrates that the language of the two countries is radically the same.

We must be excused, however, from entering farther into those points of learning: and truly, if the origin of the most illustrious nations be involved in hopeless obscurity, it must seem a very idle attempt to ascertain that of the lowest portions of our species, whose lot has been cast on the forlorn corners of the world. The pious Högström, indeed, who expatiates on the marvellous capabilities of the North, and who was probably convinced, by the redoubtable arguments of Olaus Rudbeck, that the garden of Eden was situated in Lapland, by no means participates in our apathy concerning the pedigree of his hyperborean flock. Not satisfied with tracing the language of the Laplanders to that of the ancient Jews, he discovers many striking points of conformity in their character and usages. The Laplanders, he observes, are as much addicted to superstition as the Hebrews were of old: The former are, at this day, what the latter once were, superstitious, haughty, interested, of a dark complexion, and small stature, clad in loose garments, with the neck exposed, wearing girdles for ornament, and decking their apparel with fringes. The Hebrews, moreover, slaughtered animals, and so do the Laplanders:—The latter, like the former, often wash their hands:—The Jews never eat the entrails of animals,—nor do the Laplanders eat the sinews in the haunch of the rein-deer, but reserve them for thread; their voracity reminds us of the gluttony of the sons of Israel, when they sat by the flesh-pots in Egypt:—In imitation of the Patriarchs, the Laplanders dwell in tents;—like the Jews, they denote tenderness by kissing;—and the burden of their love-ditties recals the song of Deborah.

But to return from these recondite speculations to the volumes

before us, it is impossible not to regret, that, instead of his half shirts and false sleeves, the author had not been furnished with a suitable apparatus of physical instruments, or accompanied by an able observer. The mere itinerary, and the distance of each stage in Swedish miles, are noted in the Brief Narrative; but we look in vain for any map of a country which has been so rarely visited by men of science, or for any accurate *data* whereby to estimate the temperature of its climate, or the elevation of its mountains. A portable barometer and thermometer might, at least, have been substituted for the hanger; and occasional references to the indications of these instruments, would have furnished us with more precise meteorological notions than those which we are now left to form from incidental hints dispersed through the work.

Of these last, the amount may be rendered in a few sentences. The Alpine regions, it should seem, are utterly impassable in winter, both on account of extreme cold, and of the absence of all subsistence for men and rein-deer. In some parts of these inhospitable mountains, the water of the lakes was frozen to the depth of a fathom on the 9th of July; and the whole range is liable to the most violent gusts of wind, which overturn men and sledges. 'There are numerous obstacles to the cultivation of 'this Alpine tract. The intense cold of its winters, which ex- 'ceeds that of any other country. From the snow lying so 'long on the ground, the parts exposed to the north are inca- 'pable of any culture. Frosts are frequent even in summer. 'The days are dark in winter. The weather is always moist. 'The soil is of a turfy kind, composed of mosses decayed by 'frost, impregnated with standing water. Good black vegeta- 'ble mould is not to be met with. Lofty trees cannot be raised, 'on account of the excessive violence of the wind;—hence there 'is a great scarcity of wood.'

The sagacious Dr Wahlenberg has attempted to characterize the climate of the Lapland Alps, by dividing them into zones, and stating the elevation, physical appearances, and temperature of each stage of ascent. An extract of his excellent observations is subjoined. The whole paper is exceedingly interesting; but we can afford room only for the first and concluding paragraphs.

"On approaching the Lapland Alps (*Fjäll*), we first arrive at the line where the Spruce Fir, *Pinus Abies*, ceases to grow. This tree had previously assumed an unusual appearance; that of a tall slender pole, covered from the ground with short, drooping, dark branches; a gloomy object in these desolate forests! The *Rubus arcticus* had already, before we arrived at this point, ceased to bring its fruit to maturity.

maturity. With the Spruce we lose the *Rosa cinnamomea*, *Convallaria bifolia*, &c.; and the borders of the lakes are stripped of their ornaments of *Arundo Phragmites*, *Lysimachia thyrsiflora*, *Galium boreale*, and *Carex globularis*. Here is the true station of *Tussilago nivea*. (Willd. Sp. Pl. v. 3. 1970.) The last beaver-houses are seen in the rivulets; and no pike nor perch is to be found in the lakes higher up. The boundary of the Spruce Fir is 3200 feet below the line of perpetual snow, and the mean temperature is about 3° of Celsius's thermometer (37½ of Fahrenheit.)

"Above the line of perpetual snow, the cold is occasionally so much diminished, that a few plants of *Ranunculus glacialis*, and other similar ones, may now and then be found, in the clefts of some dark rock rising through the snow. This happens even to the height of 500 feet above that line. Further up, the snow is very rarely moistened: Yet some umbilicated lichens (*Gyrophoræ*), &c. still occur in the crevices of perpendicular rocks, even to the height of 2000 feet above the line of perpetual snow. These are the utmost limits of all vegetation, where the mean temperature seems to be +1,°1 of Celsius (30 of Fahrenheit.) The Snow Bunting, *Emberiza nivalis*, is the only living being that visits this elevated spot."

Of the climate and weather, during the more merciful months, and in the lower regions of Lapland, some vague estimate may be formed, from the following particulars. In the province of Lycksele, towards the end of May, large pieces of ice still remained unmelted; but dwarf willows and birches were in blossom, and the note of the redwing was heard in the evening. On the first of June, the sun disappeared for half an hour only; but the wind blew very cold from the north. On the 15th of the same month, our traveller entered the town of Pithoea, just at sun-set, and went to bed with all expedition, but was quickly startled by a glare of light on the wall of his chamber. 'I was alarmed,' says he, 'with the idea of fire; but, on 'looking out of the window, saw the sun rising, perfectly red, 'which I did not expect would take place so soon. The cock 'crowed, the birds began to sing, and sleep was banished from 'my eyelids.'—At this place he observed, that some young oaks, which had been raised from acorns, were mostly killed by the winter frosts; and that the apple-trees were almost entirely destroyed.

At length, on the 23d of June, we are treated with a glimpse of summer. 'This day and the two preceding, indeed every 'day since the 18th, had been bright, warm, and for the most 'part calm. The meadows were still fine and beautiful in their 'aspect, and every thing conspired to favour the health and 'pleasure of the beholder. If the summer be indeed shorter 'here than in any other part of the world, it must be allowed,

'at the same time, to be nowhere more delightful. I was ne-'ver in my life in better health than at present.' On the 2d of July, *beautiful corn* (barley, or rye) which had been sown on the 25th and 26th of May, had shot up so high, as to be laid, in some places, by the rain; and, on the 28th of July, harvest commenced in Lulean Lapland. 'The corn now cutting, though 'sown but a few days before midsummer, was, nevertheless, 'quite ripe. The cut rye was not yet ripe enough to cut; but 'the winter rye ripens some time before the other corn. Thus 'it appears that corn (barley) springs up and ripens at this 'place in the space of sixty days.' On the 24th of the same month, Linnæus observed a star, for the first time, since he had come within the Arctic circle, though there was not darkness enough to prevent reading or writing. At sun-rise, on the 3d of August, the marshes were all white with hoar-frost; for, 'in the 'preceding night, winter had paid his first visit, and slept in 'the lap of the lovely Flora.' The *aurora borealis* was seen at Tornea on the 18th of August, and had been visible for a week before: But, for a description of this phenomenon in all its glory, as well as of the dreadful cold which reigns even at Tornea during a long winter, we beg leave to refer our readers to the eloquent pages of Maupertuis. It deserves to be noted, that, in the Alps of Tornea, cold is brought by a *south* wind; and that mild weather comes from the *north*;—a circumstance which favours the supposition, that, under the pole, there is a considerable extent of open sea.

Some very rainy and foggy days are duly commemorated in the Journal; and three or four instances of thunder storms are distinctly recorded; besides which, we are informed, that it frequently thunders in winter. We are the more desirous of noting these details; because it is commonly alleged, that thunder is a very rare occurrence in high northern latitudes, and especially in Lapland. Neither are we prepared to assert, that the forests of that country are *never* fired by lightning; and, in the case already quoted, the conflagration may have been caused by a *bona fide* discharge of the electrical fluid: But Linnæus seems not to have been aware, that the Laplanders frequently set fire to the woods, to prevent the timber from being used for the operations of mining. If they know of the existence of any metallic ore, they also studiously conceal it, that they may not be subjected to the toil of working it, to gratify the cupidity of the Swedish colonists, who pay them very ill for their labours. Högström states this fact in the strongest terms; and adds, that a Laplander having discovered a rich mine of silver, every family of the district gave him a rein-deer, on the express

express condition, that he would not reveal the secret to the strangers.

Taking these circumstances, then, into consideration, as well as the low state of geological science at the period when Linnæus made his observations, and his decided predilection for Botany and Zoology, we can be at no loss to account for his very crude and imperfect indications of the nature of the soil, and of its mineral productions. In the mere catalogue, however, of specimens collected in the Lapland Tour, which is set forth not without some air of parade, we had looked for a more varied and precise list than that of *thirteen* articles, including four varieties of real or supposed alum (for one of them has no taste), two of silver ore, *various alpine micaceous stones*, marl, quartz, sandstone, containing three *per cent.* of iron, black slate, petrified cords, and *iridescent fluors*. In a country whose surface is so much broken by hills and water-courses, as that of Lapland, ample stores of mineral riches may, probably, one day reward the searches of the curious; but the mining art can never be practised on an extensive and profitable scale, till regular communications be established, and the inhabitants treated with justice and humanity. Accurate observations and trials, also, should be instituted, before much expense be incurred in the excavation of the soil, or the erection of machinery; and sober calculations should be made of the number of workable days, and the quantity of attainable fuel.

In a geological point of view, we have scarcely patience to dwell for a moment on the very loose and undefined intimations which are scattered at random through the Journal. If granite, *of all different kinds existing in the world, abounds every where in the forests*, why not describe a few of the more rare and beautiful varieties? What scientific ideas can we possibly attach to such expressions as *large red stones; a stone which appears to be of a very compound kind; mixed spar*, which composes a mountain; *stones all of a fossile kind; a curious stone or radiated fluor, composed of square parts; a curious iron ore; a curious kind of limestone*, &c. &c.?

Various mineral springs are pointed out, in different parts of the country; and most of them, we presume, impregnated with iron, because an ochreous appearance and filmy surface are more than once mentioned. In other instances, however, we are yet in total darkness respecting their ingredients and properties. Of that, for example, near Swartlär, we are very ingenuously told, that, 'whatever may be its qualities, nobody has yet made any inquiries concerning them.' Of the *best* which our traveller *met with*

with in the north, and which is situated on the south-west side of Tornea, we should have been glad of a little more detail; but we are dismissed from the salutary fountain with the laconic information, that its water is *not ill-tasted*: and that it comes out, soiled, as it were, from the earth, and covered with scum. The taste of the mineral water at Ulaborg also *seemed good*. All these streams, however, are not to be tasted with impunity; for a gouty Dean had chalk-stones formed by tampering with the Lulean spring; and, by drinking of one of the sources at Röbäck, 'several persons have lost their lives.'

The enumeration and description of the various species of vegetables with which we are here presented, are far more ample and satisfactory: but our botanical readers, to whom alone they can prove acceptable, require not to be told, that they appear to far greater advantage in the *Flora Lapponica*, of which an excellent edition was published, not many years ago, by the learned editor of the present work. We may be permitted, however, in passing, to express our agreeable surprise at meeting with the vernal anemone, herb Paris, hops, truffles, and tobacco, in such northern latitudes, and to exhibit the following sample of Westbothnian horticulture.

'In the garden the Governor showed me (May 24.) the garden orache, sallad, and red cabbage, which last thrives very well, though the white will not come to perfection here; also garden cresses, winter cresses (*Erysimum barbarea*, β. *Fl. Sues.*), scurvy-grass, chamomile, spinach, onions, leeks, chives, *cucumbers*, columbines, carnations, sweetwilliams, gooseberries, currants, the barberry, elder, guelder-rose and lilac. Potatoes here are not larger than poppy-heads. Tobacco, managed with the greatest care, and when the season is remarkably favourable, sometimes perfects seed. Dwarf French beans thrive pretty well; but the climbing kinds never succeed. Broad beans come to perfection; but peas, though they form pods, never ripen. Roses, apples, pears, plums, hardly grow at all, though cultivated with the greatest attention. The garden, however, affords good radishes, mustard, and horse-radish, and especially leeks, chives, winter-cresses, columbines, goose-tongue (*Achillea ptarmica*), rose-campion (*Agrostemma coronaria*), scurvy-grass, currants, gooseberries, barberries, wild rose, and lovage (*Ligusticum levisticum*), though scarcely cherries, apples, or plums.'

Some sensible observations occur on the pasture grounds of Lycksele Lapland; and the author betrays an amiable and patriotic anxiety in searching for means to prevent the recurrence of rushy plants and mosses where the soil has been reclaimed by draining. Had he lived in the present times, he would have probably recommended a dose of the *curious limestone*. The colonists

colonists settled in Lapmark sow a great deal of turnip seed, which frequently succeeds. So fond are the native Laplanders of this root, that they will often give a cheese in exchange for a turnip; 'than which,' as the sage writer of the Journal very profoundly observes, 'nothing can be more foolish.'

If we next turn our attention to the zoological items of this curious medley, the Rein-deer, as might be expected, will be found to be the most prominent object. The numerous detached notices concerning its history and economical uses, would, if strung together, compose a moderately sized pamphlet; but they are of too multifarious a complexion to be reduced into a convenient abstract; and we pass them over in silence with the less reluctance, because their amount is already very agreeably detailed in the fourth volume of the *Amœnitates Academicæ*. In this place, therefore, we shall merely beg leave to observe, that the clattering noise of the hoofs is differently explained in two different passages; that the circumstance of this herbivorous animal feeding on *frogs*, *snakes*, and *lemmings*, is nearly as extraordinary as the disgusting mode of mutilating the bucks in the mountainous districts of the country; and that a single wolf will sometimes kill twenty or thirty deer at a time; whereas the bear can scarcely catch one of them, unless it comes on it unawares.

'Hunting the bear is often undertaken by a single man, who, having discovered the retreat of the animal, takes his dog along with him, and advances towards the spot. The jaws of the dog are tied round with a cord, to prevent his barking; and the man holds the other end of this cord in his hand. As soon as the dog smells the bear, he begins to show signs of uneasiness, and by dragging at the cord informs his master that the object of his pursuit is at no great distance. When the Laplander by this means discovers on which side the bear is stationed, he advances in such a direction that the wind may blow from the bear to him, and not the contrary; for otherwise the animal would, by the scent, be aware of his approach, though not able to see an enemy at any considerable distance, being half blinded by the sunshine. When he has gradually advanced to within gunshot of the bear, he fires upon him; and this is the more easily accomplished in autumn, as the bear is then more fearless, and is continually prowling about for berries of different kinds, on which he feeds at that season of the year. Should the man chance to miss his aim, the furious beast will directly turn upon him in a rage, and the little Laplander is obliged to take to his heels with all possible speed, leaving his knapsack behind him on the spot. The bear coming up with this, seizes upon it, biting and tearing it into a thousand pieces. While he is thus venting his fury, and bestowing all his attention upon the knapsack, the Laplander takes the opportunity

tunity of loading his gun, and firing a second time; when he is generally sure of hitting the mark: and the bear either falls upon the spot, or runs away.'

Baron Grundell showed the author skins of blue and black foxes; and mentioned, that he had sent to the King of Sweden a live *Jarf*, or *Glutton*; and that he once had another of the same species so much domesticated, that when he would have turned it into the water it would not leave him, nor would it feed on any kind of live fish. Linnæus asserts, without quoting his authority, that it never meddles with the rein-deer; by which he alludes, we presume, to the tame flocks near dwellings; for Thrascheninnikow, if we rightly recollect, in his description of Kamtschatka, positively states, that, to compensate for the slowness of its motions in the pursuit of prey, it lurks in the branches of trees, to surprise the horse, elk or rein-deer that may accidentally come within its reach; and that it darts on them from its hiding-place with unerring certainty, fixing itself between the shoulders with its teeth and claws, maintaining its position, and sucking the blood of its enraged victim, till the latter falls down, exhausted with pain and fatigue. The same author, we believe, alludes to the stratagem to which it has been known to have recourse, in order to allure the rein-deer, namely, by throwing down some of that animal's beloved moss, so as to divert its attention. But the accounts of the Glutton's eating till its skin is ready to give way, and of its being obliged to unload itself, by squeezing its body between two trees, are quite fabulous, and might with more plausibility be referred to some Roman emperor, or city *corporation*. Though the Glutton has his name from his voracity, his appetite, it should seem, is not always of that insatiable nature which has been ascribed to him. The individual, indeed, which was kept at Dresden, would easily despatch thirteen pounds of flesh in a day; but that which Buffon possessed, though it fed with great greediness, consumed only four pounds; and another, belonging to the Hudson's-Bay Company, was usually satisfied with the ordinary allowance of a mastiff dog. In fact, the more closely that we investigate the history of any species of animal, the greater diversities, both of physical and intellectual temperament, we shall probably find to obtain among the individuals of which that species is composed. Gmelin, we believe, is solitary in the opinion that this animal inhabits the warmer regions of the globe, equally with the latitudes of the North. But, even the weight of his name is insufficient to establish such a curious fact, unless it can be proved by the distinct and respectable testimony of some ocular witness.

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We could have wished to have offered some remarks on the *Lemming*, and other native quadrupeds of Lapland, which the author sometimes deigns to describe by characteristic definitions; but few of which he recommends to our attention, by noting their peculiarities of physiology or disposition. His observations on the common seal, appended to the Journal, are less exceptionable in this point of view; but they are not free from inaccuracy; and the subject readily admits of more varied and entertaining illustration. We have searched in vain for any specific account of the breed of Lapland dogs; of which, Regnard informs us, that they are trained to rock the children in the cradle; an office which they are said to perform with great gentleness and attention.

As our limits, however, unavoidably compel us to quicken our critical pace, we hasten to observe, that the list of the feathered tribe which the most diligent scrutiny could extract from these pages, is far from numerous, especially when we reflect on the multitudes which resort to the lakes and marshy grounds of the northern latitudes, for the important purpose of breeding. Frequent mention is made of the cock of the wood and the ptarmigan; and we meet with the names of black-grous, snipe, swan, crane, ruff and reeve, sandpiper, ringed plover, wild and tufted duck, black-throated diver, gull, goosander, razorbill, little-eared grebe, common and eagle owl, crow, sprike, cuckoo, thrush, water-wagtail, cross-bill, yellow and snow bunting, mountain finch, thrush, &c. The *wheat-ear* and *ortolan* started on us rather by surprize. *Some swallows* were observed in a fen, on the 24th of May; but the species is not particularized; nor do we find the most distant allusion to the very pointed assertion of Regnard, that swallows are often taken by the fishermen from beneath the ice of the lakes and rivers, and completely revived by the application of a due degree of heat.

The catalogue of fishes is still less copious than that of birds. Pike, perch, salmon and charr, appear to be very abundant; but the sey, swordfish, grayling, lamprey, gwiniad, and some of the smaller *Cyprini*, are also incidentally noticed.

The insects and more imperfect animals need not for a moment detain us; for such of them as were deemed rare or curious by the Journalist, are now much better known, and have been more skilfully delineated by our recent entomologists.

From the very loose and ambiguous manner in which the author's observations on the Laplanders are scattered over his pages, we cannot always determine whether they were meant to apply to the whole population of Swedish Lapland, or only to the inhabitants of particular districts or provinces. Of seventy thousand

thousand individuals, however, dispersed over a wide extent of desolate surface, we need not very anxiously investigate the diversities of condition; nor need we seek to apportion among them, with scrupulous precision, the hurried comments of a passing visitor.

Much has been said of their dwarfish stature; and Linnæus, who never met with any of them taller than himself, ascribes their diminutive size to the scantiness of their diet, and the severity of their climate. At the same time, we must not absolutely depress them to the pigmy standard; for, of the many natives of both sexes whom Maupertuis had occasion to observe, one of the smallest was a well-proportioned woman, who measured four feet two inches and five lines. He likewise remarks, that the boys have often the semblance of mature years, and are frequently employed in driving the *pulkas*, or sledges, so as to be mistaken for men. Högström frequently met with natives of the different provinces, whose height was between five and six feet; but still they appeared low, from the want of artificial heels, and their slouching gait. Their dark complexion is probably only the effect of the smoke in which they are doomed to pass such a considerable portion of their existence; for we are told in the 2d vol. (p. 18.), that 'the fairness of the bodies of 'these dark-faced people, rivalled that of any lady whatever.' Högström will not allow that they are at all deformed; and even admires their female figures, notwithstanding the broad face and pointed chin. Were we to judge of the attractions of these Arctic damsels, from two *specimens* exhibited by the exploring naturalist, we might readily excuse his silence on their beauty and accomplishments.

'He was accompanied by a person, whose appearance was such, that at first I did not know whether I beheld a man or a woman. I scarcely believe that any poetical description of a fury could come up to the idea which this Lapland fair one excited. It might well be imagined that she was truly of Stygian origin. Her stature was very diminutive; her face of the darkest brown, from the effects of smoke; her eyes dark and sparkling; her eye-brows black; her pitchy-coloured hair hung loose about her head; and on it she wore a flat red cap. She had a grey petticoat; and from her neck, which resembled the skin of a frog, were suspended a pair of large loose breasts of the same brown complexion, but encompassed, by way of ornament, with brass rings. Round her waist she wore a girdle; and on her feet a pair of half boots.

'Opposite to me sat an old woman, with one leg bent, the other straight. Her dress came no lower than her kness; but she had a belt embroidered with silver. Her grey hair hung straight down, and she had a wrinkled face, with blear-eyes. Her countenance was altogether

altogether of the Lapland cast. Her fingers were scraggy and withered. * * * * Next to her sat her husband, a young man, six and thirty years of age, who, for the sake of her large herds of reindeer, had already been married ten years to this old hag.'

In regard to the usual term of life to which the Laplanders attain, we are furnished with no precise data. Regnard, with all the ease of a Frenchman, asserts, that it is very considerable; and that some of them have even completed a century and a half. The premature looks of old age which disfigure their youth; the rigours of their protracted winter; and the wretched tenor of their existence, forbid us to credit such unreasonable accounts of their longevity. Besides, they are very unskilful in the computation of time; and, as our honest Swede reminds us, have *no almanacks*; so that they may be ignorant or careless of the chronology of their earthly pilgrimage. Linnæus, however, positively states, that they are a healthy race, a fact which we are not prepared to deny; although one or two of the *nine* reasons which he assigns for it will admit of dispute; and one or two more are rather at variance with some of his own allegations in other parts of the work. Their nosology, if fully and faithfully recorded, is certainly far from complicated. The *ullem* is a violent cholic, induced by drinking *the warm sea-water* when they *cannot procure fresh*. When thus attacked, they have recourse to *soot, snuff, salt, and other remedies*. They are likewise afflicted with asthma, epilepsy, scurvy, swelling of the uvula, goitres, pleurisy, rheumatic pains, lumbago, headaches, St Anthony's fire, and disorders in the stomach and bowels. Owing to the thinness of the population, the variolous contagion is seldom propagated over any considerable tract of country: nor can we, by any means, vouch for the accuracy of the ensuing paragraph. 'I was informed, that in this neighbourhood [an alpine 'district] the *inoculated* small-pox is remarkably fatal. If the 'patients have but seventy or eighty pustules, they die of it as 'of the plague: they fly to the mountains, when infected, and 'die. The same is the case with the measles. It appears that 'both these diseases are aggravated by the violent cold, whence 'the patients die in so miserable a manner.'—'It is not im-'possible,' observes Dr Smith, 'that Linnæus might be mis-'led here by the prejudices of his time, or by those of the 'people from whom he obtained his account.' In the earlier period of his life, he was somewhat notorious for facility of belief; but, in the present instance, we conceive it to be very probable, that he had misinterpreted the language of the natives, and that their report applied to *natural* small-pox; because, if the effects of inoculation had been found so baneful, they would

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at once have desisted from it. At the same time, if they fly to the mountains when under the disorder, we need not wonder that they perish. Fevers and agues, it is alleged, are by no means common; and chilblains not more so than in other countries. Coughs and dropsies are very rare; and stone and gout quite unknown. A long endurance of intense cold, coarse and precarious fare, smoky and close air, and inattention to personal cleanliness, can certainly never conduce to a sound and vigorous state of the human constitution: but there are countervailing circumstances in the lot of the Laplander, which ought not to be overlooked, and which may in great measure compensate the privation of physicians and apothecaries;—such are, their roaming disposition, their addiction to hunting and fishing, and their tendance of the rein-deer, which habituate them to air and exercise; the manual, yet not oppressive occupation, in which so many individuals in a rude state of society are unavoidably engaged; their partiality to various preparations of milk; their warm clothing; their provision of *Lichen plicatus* and *Carex sylvatica* against damp and cold feet; and their happy ignorance of the follies and dissipations of more refined states of society.

Of their few medical nostrums, most seem to be abundantly absurd, or fantastical; but the *toule*, which is the most popular, may, in various cases, be attended with beneficial results. 'Their *moxa*, as the Japanese call it, but which they term *toule*, 'is made of a fine fungus found on the birch, and always chosen from the south side of the tree. Of this they apply a 'piece as large as a pea, upon the afflicted part, setting fire to 'it with a twig of birch, and letting it burn gradually away. 'This is repeated two or three times. It produces a sore that 'will often keep open for six months afterwards, nor must it be 'closed till it heals spontaneously. This remedy is used for all 'aches and pains; as the headache, toothache, pleurisy, pain 'in the stomach, lumbago, &c. It is the universal medicine of 'the Laplanders, and may be called their little physician.'

In some cases, it would seem, that infant children are fed with unboiled milk, through a horn. In general, they pass much of their time in a cradle, lined with the hair of rein-deer and *sphagnum palustre*, being frequently either rocked or swung, and sometimes tied close down in a wooden or leathern case. In four months, they are able to stand on their feet; but many of them, we presume, fall a sacrifice to improper management, especially to a very early exposure to cold. In this way only can we explain the stationary, or rather retrogarde state of population,

tion, in a country whose inhabitants are averse to migration, and exempted from the services of war.

On the subject of diet we can only remark, that it either varies very considerably in different districts, or that some inconsistencies have found their way into the author's note-book. Thus, in one passage, we find the natives feeding almost exclusively on fish; in another, on milk and cheese; and again, in a third, devouring their rein-deer with wasteful extravagance. In one place, we are led to infer, that water is their sole beverage; nay, we are positively told, that they use no artificial spirits: yet honourable mention is often made of brandy;—in all matrimonial negociations, it is a *sine qua non*;—and, as we learn from the author's direct testimony, it is the liquor of which they are most passionately fond.

Linnæus not only confirms the accounts of other writers relative to the swiftness of foot for which the Laplanders have been celebrated, but formally discusses *eight* causes of their remarkable fleetness. Even a boat thrown over a man's shoulders, does not always retard this quickness of pace. 'My companion, after committing all my property to my own care, laid his knapsack on his back, and turning the boat bottom upwards, placed the two oars longitudinally, so as to cross the seats. These rested on his arms, as he carried the boat over his head; and thus he scampered away, over hills and valleys,—so that the devil himself could not have come up with him.'

In the construction of their canoes and sledges, the harnessing of their rein-deer, the manufacture of fine thread from the sinews of these animals, &c. these demi-barbarians discover considerable ingenuity; but the ordinary details of their domestic economy bespeak no intellectnal superiority, and required not to be specially registered. To what purpose, for example, should we be informed, that some of the Lulean Laplanders clean their half-boots and harnessing with the fat of fish, while others procure blacking from Norway? Or, what will it avail us to know, that, in their huts, these same Luleans stir the pot, when boiling, with an oblong board, placed transversely at the end of a pole? Many objects of equal importance are not only described with phlegmatic circumstantiality, but, moreover, illustrated by sketches of a truly Scandinavian aspect.

If proofs were wanted of the boorishness of Lapland manners, it might suffice to mention, that the occupiers of a hut sleep, in the costume of nature, on skins of rein-deer, spread over a layer of dwarf birch;—that 'the sexes rise from the simple couch, and dress themselves promiscuously, without any shame or concealment;'—that they never cut their hair; and only occasionally

sionally employ a comb, or *any similar instrument*;—and that the consequences are, accordingly, too *moving* to be described. Shirts and shifts, and a laundress or washerwoman, are alike unknown; but we must do them the justice to state, that they wash their dishes with their fingers, 'squirting water out of their 'mouths on the spoons!' At one moment, we are told, that the women do almost every thing but actually wear the breeches; and, at another, we find that they really do wear them in *winter*, which, being interpreted, is at least nine months in the year. The men, however, seem to have reserved the exclusive privilege of *cookery*; 'so that the master of a family has no occasion 'to speak a good word to his wife, when he wishes to give a 'hospitable entertainment to his guests.'—'When Linnæus,' says the editor, 'wrote this sentence, he seems to have had a 'presentiment of his own matrimonal fate,—just the reverse, in 'this very point, of that he was describing.'

The moral and religious character of such beings as we have contemplated, cannot reasonably be supposed to be of the purest or most exalted nature; and though they recal to the writer's imagination the silver and the golden age of Ovid, and the times of the patriarchs, and have suggested to Thomson some lines of beautiful fiction; it must not be dissembled, that they are pinched by cold, or tortured by gnats; that they dwell in smoke, with weak or distempered vision; that they are filthy, lazy, ignorant, superstitious, and knavish. To complete the picture of their misery, their interests in the fisheries are postponed by government to those of Finnish colonists; and they are compelled, often at the risk of their lives, to attend on the church festivals, in the spring.

Before we close our report of this very extraordinary production, we deem it only an act of justice to the learned and laborious editor, to mention, that he has bestowed much trouble in decyphering the original manuscript, and in procuring a faithful version of its miscellaneous contents. Even the *fac-similes* of the rough drawings, though executed in a very different style from the pretty plates of Mr Ackermann's Repository, contribute, nevertheless, to the graphic and ghostly air of the whole performance. We certainly could have tolerated a more literal allowance of marginal annotation, illustrative of the laconic, desultory, and sometimes contradictory allegations of the text: But Dr Smith has evinced his usual perspicacity in adjusting the nomenclature of many plants and animals which had been set down under vague or obsolete appellations.

We should also, perhaps, advert to those blind worshippers of the name of Linnæus, who, we understand, have expressed

heir regret, that a work which may be supposed to lower the lignity of their idol, should have been rendered accessible to he profane vulgar. But we must be contented briefly to remind hem, that the scraps of a portfolio can never, by the thinking art of mankind, be assumed as the basis of literary reputation; hat the volumes before us are not infected with the nauseous anity which pervades the author's diary of his life—but, under rude and slovenly exterior, contain much curious information; nd that, unless we be permitted to contemplate distinguished ndividuals in their unreserved moments, we shall be in danger f forming very erroneous estimates of human character and of uman nature.

ART. IV. *Speeches of Lord Erskine when at the Bar, on Miscellaneous Subjects.* 8vo. pp. 248. Ridgeway, London. 1812.

IT is now a considerable time since we called the attention of our readers to the very interesting and important publication of which this volume forms the sequel. The opinions then expressed, although known to be those entertained by the enlightened profession of which Lord Erskine was the chief ornament, have, as might be expected from party violence and ignorance, encountered some opposition;—chiefly, however, among persons at a distance from the theatre where his talents were displayed, and not the most capable, in other respects, of forming a sound judgment on such subjects. The remarks which we made on the political persecutions of 1794, have been also attacked; and, as might be expected, with some bitterness, by the few remaining adherents of the system,—and the supporters of those weak and contemptible politicians who are seeking to remove the worst enemy they have to contend with—popular discussion—by reviving the measures formerly pursued against the liberty of the press. Having now had some leisure for maturely weighing both branches of the subject,—the merits of the orations in question, and the character of the measures of 1794,—and having had ample opportunities of observing the way in which those topics are canvassed by such as are competent to handle them, we have no hesitation in avowing, that our sentiments remain wholly unchanged. Not a word have we heard derogatory to the warm and unbought applause extorted from us by the great services which Lord Erskine has rendered to the cause of liberty; and we fancy that all who have had time to study the speeches, now go along with us in the tribute of admiration paid to their transcendent merits. Indeed there seems but one voice upon

upon the matter. We heard some time ago of an exception or two, the particulars of which have escaped us; but we believe there was a newspaper written in the Scottish tongue, in some remote part of the country, which professed an inability to understand the beauties of the composition, possibly from ignorance of the language in which the speeches were delivered: and it was said, that an attorney, somewhere in Scotland, (and most likely from the same cause), was greatly offended at our praise of the speech for Stockdale, which he professed an inability to enter into;—but was confident the best '*Session papers*' were very different things. With these slight exceptions, we take the opinion of the country, and of every part of the world where the language is understood, to be that of the most unbounded admiration of these exquisite specimens of judicial oratory,—and of great obligations to the editor of the collection.

Those obligations are now considerably increased by the publication of the present volume, which contains some speeches less known to the world, because upon subjects of a private nature; but not at all inferior in oratorical merit to the finest of Lord Erskine's performances in State Trials. It is with great delight that we revert to so interesting a task as that of tracing the skill and genius of a first-rate orator, and of holding up his exertions for the instruction of those who may feel within themselves one of the noblest passions of our nature—love of the fame to be acquired, and the gratification to be felt, in wielding the feelings of a popular assembly;—a passion only second to that of which Lord Erskine too holds forth so bright an example—the love of earning that fame by the services which, in a free country, eloquence may render to the rights of the people, and the best interests of mankind.

This volume contains seven speeches of Mr Erskine; three of which are on trials of a public nature—the speech for Hadfield, that for the Madras Council, and that for Cuthell. The other four are speeches in private actions; two in cases of adultery, one in an action for breach of promise of marriage, and one in the Bishop of Bangor's case. There is a circumstance, unavoidable perhaps, but greatly to be lamented, in the publication of the two speeches in cases of seduction: we mean the pain which a revival of such discussions must give to the feelings of the parties and their families. The publicity of their story inflicts some of the most acute of the sufferings arising from such transactions at the time; and it is painful to think how severely the same feelings must be wounded by the revival of the subject at a distance of time, when those may have become capable of being wounded, over whose happily tender years the first blast of evil

fame had passed innoxious. For this serious evil we fear there is no remedy; yet we do not the less regret it; and, in alluding to the cases in question, and quoting passages, we shall carefully abstain from mentioning names, that we may not have to reproach ourselves with spreading the mischief.

The speech for Hadfield contains one of the most sound and able disquisitions on the subject of insanity, as matter of defence against a criminal charge, that is any where to be found. Indeed, we view it as a peculiarly important addition to legal learning, and as going far to settle the question within what limits this defence shall be available. Most of our readers must recollect the singular transaction which gave rise to it. We prefer recalling it to the minds of such as do not, in the words of Mr Erskine's exordium; for they convey a lesson as well as a narrative of the fact.

'The scene which we are engaged in, and the duty which I am not merely *privileged*, but *appointed* by the authority of the Court to perform, exhibits to the whole civilized world a perpetual monument of our national justice.

'The transaction, indeed, in every part of it, as it stands recorded in the evidence already before us, places our country, and its government, and its inhabitants, upon the highest pinnacle of human elevation. It appears, that upon the 15th day of May last, his Majesty, after a reign of forty years, not merely in sovereign *power*, but spontaneously in the very hearts of his people, was openly shot at (or to all appearance shot at) in a public theatre in the centre of his capital, and amidst the loyal plaudits of his subjects, YET NOT A HAIR OF THE HEAD OF THE SUPPOSED ASSASSIN WAS TOUCHED. In this unparalleled scene of calm forbearance, the King himself, though he stood first in personal interest and feeling, as well as in command, was a singular and fortunate example.—The least appearance of emotion on the part of that august personage, must unavoidably have produced a scene quite different, and far less honourable than the Court is now witnessing; but his Majesty remained unmoved, and the person *apparently* offending was only secured, without injury or reproach, for the business of this day.' p. 5.

He then describes the peculiar indulgences which our treason laws extend to the accused; in so much that he who, for an attack upon the meanest individual, would be hurried away to trial, without delay, or counsel, or knowledge of witnesses, or of jurors, or of charges, is, when charged with a murderous design against the sovereign of the country, 'covered all over with the 'armour of the law;'—a distinction which, when soberly considered, we may in passing remark, affords praise to the English law of treasons, at the expense of the other branches of criminal jurisprudence. Mr Erskine, pursuing the topic, enters

upon a train of reflexions, which, we think, all will acknowledge to be profound, who are not resolved to call every thing shallow and empty, which they are forced to admit is beautiful and brilliant.

'Gentlemen, when this melancholy catastrophe happened, and the prisoner was arraigned for trial, I remember to have said to some now present, that it was, at first view, difficult to bring those indulgent exceptions to the general rules of trial within the principle which dictated them to our humane ancestors in cases of treasons against the political government, or of *rebellious* conspiracy against the person of the King. In *these* cases, the passions and interests of great bodies of powerful men being engaged and agitated, a counterpoise became necessary to give composure and impartiality to criminal tribunals; but a *mere murderous* attack upon the King's person, not at all connected with his political character, seemed a case to be ranged and dealt with like a similar attack upon any private man.

'But the wisdom of the law is greater than any man's wisdom; how much more, therefore, than mine! An attack upon the King is considered to be parricide against the State; and the jury and the witnesses, and even the Judges, are the children. It is fit, on that account, that there should be a solemn pause before we rush to judgment: and what can be a more sublime spectacle of justice than to see a statutable disqualification of a whole nation for a limited period, a fifteen day's *quarantine* before trial, lest the mind should be subject to the contagion of partial affections!'* p. 6, 7.

He now enters upon the subject, and cites the authorities of our great criminal lawyers, especially Lord Hale, as establishing the rule, that it must be a total and not a partial insanity which shall excuse. The rule, however, is of difficult application; and Lord Hale himself has admitted it when he says, that it is very difficult to define the invisible line which divides perfect and partial insanity; and adds, 'it must rest upon circumstances, 'duly to be weighed and considered both by judge and jury, 'lest on the one side there be a kind of inhumanity towards the 'defects of human nature; or, on the other side, too great an 'indulgence given to great crimes.' The arguments of Mr Erskine are addressed to the proper means of applying this rule; and they are, in our humble apprehension, equally ingenious and satisfactory. He first admits, that there is a material difference between the application of it to civil and to criminal cases. In the former, the law will justly avoid a man's act, if he be proved to be *non compos mentis*, although the act in question cannot be referred to the peculiar impulse of the malady; or

* There must be fifteen days between arraignment and trial.

or even, though to all *appearance* it may be separate from it, provided only it be shown, that, at the time of doing the civil act, he was not of sound mind. But, in judging of a criminal act, some connexion must always be traced between the act and the delusion under which the person labours;—it must appear to flow from that delusion. Here Mr Erskine clears away a misapprehension of the phrase *total insanity*, or *total deprivation of mind and understanding*, as used by Lord Coke and Lord Hale. 'If,' says he, 'a TOTAL *deprivation of memory* was intended by 'these great lawyers to be taken in the *literal* sense of the words; '—if it was meant, that, to protect a man from punishment he 'must be in such a state of prostrated intellect as not to know 'his name, nor his condition, nor his relation towards others—'that, if a husband, he should not know he was married; or, 'if a father, could not remember that he had children; nor 'know the road to his house, nor his property in it—then no 'such madness ever existed in the world. It is IDIOCY alone 'which places a man in this helpless condition; where, from an '*original* mal-organization, there is the human frame alone 'without the human capacity. But in all the cases which have 'filled Westminster Hall with the most complicated considera'tions—the lunatics, and other insane persons who have been 'the subjects of them, have not only had memory, *in my sense* '*of the expression*—they have not only had the most perfect 'knowledge and recollection of all the relations they stood in 'towards others, and of the acts and circumstances of their 'lives, but have, in general, been remarkable for subtlety and 'acuteness.'—'These,' he adds, 'are the cases which fre'quently mock the wisdom of the wisest in judicial trials; be'cause such persons often reason with a subtlety which puts in 'the shade the ordinary conceptions of mankind: their conclu'sions are just, and frequently profound; but the *premises from* '*which they reason*, WHEN WITHIN THE RANGE OF THE MALADY, 'are uniformly false:—not false from any defect of knowledge 'or judgment; but because a delusive image, the inseparable 'companion of real insanity, is thrust upon the subjugated 'understanding, incapable of resistance, because unconscious of 'attack.' The doctrine contended for is clearly expressed, and with a singular felicity of diction too, in the following passage.

'*Delusion*, therefore, where there is no frenzy or raving madness, is the true character of insanity; and where it cannot be predicated of a man standing for life or death for a crime, he ought not, in my opinion, to be acquitted; and if courts of law were to be governed by any other principle, every departure from sober, rational conduct,

would be an emancipation from criminal justice. I shall place my claim to your verdict upon no such dangerous foundation.—I must convince you, not only that the unhappy prisoner was a lunatic, within my own definition of lunacy, but that the act in question was the IMMEDIATE, UNQUALIFIED OFFSPRING OF THE DISEASE. In *civil* cases, as I have already said, the law avoids every act of the lunatic during the period of the lunacy; although the delusion may be extremely circumscribed; although the mind may be quite sound in all that is not within the shades of the very partial eclipse; and although the act to be avoided can in no way be connected with the influence of the insanity:—But, to deliver a lunatic from responsibility to *criminal* justice,—above all, in a case of such atrocity as the present, the relation between the disease and the act should be apparent. Where the connexion is doubtful, the judgment should certainly be most indulgent, from the great difficulty of diving into the secret sources of a disordered mind;—but still, I think that, as a doctrine of law, the delusion and the act should be connected. I cannot allow the protection of insanity to a man who only exhibits violent passions and malignant resentments, acting upon *real circumstances*; who is impelled to evil from no morbid delusions; but who proceeds upon the ordinary perceptions of the mind.—I cannot consider such a man as falling within the protection which the law gives, and is bound to give, to those whom it has pleased God, for mysterious causes, to visit with this most afflicting calamity. He alone can be so emancipated, whose disease (call it what you will) consists, not merely in seeing with a prejudiced eye, or with odd and absurd particularities, differing, in many respects, from the contemplations of sober sense, upon the actual existences of things; but, *he only* whose whole reasoning and corresponding conduct, though governed by the ordinary dictates of reason, proceed upon something which has no foundation or existence.

Gentlemen, it has pleased God so to visit the unhappy man before you;—to shake his reason in its citadel;—to cause him to build up, as realities, the most impossible phantoms of the mind, and to be impelled by them as motives *irresistible*: the whole fabric being nothing but the unhappy vision of his disease—existing no where else—having no foundation whatsoever in the very nature of things.' p. 17-19.

He adds a refutation, after dwelling at some length on the present case, of a proposition, much too vaguely broached by reasoners on this subject, that every person ought to be responsible for crimes who has the knowledge of good and evil.

'Let me suppose that the character of an insane delusion consisted in the belief that some given person was any brute animal, or an inanimate being, (and such cases have existed), and that upon the trial of such a lunatic for murder, you firmly, upon your oaths, were convinced, upon the uncontradicted evidence of an hundred persons, that

that he believed the man he had destroyed, to have been a potter's vessel; that it was quite impossible to doubt that fact, *although to all other intents and purposes he was sane*; conversing, reasoning, and acting, as men not in any manner tainted with insanity, converse, and reason, and conduct themselves: suppose further, that he believed the man whom he destroyed, but whom he destroyed as a potter's vessel, to be the property of another; and that he had malice against such supposed person, and that he meant to injure him, knowing the act he was doing to be malicious and injurious, and that, in short, he had full knowledge of all the principles of good and evil; yet would it be possible to convict such a person of murder, if, from the influence of his disease, he was ignorant of the relation he stood in to the man he had destroyed, and was utterly *unconscious* that he had struck at the life of a human being? I only put this case, and many others might be brought as examples to illustrate, that the knowledge of good and evil is too general a description.' p. 24.

The case of Hadfield was brought within the law thus laid down, by evidence of his having been most severely wounded in service, so as to make him at times wholly insane;—that he laboured under a delusion of a peculiar cast, being firmly persuaded he was to save mankind by dying a violent death;—yet that this death must be inflicted without the guilt of suicide;—that he had recently attempted to kill his infant child, of which he was in general passionately fond;—and that his whole demeanour and conversation had been those of a most loyal subject, attached with peculiarly zealous feelings to the family and service of the king. It is said that Lord Kenyon, who presided at the trial, * appeared much against the prisoner while the evidence was giving for the crown; but when Mr Erskine had stated the principle upon which he grounded his defence, and when his Lordship found that the facts came up to the case opened for the prisoner, he delivered to the Attorney-General the opinion of the Court, that the case should not be proceeded in: So there was a verdict of acquittal, without any reply for the Crown.

The speech for the Madras Council was delivered soon after Mr Erskine came to the bar, on an occasion which excited unexampled interest in those days of quiet, when the world was unaccustomed to great and strange events,—the arrest of Lord Pigot, in consequence of a misunderstanding between him and his Council. They were prosecuted at the desire of the House of Commons, and convicted; but when brought up for judgment, after Mr Dunning, Mr Erskine, and others, had been heard in mitigation, they were only sentenced to pay a fine of one

* It was a trial at bar in the Court of King's Bench.

one thousand pounds, which was considered, and most justly, as a very lenient punishment. We abstain from entering further into the subject of this speech, because it is so similar to the late proceedings in the East, and in some of our other foreign settlements, that we prefer reserving the subject for a more regular and ample consideration. This speech is now published for the first time; and though from almost any other quarter it would excite no little admiration, we look upon it as one of the least brilliant of Mr Erskine's exhibitions, and by no means the shortest.

The last speech on a public trial contained in this volume, is the defence of Mr Cuthell; against whom an indictment for a libel had been preferred, in circumstances of so peculiar a nature, that we are extremely glad to find the case recorded. The interest it excites is closely connected with the topics of the present day, and the attacks which ill-advised men are making upon the liberty of the press. We must, therefore, enter somewhat at large into the case.

Mr Cuthell was an eminent bookseller, who dealt entirely in works upon literary subjects, being chiefly, if not altogether, a publisher of classical books. As such, he had been selected by Mr Gilbert Wakefield to publish the various editions of classics and other books, particularly on theological subjects, with which he enriched the republic of letters. In 1798, the Bishop of Llandaff (Dr Watson) published an address to the people on the subject of an apprehended invasion: exhorting them to defend their country, to be loyal towards their king, and to love the constitution;—expounding to them how disagreeable a thing conquest is, and what risks attend revolutions, and above all French revolutions;—and recommending a *new* plan of finance, the details of which we have forgotten, as we presume every body else has, except one;—but the general purport was, to pay off some hundreds of millions of public debt by levying taxes on the capital of the country. This project was pretty universally ridiculed at the time, and might have been safely left to its fate. The rest of the work was, if not quite so original, at least a good deal sounder; and one should have thought no man so squeamish as to object to a bishop for preaching up the usual doctrine of rallying for the defence of the state. Mr Wakefield, however, thought otherwise; and was so ill-advised as to throw away time, which might have been so admirably and usefully employed in expounding the classics and the scriptures, upon a political controversy. He wrote a pamphlet in answer to Dr Watson, abounding indeed with point and wit,—in some parts sufficiently argumentative—in many very triumphant,

triumphant,—but touching upon very tender ground in other passages, and conceived by the government to have a tendency hostile to the peace of the community, and unfavourable to the defence of the country. Mr Wakefield, for example, pointed out the oppressions under which the people suffered, from the war and the taxes, and the novel restraints imposed on civil liberty. The ministers conceived, that this would excite discontent, and indispose the people to resist the enemy. For they reasoned thus. It is true, said they, there is no foundation for all this—the war does not press heavily upon the country,—it has only lasted for five years and a half—distressing not more than from thirty to forty thousand men, and crippling about a score thousands more, at the outside; and then, if we have gained by it nothing of what we expected, we have at least got a few unwholesome and useless islands, which we never counted upon; and, at any rate, we have lost not an inch of territory, whatever our allies may have done. And as for taxes—what signify taxes! They only press upon the rich—the poor are quite well off—every thing is as cheap as it ought to be, if not as it has been;—and those who can't afford to live, may die, or come upon the parish. All this we know, said the ministers, and the people feel it;—they are quite easy, comfortable, and happy. But what signifies the evidence of facts? What though a man knows that he is as well off as possible? If Mr Gilbert Wakefield is permitted to tell him that war and taxes have ground him down, there is no doubt that he will be believed, in spite of the evidence of sense and memory to the contrary—it being quite plain the perusal of a *pamphlet* is the only means by which a man can discover whether he is hungry and cold or not: Therefore, if such publications—such *false* and scandalous writings, are allowed to be read, we shall have the whole country convinced that bread is ten shillings a pound, and that no man has a farthing in his pocket.

Such was the reasoning of the government; and it is said that there were foolish people in those days, who suggested the possibility of answering Mr Wakefield; arguing, weakly enough, that a single man, clearly on the wrong side of the question, might be refuted by the united exertions of all the rest of the community who were on the side of truth. But the ministers held such doctrines to be almost as bad as the seditious work itself,—contending, that nothing can be more dangerous than reasoning and answering in such cases: For, said they, what though Mr Wakefield is in the wrong, and is known by every body to be so? What though he is the only person who holds such doctrines? and what though there is not a man in the whole church, or out of it, who could not refute

fute his pamphlet in a moment—and what though we have the whole truth on our side? Shall a government defend itself by argument? Then why have Attorney-generals and prisons?—So, such suggestions were overruled; and it was resolved to prosecute.

Mr Wakefield had caused his work to be printed by a Mr Hamilton, and sold by Mr Johnson, the late respectable and independent bookseller in St Paul's Church-yard: But he had sent a few copies to Mr Cuthell's, who conceiving the work to be on a theological topic—for Mr Wakefield had never written before on any other than classical and theological points, and Mr Cuthell knew that Dr Watson had engaged in theological controversy—sold several of the pamphlets, before he had the most remote guess that he was selling a political tract. As soon as he was informed that it was of this description, he immediately discontinued the sale of it. In the first place, Mr Johnson and another bookseller were prosecuted and convicted for publishing it. This, however, not being deemed a sufficient refutation of the doctrines contained in it, the arguments of the Bishop of Llandaff were to be defended by prosecuting the author; but in order to make the answer complete, and that no part of the Bishop's work might be left unsupported, and no iota of Mr Wakefield's positions go without a full exposure, it was deemed expedient to prosecute Mr Cuthell also;—for he had sold one or two copies, mistaking it for a treatise on the middle voice, or the disputed passage in St John.

Accordingly, Mr Cuthell and Mr Wakefield were tried on the same day; and Mr Cuthell's case came on first. From what has been stated, it will appear that Mr Erskine had here a different kind of point to urge, from any of those which generally bear upon cases of libel. With the libellous or innocent nature of the work, he professed that he had little concern:—Mr Wakefield, its author, who appeared in Court to defend himself, was to treat that question, as more directly interested in it. The defence of Mr Cuthell rested on his entire ignorance of the book he was selling, nay, of the subject on which it treated; and this ignorance he was to substantiate by evidence. Here, then, arises a question of no small importance, and rendered of more difficulty than naturally belongs to it, by the attempts made to confound it—Whether an act of publication shall be held *of its-lf* to fix the publisher with responsibility for the contents of the work? or, in other words, whether publication be conclusive evidence of a knowledge of those contents—such evidence as creates a presumption of law, not to be rebutted by contrary proof, and leading to an inference which overrules all considerations of fact whatever?

In

In civil cases, such presumptions are of necessity extremely common. Without entering into the principles upon which they are founded, we may mention an example or two. The liability of the owners of public carriages for the damage arising from the carelessness of their servants,—and the general liability of a person for the acts (*quoad civilem effectum*) of his agent, to the extent to which he has given him authority, as to be bound by his undertakings, and to release, by his acquittance, those bound to him—the liability of a husband for the debts of his wife, and for damages occasioned by illegal acts committed by her, though without his privity—the liability of a master to make good the losses occasioned to the property or persons of others by certain negligent uses of his own property, as his horses or carriages. These, and a variety of other cases, are undeniable instances in which a person is held answerable in his own property for injuries done to the persons and properties of others, and is precluded, by presumption of law, from averring his own unconcern in, or ignorance of the act which is to bind him. The meaning of all this is simply, that the law requires a certain degree of care in the choice of a servant or agent, and a certain superintendance over his conduct in that capacity; to enforce which, and to relieve the party suffering from the absence of it, the burthen of repairing the injury occasioned by the deficiency is thrown upon the principal. But, in no one instance, except in that of publishing a libel, has an attempt ever been made to extend this civil responsibility, and to make a man liable to punishment as a criminal, as a malicious and wicked person, for the act of a servant, performed without his assistance or knowledge.

Now, it is not denied, that, even in this case, a certain responsibility may safely, and should in justice, be thrown upon the principal. In the first place, he is liable civilly in damages for the publication, beyond all doubt, and ought to be so. But, again, he is to be taken as privy to, and answerable even criminally for the act of publication by his servant, unless he shall make out a case of ignorance and real disconnexion with the act. The act of publication by the servant is admitted to be *primâ facie* evidence against his master: but it is maintained to be only a presumption of fact, which opposite proofs may rebut. We would even, from the peculiar nature of the case, go one step farther, and allow of a certain penalty attachable to the master, in the event of his servant having, though unknown to him, committed the act of publication—a penalty incurred by the master's negligence, where due caution

tion was required of him, but of a much lower nature tha the penalty incurred by a wilful and malicious publication. Le there, in short, be a count in the indictment or information charging a culpable negligence only, through which the injurious publication took place. This will then be put in issue as well as the grave offence; and the verdict will describe, upon the face of the record, distinctly, that kind of delinquency of which the defendant has been found guilty. At present and as long as judges are in the practice of directing juries to find general verdicts of guilty, merely upon evidence of publication by a servant, the charge making no distinction, the record does not show which of two offences, in their nature wholly different—the one a grave, the other a very slight offence—has been committed.

Now, by the concessions here made, let it be observed, that we still place the crime of libel in a very different situation from any other; because we continue to fix the principal with a certain criminal responsibility. An apothecary sells poisons as well as healing drugs;—indeed, many of his finest drugs are poisonous, beyond the proper dose: He employs a shopman or a shopboy, who, to raise the question still more clearly, shall be supposed extremely negligent and ignorant, and by his mistake half a family lose their lives. Here, there is no one criminally answerable at all: But if the shopman wilfully poisons half his customers—nay, taints with deleterious drugs the springs which supply a whole city, and is thus guilty of the foulest of crimes, the master is not in the smallest degree responsible, but the actual offender shall suffer. The vender of books, however, is very differently treated. Not content with punishing the author, and the printer, and the actual publisher—the shopman who knowingly circulates a libel—we exact the same punishment from his master, how impossible soever it may be that he ever should have heard of the work. This is the law, as public prosecutors now contend for it; and even we, who would mitigate this strange severity, and soften down somewhat of these gross anomalies, are fain to admit, that the general negligence of the bookseller, in choosing a shopman, should make him punishable in a way in which the apothecary is never attempted to be dealt with, whose servant has poisoned a whole city;—though in truth it might well be asked, why the liability of the servant himself would not be sufficient in the case of the bookseller, as well as that of the druggist? Further, we are content to admit, that the burthen of proving a negative should rest on the bookseller; the act of his servant being *primâ facie* evidence of his master's privity. But here, again, even we,

who

who are for relaxing the present rules, go beyond the measure of strictness applied by the law in all other cases. For assuredly the wilful murder of the apothecary's customers by his servant would never be sufficient to put the master on his defence: and, in such a case, it is quite certain that the prosecutor must connect him with the servant, before he can be called on to prove his ignorance. Why, then, it might be again demanded, not trust the peace and good order and allegiance of the community to the same securities which are found sufficient to protect our lives? The following passage from Mr Erskine's speech for Cuthell puts the argument in a very plain and clear light.

'In the case of a *civil* action throughout the whole range of civil injuries, the master is always *civiliter* answerable for the act of his servant or agent; and accident or neglect can therefore be no answer to a plaintiff, complaining of a consequential wrong. If the driver of a public carriage maliciously overturns another upon the road whilst the proprietor is asleep in his bed at a hundred miles distance, the party injuring must unquestionably pay the damages to a farthing; but though such malicious servant might also be indicted, and suffer an infamous judgment, *could the master also become the object of such a prosecution?* CERTAINLY NOT.---In the same manner, partners in trade are *civilly* answerable for bills drawn by one another, or by their agents, drawing them by procuration, though fraudulently, and in abuse of their trusts; but if one partner commits a fraud by forgery or fictitious indorsements, so as to subject *himself* to death, or other punishment by indictment, could *the other partners* be indicted?---To answer such a question here, would be folly; because it not only answers itself in the *negative*, but exposes to scorn every argument which would confound indictments with civil actions. WHY then is *printing and publishing* to be an exception *to every other human act?* WHY is a man to be answerable *criminaliter* for the *crime of his servant* in *this* instance more than in *all other cases?* WHY is a man who happens to have published a libel, under circumstances of mere accident, or, if you will, from actual carelessness or negligence, but *without criminal purpose*, to be subjected to an *infamous punishment*, and harangued from a British Bench as if he were the malignant author of that which it was confessed before the Court delivering the sentence, *that he never had seen or heard of?* As far, indeed, as damages go, the principle is intelligible and universal; but as it establishes *a crime*, and inflicts a punishment which affects character and imposes disgrace, it is shocking to humanity and insulting to common sense.---The Court of King's Bench, since I have been at the Bar (very long, I admit, before the Noble Lord presided in it, but under the administration of a truly great Judge), pronounced the infamous judgment of the pillory on a most respectable proprietor of a newspaper, for a libel on the Russian Ambassador, copied too out of another paper,

paper, but which *I myself* showed to the Court, by the affidavit of his physician, appeared in the *first* as well as in *the second* paper, *whilst the defendant was on his sick-bed in the country, delirious in a fever.* I believe that affidavit is still on the files of the Court.---I have thought of it often---I have dreamed of it, and started from my sleep---sunk back to sleep, and started from it again. The painful recollection of it I shall die with.----How is this vindicated? From the *supposed* necessity of the case.---An indictment for a LIBEL is, *therefore*, considered to be an anomaly in the law.---*It* WAS *held so undoubtedly;* but the exposition of that *error* lies before me; the Libel Act lies before me, which *expressly*, and *in terms*, directs that the trial of a libel shall be conducted *like every other trial for any other crime;* and that the Jury shall decide, *not* upon the mere fact of *printing or publishing*, but *upon the whole matter put in issue*, i. e. *the publication of the libel* WITH THE INTENTIONS CHARGED BY THE INDICTMENT.---This is the rule by the Libel Act; and *you*, the Jury, as well as the Court, are bound by it.' p. 223---225.

Indeed, that such is very nearly the doctrine of the English law, may be inferred from several *dicta* in the books, long before the Libel act was passed. Not to drag the reader through a law argument, we only desire to refer him to the case of the *King and Almon*, in 5. Burr.; where Lord Mansfield held, that *if a defendant called no witnesses to repel it*, the guilt of publishing was to be inferred from the act of publication; but, that the publication might be excused as innocent, and justified as legal, by circumstances established by the defendant in proof. Why there should be any repugnance to resort to such sound doctrines, we cannot conceive. Of one thing we are quite sure, that the administration of justice suffers greatly by such a confounding of different things under one and the same name, as the present practice involves. The proper degree of punishment is not meted out to guilt. Offences totally different in kind are called by one appellation, and visited with the same penalty; and juries are obliged to violate their oaths, in order to acquit, that they may avoid a greater evil, the undue conviction, and consequent punishment, of the person accused. We trust that the Legislature will take this subject into its early consideration. But we must warn the reader against supposing, that any very great security would be gained to the press, by even a complete reform of the abuse complained of. The cases are but of rare occurrence, to which the present remarks apply. The attacks on the freedom of the press come on a different quarter; and not a single work would escape the inquisition now sought to be established on political writings, in consequence of the change which we are contemplating. It is the eagerness with which political discussions, carried on in an animated, interesting, and

effectual

effectual manner, are construed into libels, that bids fair to leave us only the name of a free constitution, by destroying even the name of a free press; and for this we know of no remedy so effectual, as the exertions of an enlightened Bar, and the control which it always exercises—together with the honesty of free and bold juries. To both of those classes we would most earnestly address ourselves. Let every member of the profession which Erskine illustrated, reflect on the degraded station he must forthwith occupy, as soon as either the tyranny of the government, or the unbounded sway of the Judges in political matters, shall be established. Into what insignificance he must sink—in what vile and hopeless dependence on others he must continue to exercise his talents. And if the rights of the people, and the love of his country, have no claims upon him, let him show his regard for his own character and independence, by the temperate, discreet and sober, yet manly and courageous discharge of his highest, and not his most arduous duties. But they who serve on juries should look well to the times; their task is more important; and each individual, in this capacity, has far more power. Let every honest and free-spirited man, when called upon to determine, whether a person shall be consigned for eighteen months or two years to a prison, well reflect on the doom to which he is handing him over; and be fully convinced, that the work for which he is dealing out such a fate to a fellow-creature, is in reality so pernicious to society as to justify such high punishments. Let him examine it thoroughly with this view; and, by the effects it produces on himself, let him judge how far it is likely to raise revolt and disaffection amongst others. If he thinks our government so firmly established in the institutions of the state, and in the affections of the people, and so well deserving their support from its general excellences, as to be in no danger from the freest discussions—let him rather leave the writings of the factious to be answered, and exposed by the well-affected, than endanger—nay destroy—the freedom of the government altogether, by assisting the blows meditated at the liberty of the press, and consigning to the greatest punishments those who have exercised that liberty.

We urge these considerations with the greater earnestness, because we are intimately persuaded that many very worthy and well-meaning persons have suffered themselves to be led away by a groundless apprehension, propagated by interested and designing men, that serious dangers are likely to arise from what is called the licentiousness of the press; and that the only way of counteracting the evils which unquestionably do spring up along with the fruits of its liberty (for what human production, or possession,

possession, is untainted with these?), is to keep a rigorous watch over discussion. For our own parts, in proportion to our confidence in the excellence of the constitution, is our belief in its stability; and we shall never consent to think its only defences are force and fear, so long as we see no reason for its dreading to be supported by fair argument. When was there a work ever published, which, if let alone, or left to be refuted by an antagonist, would have shaken the government, or even materially affected the tranquillity of the state for a single hour? And whence arises this nameless dread of something, which no man ever saw, or could trace in its effects? It arises from delusions practised by those who know far better. Bad rulers hate free discussion; and profligate weak princes, and their favourites and ministers, who have not the sense to pursue a system of arbitrary measures, or to defend their schemes by putting down inquiry, are alive to the personal abuse with which they are assailed, and hate the light which exposes their ridiculous or hateful features. All this would, however, not suffice, as long as juries were the judges of libel. But the press, by being too often prostituted to the defamation of private character, loses many a friend who might help it in the day of trial, and acquires even pretty determined enemies among men, whom otherwise the arts of a corrupt government would not move from their independent principles. To persons in this predicament we chiefly address ourselves; and implore them to consider, that they act a weak and unmanly part, in proscribing all the good, for the crimes of a few unworthy men; and, if they will not excuse the errors of the press, in consideration of its virtues—of the vast benefits which it has rendered the world;—if they will not bear in mind the saying of Lord Chatham, that it is, like the air, a chartered libertine; let them at least reflect on the ruin which must follow, if they sacrifice its liberty to a desire of punishing those who abuse it: and, calmly asking themselves what mighty harm a few scurrilous paragraphs can do an immense establishment, fortified all around with revenues, armies, and functionaries—let them leave those who malign our institutions, to be answered by reasoning, and by appeals to the fact;—while for those who abuse the privileges of discussion, by invading the sanctity of private character, there are just penalties prepared, which the warmest advocates of a free press would be the last to wish diminished, or repealed.

The argument in *Morton* v. *Ferm*, is extremely short, and only valuable on account of the principle which it illustrates. A verdict had been obtained of 2000*l.* by the plaintiff, who was

formerly housekeeper to the defendant, and had cohabited with him on promise of marriage. After living with her, he had contrived to get rid of her, and married another person. In consequence of this treatment and disappointment, the plaintiff's health, as well as peace of mind, had been destroyed. The plaintiff was a widow, past the usual age of marriage; the defendant an old man; and both parties remarkably deficient in personal charms. The principle contended for by Mr Erskine, in showing cause against a rule obtained by Mr Wallace for a new trial on the ground of excessive damages, was, that though, in cases where the claim is regulated by pecuniary, or other contracts of a certain definite nature, or founded on damages done to property in a certain calculable shape, the Court may interfere, if the jury have gone very wide of the mark; yet, where the compensation is for an injury not definite, nor capable of being accurately computed, the jury are the fit judges of the amount, provided the case has been fairly and fully before them. This ground he maintained with success; and the rule was discharged.

We hasten to the two remaining speeches in this volume, (passing over that in the Bishop of Bangor's case as well known) —those in cases of adultery. They contain some of the finest specimens of Mr Erskine's eloquence; and we trust we shall be able to lay a few of the passages before our readers, without being under the necessity of particularizing names. In the one, he was counsel for the plaintiff; and the defendant having suffered judgment to go by default, this address was delivered before the Under-sheriff and his jury, impannelled to assess the damages, in execution of the writ of inquiry. In the other, he was counsel for the defendant at the trial in the Court of King's-Bench.

Perhaps the circumstances in which the first of these speeches was delivered, are little known to many of our readers. The majesty of English justice,—which is ample and full, while the parties are at issue, and the Court in which the record is, or the Judge to whom it is sent for trial, have the whole treatment of the cause,—sinks into rather an obscure form, when the general statement of the facts is no longer disputed, and the only remaining question between the parties relates to the amount of the compensation due. This point, frequently the most important of all, is left to the ministerial officer, or his deputy, who is generally a practising attorney, assisted by a junior barrister, and a common jury. The Court, thus constituted, meets in any room which may be provided for the purpose:—In the present case, it assembled in the King's Arms Tavern, in Palace-Yard,

Yard. The first object of Mr Erskine was, therefore, to counteract the natural effect of these circumstances, and to raise the dignity of the place, and form of procedure, by all his arts; and he judiciously recurs to the same topic in his peroration. After describing the early intimacy, and long-continued friendship of the parties, he proceeds—

'Yet, dreadful to relate, and it is, indeed, the bitterest evil of which the plaintiff has to complain, a criminal intercourse for nearly five years before the discovery of the connexion, had most probably taken place. I will leave you to consider what must have been the feelings of such a husband, upon the fatal discovery that his wife, and such a wife, had conducted herself in a manner that not merely deprived him of her comfort and society, but placed him in a situation too horrible to be described. If a man without children is suddenly cut off by an adulterer from all the comforts and happiness of marriage, the discovery of *his* condition is happiness itself, when compared with that to which the plaintiff is reduced. When children, by a woman lost for ever to the husband by the arts of the adulterer, are begotten in the unsuspected days of virtue and happiness, there remains a consolation; mixed, indeed, with the most painful reflections, yet a consolation still.—But what is the plaintiff's situation?—He does not know at *what time* this heavy calamity fell upon him—he is tortured with the most afflicting of all human sensations.—When he looks at the children, whom he is by law bound to protect and to provide for, and from whose existence he ought to receive the delightful return which the union of instinct and reason has provided for the continuation of the world, he knows not whether he is lavishing his fondness and affection upon his own children, or upon the seed of a villain sown in the bed of his honour and his delight.—He starts back with horror, when, instead of seeing his own image reflected from their infant features, he thinks he sees the destroyer of his happiness---a midnight robber introduced into his house, under professions of friendship and brotherhood—a plunderer, not in the repositories of his treasure, which may be supplied, or lived without,---"*but there where he had garnered up his hopes,---Where either he* "*must live, or bear no life.*" p. 176–178.

We know not how this may please some readers, such as those few who thought our praise of the other speeches too unbounded; but to us it does appear the perfection of simple and beautiful composition. We extract the following reflections on the law as it regards this subject—but without pursuing the subject which they start; as we may have another opportunity of treating it at large.

'But there are other wrongs which cannot be estimated in money:

"You cannot minister to a *mind* diseas'd:"

You cannot redress a man who is wronged beyond the possibility of redress:—the law has no means of restoring to him what he has lost.

—God himself, as he has constituted human nature, has no means of alleviating such an injury as the one I have brought before you.—While the sensibilities, affections, and feelings he has given to man remain, it is impossible to heal a wound which strikes so deep into the soul.—When you have given to a plaintiff, in damages, all that figures can number, it is as nothing;—he goes away hanging down his head in sorrow, accompanied by his wretched family, dispirited and dejected. Nevertheless, the law has given a civil action for adultery, and, strange to say, it has given *nothing else*.—The law commands that the injury shall be compensated (as far as it is practicable) IN MONEY, because courts of *civil* justice have no other means of compensation THAN *money*; and the only question, therefore, and which *you* upon your oaths are to decide, is this—Has the plaintiff sustained an injury up to the extent which he has complained of? Will twenty thousand pounds place him in the same condition of comfort and happiness that he enjoyed before the adultery, and which the adulterer has deprived him of? You know that it will not.—Ask your own hearts the question, and you will receive the same answer.—I should be glad to know, then, upon what principle, as it regards the *private* justice which the plaintiff has a right to, or upon what principle, as the example of that justice affects the public and the remotest generations of mankind, you can reduce this demand even in a single farthing.' p. 180, 181.

Having applied these reflexions, and brought them all to bear on his case, so as to increase the amount of damages by their assistance, he touches another string for the same purpose; and we pray our readers to mark, that, wide as he may seem to begin from the point he aims at, and largely as his fancy may appear to roam, luxuriating in the outskirts of his subject, not an idea is ever started by this great advocate, which the matter in issue could have spared, or which he does not bring round to the very object he has immediately in view; and then we find, that it has been not merely the most pleasing train of description which he has been pursuing, but the course most directly conducive to the accomplishment of his purpose.

'I had occasion, not a great while ago, to remark to a jury, that the wholesome institutions of the civilized world came seasonably in aid of the dispensations of Providence for our well-being in the world. If I were to ask, what it is that prevents the prevalence of the crime of incest, by taking away those otherwise natural impulses, from the promiscuous gratification of which we should become like the beasts of the field, and lose all the intellectual endearments which are at once the pride and the happiness of man?—What is it that renders our houses pure, and our families innocent?—It is that, by the wise institutions of all civilized nations, there is placed a kind of guard against the human passions, in that sense of impropriety and dishonour, which the law has raised up, and impressed with almost

the force of a second nature.—This wise and politic restraint beats down, by the habits of the mind, even a propensity to incestuous commerce, and opposes those inclinations, which nature, for wise purposes, has implanted in our breasts at the approach of the other sex.—It holds the mind in chains against the seductions of beauty.—It is a moral feeling in perpetual opposition to human infirmity.—It is like an angel from heaven placed to guard us against propensities which are evil.—It is *that* warning voice, Gentlemen, which enables you to embrace your daughter, however lovely, without feeling that you are of a different sex.—It is *that* which enables you, in the same manner, to live familiarly with your nearest female relations, without those desires which are natural to man.

'Next to the tie of blood (if not, indeed, before it), is the sacred and spontaneous relation of friendship. The man who comes under the roof of a married friend, ought to be under the dominion of the same moral restraint: and, thank God, generally is so, from the operation of the causes which I have described. Though not insensible to the charms of female beauty, he receives its impressions under a habitual reserve, which honour imposes. Hope is the parent of desire, and honour tells him he must not hope.—Loose thoughts may arise, but they are rebuked and dissipated—

"Evil into the mind of God or man
"May come and go, so unapprov'd, and leave
"No spot or blame behind."

'Gentlemen, I trouble you with these reflexions, that you may be able properly to appreciate the guilt of the defendant; and to show you, that you are not in a case where large allowances are to be made for the ordinary infirmities of our imperfect natures. When a man does wrong in the heat of *sudden* passion—as, for instance, when, upon receiving an affront, he rushes into immediate violence, even to the deprivation of life, the humanity of the law classes his offence amongst the lower degrees of homicide; it supposes the crime to have been committed before the mind had time to parley with itself.—But is the criminal act of such a person, however disastrous may be the consequence, to be compared with that of the defendant?—Invited into the house of a friend,—received with the open arms of affection, as if the same parents had given them birth and bred them;—in THIS situation, this most monstrous and wicked defendant deliberately perpetrated his crime; and, shocking to relate, not only continued the appearances of friendship, after he had violated its most sacred obligations, but continued them as a cloak to the barbarous repetitions of his offence—writing letters of regard, whilst, perhaps, he was the father of the last child, whom his injured friend and companion was embracing and cherishing as his own.—What protection can such conduct possibly receive from the humane consideration of the law for sudden and violent passions? A passion for a woman is progressive—it does not, like anger, gain an uncontrolled ascendancy in a moment; nor is a modest matron to be seduced in

a day. Such a crime cannot, therefore, be committed under the resistless dominion of *sudden* infirmity; it must be *deliberately*, *wilfully*, and *wickedly* committed.—The defendant could not possibly have incurred the guilt of this adultery, without often passing through his mind (for he had the education and principles of a gentleman)—the very topics I have been insisting upon before you for his condemnation.—Instead of being suddenly impelled towards mischief, without leisure for such reflexions, he had innumerable difficulties and obstacles to contend with.—He could not but hear, in the first refusals of this unhappy lady, every thing to awaken conscience, and even to excite horror.—In the arguments he must have employed to seduce *her* from *her* duty, he could not but recollect, and wilfully trample upon *his own*. He was a year engaged in the pursuit—he resorted repeatedly to his shameful purpose, and advanced to it at such intervals of time and distance, as entitle me to say, that he determined in cold blood to enjoy a future and momentary gratification, at the expense of every principle of honour which is held sacred amongst gentlemen, even where no laws interpose their obligations or restraints.' p. 183-186.

The jury gave 7000*l.* damages, supposed to be equal to the defendant's whole property.

The other speech which we proceed to notice is of the same exalted character. It was delivered in behalf of a gentleman of high family, who having been attached to a young lady of equal rank, was prevented from marrying her by the interested views of her relations, who preferred an alliance with one of the greatest houses in the kingdom. The marriage was an unhappy one: the original attachment seems never to have been replaced by any other—it revived after an interval of misery and separation—and produced the elopement which occasioned the present action. It is quite impossible, we think, for human ingenuity and eloquence to have turned those circumstances to better account than Mr Erskine's did in this exquisite speech.

The counsel for the plaintiff having dwelt on the loss of domestic happiness occasioned by the seduction, Mr Erskine meets him here at once.

'In order, therefore, to examine this matter (and I shall support every syllable that I utter, with the most precise and uncontrovertible proofs); I will begin with drawing up the curtains of this blessed marriage-bed, whose joys are supposed to have been nipped in the bud, by the defendant's adulterous seduction. Nothing, certainly, is more delightful to the human fancy, than the possession of a beautiful woman in the prime of health, and youthful passion: It is, beyond all doubt, the highest enjoyment which God in his benevolence, and for the wisest purposes, has bestowed upon his own image: I reverence, as I ought, that mysterious union of

mind and body, which, while it continues our species, is the source of all our affections; which builds up and dignifies the condition of human life; which binds the husband to the wife, by ties more indissoluble than laws can possibly create; and which, by the reciprocal endearments arising from a mutual passion, a mutual interest, and a mutual honour, lays the foundation of that parental affection which dies in the brutes with the necessities of nature, but which reflects back again upon the human parents, the unspeakable sympathies of their offspring, and all the sweet, delightful relations of social existence.—While the curtains, therefore, are yet closed upon this bridal scene, your imaginations will naturally represent to you this charming woman, endeavouring to conceal sensations which modesty forbids the sex, however enamoured, too openly to reveal; wishing, beyond adequate expression, what she must not even attempt to express; and seemingly resisting what she burns to enjoy. Alas, Gentlemen! you must now prepare to see in the room of this a scene of horror, and of sorrow; you must prepare to see a noble lady, whose birth surely required no further illustration; who had been courted to marriage before she ever heard even her husband's name; and whose affections were irretrievably bestowed upon, and pledged to my honourable and unfortunate client; you must behold her given up to the plaintiff by the infatuation of parents, and stretched upon this bridal bed as upon a rack;—torn from the arms of a beloved and impassioned youth, himself of noble birth, only to secure the honours of a higher title; a legal victim on the altar of heraldry!" pp. 201, 202, 203.

He then goes into the particular facts which are to support this description, and works them up to a purpose bold indeed—but not rash;—he contrives to make the parties change places, and represents the seducer as the injured person.

"To all this it will be said by the plaintiff's counsel (as it has indeed been hinted already), that disgust and alienation from her husband could not but be expected; but that it arose from her affection for Mr B.—Be it so, gentlemen.—I readily admit, that if Mr B.'s acquaintance with the lady had commenced *subsequent to the marriage*, the argument would be irresistible, and the criminal conclusion against him unanswerable: But has Mr H. a right to instruct his counsel to charge my honourable client with seduction when *he himself* was the SEDUCER? My learned friend deprecates the power of what he terms my pathetic eloquence: Alas, gentlemen! if I possessed it, the occasion forbids its exertion, because, Mr B. has only to defend *himself*, and cannot demand damages from Mr H. for depriving him of what was *his* by a title superior to any law which man has a moral right to make. Mr H. was NEVER MARRIED. God and nature forbid the banns of such a marriage.—If, therefore, Mr B. this day could have, by me, addressed to you his wrongs in the character of a plaintiff demanding reparation, what damages might I not have

have asked for him—and, without the aid of this imputed eloquence, what damages might I not have expected?

'I would have brought before you a noble youth, who had fixed his affections upon one of the most beautiful of her sex, and who enjoyed hers in return.—I would have shown you their suitable condition;—I would have painted the expectation of an honourable union, and would have concluded by showing her to you in the arms of another, by the legal prostitution of parental choice in the teeth of affection: with child by a rival, and only reclaimed at last, after so cruel and so afflicting a divorce, with her freshest charms despoiled, and her very morals in a manner impeached, by asserting the purity and virtue of her original and spotless choice.—Good God! imagine my client to be PLAINTIFF, and what damages are you not prepared to give him? and yet he is here as DEFENDANT, and damages are demanded against HIM.—Oh, monstrous conclusion!' p. 204, 205.

After this, he says he considers his client as perfectly safe in the hands of the jury; and may spare a moment to render his cause beneficial to the public. It might be supposed that he is in reality going to lecture upon some general topics arising out of the cause; not for the sake of really edifying his audience, but for relieving their attention, and displaying Rhetoric.—No such thing—these are arts of lesser rhetoricians.—He enlarges on such points indeed, and persuades his hearers that he is instructing them, and stepping aside for their improvement; but after thus getting the more complete and unsuspecting possession of them, he speedily, but not abruptly, turns all he has been saying to the account of his cause, by a transition perfectly natural, and indicating the purpose for which the supposed digression was indulged in.

'It involves in it an awful lesson; and more instructive lessons are taught in courts of justice than the church is able to inculcate.—Morals come in the cold abstract from pulpits; but men smart under them practically when we lawyers are the preachers. Let the aristocracy of England, which trembles so much for itself, take heed to its own security: let the nobles of England, if they mean to preserve that preeminence which, in some shape or other, must exist in every social community, take care to support it by aiming at that which is creative, and alone creative, of real superiority. Instead of matching themselves to supply wealth, to be again idly squandered in debauching excesses, or to round the quarters of a family shield; instead of continuing their names and honours in cold and alienated embraces, amidst the enervating rounds of shallow dissipation, let them live as their fathers of old lived before them;—let them marry as affection and prudence lead the way; and in the ardours of mutual love, and in the simplicities of rural life, let them lay the foundation of a vigorous race of men, firm in their bodies, and moral from early habits; and instead of wasting their fortunes and their strength in the tasteless circles of debauchery, let them

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light up their magnificent and hospitable halls to the gentry and peasantry of the country, extending the consolations of wealth and influence to the poor.—Let them but do this,—and instead of those dangerous and distracted divisions between the different ranks of life and those jealousies of the multitude so often blindly painted as big with destruction; we should see our country as one large and harmonious family,—which can never be accomplished amidst vice and corruption, by wars or treaties, by informations *ex officio* for libels, or by any of the tricks and artifices of the state:—would to God this system had been followed in the instance before us!—Surely the noble house of F. needed no further illustration; nor the still nobler house of H.,—with blood enough to have inoculated half the kingdom.' p. 205-207.

The speech concludes with such a representation of the defender's circumstances as might conduce to the same end—the diminution of damages. Whether he was successful or not, the reader may judge, when he learns, that only 500*l.* were given;—barely enough to cover an application for a divorce bill.

We shall now close this article, which we trust will not be thought tedious, however extended in length, by such as have read the extracts, which give it the whole value it possesses. It is too late to indulge in general reflexions upon a professional career, about which the world has long since made up its mind. Nothing now remains but to admire its lustre, and to lament that it has been terminated,—not indeed by events which took Mr Erskine from a new sphere, to which the habits of his previous life were little adapted, and in which he could have experienced no great comfort, however necessary for his fame and for the honour of the profession his elevation to it might have been. Nor yet do we mourn because the prospect of his return to the same sphere has been overcast. But we may be allowed to express a sincere, though unavailing regret, that the strange and humiliating events which have recently inflicted such injuries on the country, should have deprived it of the services which Lord Erskine might still render, in returning to the courts of common law, and filling a high magisterial station in those scenes where his life was spent.

In concluding these reflexions, we cannot avoid recurring to the topic with which our former article on the same subject was wound up. To hold up Lord Erskine's skill and eloquence to the younger members of the profession for their models, might be in most instances unavailing. But every one, however slenderly gifted, may follow him close in the path of pure honour and unsullied integrity;—above all—of high and unbending independence,—incapable of being seduced or awed, either by the

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political or judicial influence of the times. Had he not been the first in this path—had his powers been exerted in obsequiousness to the government, or in time-serving or timid submission to the courts of justice, *we*, at least, should not have stept aside to attempt the task of praising his eloquence. He might have spoken with the tongue of an angel, if his cause had not been that of the people—and conducted with dauntless resistance to power—unceasing enmity to every kind of oppression, by whomsoever attempted. Covered over with honours (as they are called)—satiated with wealth—bepraised in every court and assembly within the realm—one thing he would still have found beyond the reach either of his talents or his power:—the humble, but honest, and therefore not worthless, tribute of praise which we have given, not to the orator, but to the friend of the people.

ART. V. *Select Letters of Tippoo Sultan; arranged and translated by Colonel* WILLIAM KIRKPATRICK. With Notes and Observations, and an Appendix, containing several original Documents never before published. 4to. London. 1811.

THE letters of a real sultan may fairly be reckoned among the curiosities of literature; and will be eagerly glanced at, in a review, by many who would have shrunk from the perusal of the original quarto. Witty letters from witty ladies, affected letters from affected ones, trifling letters from great authors, and dull letters from learned divines, the public have long possessed. The writer of the epistles before us, however, never heard of such persons as M. de Bussi Rabutin, or Madame de Sevigné. He was not in the habit of collecting the best company in Srirungapatan at his suppers, and retailing their bon-mots in his correspondence; and had quite as little taste for sentimental poetry, and fine descriptions.

Tipu Sultan, in short, from the time of his ascending the throne, had two great objects in view; the aggrandisement of his dominions, and the extension of the Mahomedan faith. As each of these materially promoted the success of the other, it is not easy to say which was nearest his heart. He was very ambitious, and very fanatical. The end, in his opinion, completely sanctified the means; and the shortest road was always the best. Off with such a one's head—the ears of another—and the nose of a third,—is the laconic and original style of this oriental letter-writer. The sultans of the French tales are a good sort of credulous people, with a slight predilection for cutting

ting off people's heads, and for listening to tiresome stories The sultan of Mysore was distinguished only by the first pro pens ity.

'It is already generally known,' says the learned editor 'that upon the reduction of Srirungapatan, in the year 1799 'all the public records of the government of Mysore passed in- 'to the possession of the captors. It is also, however, but too 'certain, that many of these precious documents were acciden- 'tally burnt, or otherwise destroyed, in the confusion and dis- 'order which unavoidably ensued upon the assault of the fort 'It is owing to the active care and intelligent research of Lieu- 'tenant Colonel Ogg, of the East India Company's Madras 'Establishment, that several of the most important of the Moi- 'sur papers, now remaining, have been rescued from oblivion; 'and, among the rest, the very register of public letters, from 'which the correspondence contained in the present volume 'has been extracted.' This register we find, however, is only a fragment, comprehending the Sultan's correspondence from February 1785, to November 1793; and of this period the portion from which General Kirkpatrick has extracted the letters now before the public, only extends to February 1787.

The accomplished orientalist who has amused the intervals of a tedious illness, by selecting and translating these letters, was guided by the following views. 'In making the present selec- 'tion from about a thousand letters, I have confined myself, 'almost entirely, to such as either appeared to exhibit the Sul- 'tan in some new light; to unfold some of his political, finan- 'cial, or commercial views; or to elucidate some historical fact. 'My principal object, in this work, being to present as strik- 'ing a likeness of Tipu, as the nature of my materials, and the 'extent of my ability to employ them advantageously, would 'admit, I thought it essential to this end, to render his senti- 'ments, on all occasions, as closely as the different idioms of 'the two languages would allow, without involving the sense in 'difficulty or obscurity.'

The object being to exhibit the Sultan's character as it is delineated in his correspondence, more than usual importance attaches to the choice of corresponding expressions. In this point of view, the translator's intimate knowledge of the Persic language, his long experience of Indian Courts, and his extensive reading in every branch of Asiatic literature, have proved highly serviceable. In the passages where General Kirkpatrick has accidentally quoted the original phrase, we have uniformly admired the singular felicity with which he has clothed the ideas of the Sultan in English expressions.

. . . . . 'Tipu

'Tipu Sultan, indeed,' he observes, 'rarely took up his pen, without its laying open some recess or other of his various and irregular mind. He seldom issues an order that does not bespeak, either the general tone of his nature, or the particular impulse of the moment. He seems to have felt no hesitation in avowing, in the course of the letters which follow, the most flagitious sentiments; and this may be accounted for on one or other, or on both, of these principles. The letters being, in the first place, addressed, with few exceptions, to persons in absolute dependence on him, he consequently would be wholly free from that sort of reserve which arises from the fear of incurring the censure or reproach of the world. He knew his will to be a law, the propriety of which, as it might concern others, would never be canvassed or doubted by any of his slaves. In the next place, he probably measured the sentiments in question by a different estimate from that with which we estimate them. Thus, the various murders and acts of treachery which we see him directing to be carried into execution, were not criminal, but, on the contrary, just, and even meritorious, in his eyes. They might, and most likely did, in a great degree proceed from a disposition naturally cruel and sanguinary; but, perhaps, an intolerant religious zeal and bigotry were not less active motives to them. The Koran taught him, that it was not necessary to keep faith with infidels, or the enemies of the true religion, in which class it was not difficult for him to persuade himself that it was right to include all who opposed, or refused to cooperate in, his views, for the extension of that religion; or, in other words, for his own aggrandisement. Hence it was, that our mussulman allies and subjects were scarcely less obnoxious to his hatred and vengeance than ourselves. With regard to the secret murder of his English prisoners, his dreadful slaughter of the Curgas and Naïrs, and his forcible conversion of so many thousands of the two latter tribes to the Mohamedan faith, he probably thought such enormities no less warranted, both by the example and precepts of the founder of his religion, than the infraction of oaths and engagements in his transactions with unbelievers.'

The aggregate of personal qualities, which passes under the name of "character," is the result of dispositions implanted by nature, modified by accidental impressions in childhood, by education in early youth, by profession, rank and fortune in manhood, as well as by the state of society and form of government. In all situations, these external or secondary causes produce so great an effect, that whatever may be the original disposition of individuals, our experience leads us to expect similar conduct in similar circumstances, and to rely more on the uniform effect of the latter, than on any peculiarity derived from nature. When we see Richard Cromwell spontaneously descend to the condition of a private citizen, our astonishment is naturally excited, because our experience did not lead us to expect such

such conduct, in such circumstances. But, had he wished to preserve the authority, it is quite evident that he must also have adopted the policy and the artifices of his father; and that the only apparent difference in their public character, would have resulted from the inferior degree of ability he would probably have displayed in prosecuting the same plans.

It may readily be imagined that no circumstance operates more powerfully in the formation of character than despotic power, and that the minds of all those who possess it will in general be actuated by the same motives, and influenced by the same trains of thinking. It would be wonderful, if the flattery of courtiers failed to inspire them with a high sense of their own merit; if obseqiousness to their caprices did not produce an universal contempt for the rest of mankind, and an opinion that their wishes ought to be gratified at whatever expense; and if their solitary grandeur did not render them callous to the misery of beings, whom they hardly deign to consider as participating of one common nature. Such, certainly, appears to be the natural effect of the unhappy circumstances in which Eastern sovereigns are placed; and, in reviewing the history of Asiatic states, there is more reason to wonder at the frequent exceptions to the general rule, than at the number of instances in which it is exemplified. Tipu Sultan did not figure as an exception; but his character was modified by other circumstances of a peculiar nature.

Although Tipu had long been recognised as successor to his father, and ascended the throne without opposition, it was still the throne of an usurper. For the maintenance of his authority, it was necessary to support a greater military establishment than the revenues of the country could afford; and the expedient which naturally presented itself was an extension of territory. Of his actual possessions, too, much had been wrested from the dominion of neighbouring states, who were naturally eager to seize on the first opportunity of regaining what they had lost. Of these states, almost all professed a religion different from his own; and this was also the religion of the majority of his subjects. It was therefore almost entirely on the zeal and attachment of his Moslem adherents that he depended, not only for success but for security; and to secure their exertions, the most effectual method was to blend religion with politics. Hence, all his wars became crusades. The extension of the faith became, of course, the motive and the apology for unprincipled aggression. And really, if we consider this pretext of the Sultan, with a reference to others made use of by kings and emperors nearer home, we do not see that it loses much

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by the comparison. Would it have been better if he had pretended that the distracted state of a neighbouring country had imperiously prescribed it to him as a duty to humanity, to put a stop to intestine commotion, by taking military possession? Should we have thought more favourably of him, if he had announced that Nature had marked out the limits of empires by distinct boundaries, the courses of deep rivers, and the ridges of lofty mountains; and that in extending his authority over all the countries south of the Godāveri, which was unquestionably the particular river Nature intended, he was only the instrument of fulfilling the divine intentions? Would it even have been much better, if he had given out that the legal authority of the Peshwa having been unduly weakened by the insubordination of his feudatory chiefs, it became necessary for him to place matters on their former footing, by establishing a vigorous government in the person of his own brother?—though the case, to be sure, *would* have been different, if, taking it for granted that the Mahrattas were on the point of seizing on the defenceless country of the Nizam, and thereby increasing their power, already too formidable, he had only stepped in, notwithstanding his unalterable affection for his august and venerable ally, to avert the blow, by seizing on as much of it as he could for himself.

On the whole, however, it must be confessed, that Tipu was not altogether successful in imparting a tinge of plausibility to his ambitious projects. Yet, his objects were precisely the same with those of many mighty monarchs and illustrious statesmen, his contemporaries; and though he was probably somewhat less scrupulous as to means, we rather think, that, in the hands of a judicious statesman of the modern school, the substance of his measures might have assumed a less revolting appearance. Let us try whether the Sultan's homely style may not be translated into very courtly and fashionable language.

Camreddin Khan, one of Tipu's generals, was employed in the siege of a fortress, subject to the Mahrattas. The following are his master's instructions. 'Agreeably to our former 'directions, let a capitulation be granted to the besieged, allowing them to depart with their arms and accoutrements. 'Cāli Pandit, with his family and kindred, and the principal 'bankers, must also be induced, by engagements, to descend 'from the fort; *upon doing which, they are to be placed under 'a guard, and ten lacs of pagodas to be demanded of them*, for 'the ravages committed in our territories. *If they pay this 'sum, it will be well. Otherwise they must be kept in confinement.* 'In short, you are, *by finesse*, to get the aforesaid Pandit, to-

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'gether with his kindred, and the bankers, out of the fort, 'and *then to secure their persons.*' The intentions of Tipu would have been equally well understood, if the Minister for the war department had expressed himself thus to M. le General. 'I have his Majesty's commands to inform you, that 'in order to put a speedy stop to the effusion of human blood, 'and for the sake of suffering humanity, you are hereby authorised to grant to the garrison of Nirguna whatever terms 'are most likely to induce them to an immediate surrender of 'that fortress. These terms, M. le General, you will doubtless observe with that rigid punctuality which has always distinguished the Sovereign whom we have the honour and happiness to serve. Besides the commandant, Cāli Pandit, there 'are a number of opulent bankers in the fort, whose property 'and persons might be exposed to much risk in the present 'unsettled state of that country. His Majesty expects, therefore, that you will pay particular attention to the safety of 'these interesting individuals; that you will appoint a guard 'of honour to attend their persons, and adopt every precaution for their entire security. As a mark of his gracious indulgence, his Majesty is willing to reduce to ten lacs of pagodas the damages sustained by his territories, which, at their 'perfect convenience, they will no doubt cheerfully reimburse 'before their departure.'

Again, in the year 1785, the city of Puna had been thrown into disorder by disputes between the Hindu and Mohamedan inhabitants, originating apparently in some female intrigue. Tipu's ambassadors appear successfully to have executed their influence for the restoration of order in the Mahratta capital; a conduct which procured for them the following very gracious letter from their master.

'To Nûr Mohamed Khân and Mohamed Ghias, dated from Bangalor, 5th Wāsāi, or 14th September.

'We have, of late, repeatedly heard, that Row Rāstā' (a Mahratta chief in Tipu's interest) 'having sent for you, you declined waiting upon him, on account of a dispute that had arisen respecting a woman belonging to some musulman; returning for answer to his message, that if they would let the woman in question go, you would attend him. This account has occasioned us the utmost surprise and astonishment. This is a domestic disturbance among the inhabitants of their own country. Where was the necessity of your interfering in this matter, or of refusing to wait upon Row Rasta, when he sent for you? thereby throwing our affairs into confusion. It seems to us that great years and old heads must have produced this change in your conduct, and rendered you thus unmindful of your lives and honour. It would have been most consonant to the state

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of the times, and to the regard you owed to our interests, if, *considering their dissensions as beneficial to Islam*, you had *secretly encouraged the musulmans in their proceedings*, whilst, to all appearance, you were unconcerned spectators; instead of interponing with such an extraordinary recommendation as you did; and which was, indeed, altogether unworthy of your understandings. When the Nazarenes (the English) seized upon hundreds of musulman women, where was the zeal for the honour of Islamism, which you are now so desirous of manifesting there? For the future, it will be proper that you should never take any share in their domestic concerns, but attend exclusively to whatever may promote the success of our affairs. *Let the fire of discord, therefore, be again kindled amongst them*, to the end that they may, in this manner, waste their strength upon each other.'

This letter seems to demonstrate, that the Sultan's fanaticism was very much under the direction of his policy. A more skilful writer might have conveyed the same instructions, in the language of European diplomacy, in a more agreeable form.

'I have his Majesty's commands to signify to your Excellency the concern which he has experienced at the measure you have recently adopted. In doing justice to the motives by which it was actuated, he conceives it incompatible with the dignity of his crown, to suffer it to pass without animadversion. If any one principle is more incontestably demonstrated than another, by the uniform tenor of his Majesty's government, it is his unalterable resolution never to interfere in the domestic concerns of neighbouring and friendly states. Your Excellency will appreciate the strictness with which his Majesty has determined to adhere to this principle, when you shall learn, that even to preserve the unsullied purity of the daughters of Islam, will not, in his eyes, justify a deviation from it. Your Excellency will therefore adopt every practicable measure to restore affairs to the precise posture in which they were at the time of your unfortunate interference. In carrying into execution a measure so indispensable for the glory of our Sovereign, you will inform the musulmans of the interest his Majesty takes in their concerns, and the shock his sensibility has experienced at the insults they have thus wantonly been exposed to. Your Excellency may also think it expedient to hint to them, that the station of the tenth military division is within fifteen days march of Puna.'

We have already stated, that of the acts and expressions supposed to arise from the personal character of the Sultan, many, we think, may be traced to the peculiar circumstances in which he found himself placed. To a man whose caprice is a law to thousands, it is a very natural, if not a logical conclusion, that he is as much their superior in wisdom as in authority. Tipu, consequently, was skilled in all sciences. His knowledge of medicine is proved by his condescending to prescribe for his officers

cers when indisposed;—and it would be a very pretty question to determine, whether it required most courage to swallow or to neglect the royal recipe. The following contains important instructions to physicians in a very alarming case.

'It has been reported to us, that the Mutusuddy of the Jaish, Crishna Row has been bitten by a mad dog: We therefore write to desire that you will give the aforesaid Mutusuddy in particular charge to the physician Mohamed Beg, who *must* administer to him the proper medicines in such cases, *and restore him to health.* He must also be told not to let the discharge from the wound stop, but to keep it open for six months.'

The following contains still more particular directions.

'Your letter of the 14th Behari was received this day; and has informed us of Dowlet Khan's being ill of the stone in the bladder: We have, in consequence sent by the post *an emetic* to be taken the first day, together with other proper medicines for the seven subsequent days. These are all separately made up in cloth, and sealed.

'The way of taking an emetic is this,' &c. 'The following morning a dose of the other medicine is to be taken in eight tolahs of syrup of abshakh and radish leaves. This course is to be pursued for seven days, during which the patient need not abstain from acids, but must avoid eating black and red pepper, and other heating and flatulent things. The diet should be curry of radishes with boiled rice; and his drink an infusion of musk melon seeds, cucumber seeds, and dog-thorn, of each half a tolah weight.'

To enable our readers to appreciate more fully the justice of the Sultan's pretensions to universal science, we subjoin his observations on that most important instrument, the barometer.

'The barometer which you sent us in charge of your Harcara, is in all respects very complete, *excepting* in the article of the quicksilver, which, *owing to its oldness*, does not move up and down. It is therefore returned to you; and you must send another good one in its stead, *that has been made in the present year.*'

To the effects of despotic authority on the mind, we are also inclined to attribute his extreme severity, on the slightest deviation from any of his regulations, however trivial, or however justifiable; and his aversion, on all occasions, to adopt the suggestions of others.

'You suggest,' says Tipu to one of his commercial agents, who had at the same time disclosed the failure of a favourite plan of the Sultan, 'the establishment of banking-houses on the part of government, and the appointment of a banker with a salary to superintend them. You also propose, with our permission, to open warehouses for the sale of cloths at Bangalor, Ousestra, and other places. It is comprehended. *There is no regulation issued by us, that does not cost us, in the framing of it, the deliberation of five hundred years.* This being the case, do you perform exactly what we order; neither exceeding our directions, nor suggesting any thing further from yourself.'

The letter we have just cited illustrates a trait which undoubtedly is solely referable to personal character,—the Sultan's avarice. He had already established a monopoly of wholesale commerce in the most important articles; and the plan, of which the failure had just been communicated, was no less than an attempt to introduce a similar monopoly in the retail trade, by the establishment of shops in various places, on his private account. Proofs of the most sordid parsimony, indeed, occur throughout his correspondence. We find his brother-in-law actually commanding an army on service, obliged to make a formal application to him for money to purchase clothes, and a very scanty sum reluctantly issued for that purpose. The Sultan appointed ambassadors, in 1785, to proceed to Constantinople, and eventually to prosecute their journey to Paris and London. On their arrival at the place of embarkation, they found the supplies of necessaries for the voyage altogether inadequate; and in Tipu's reply to their representation, they are informed that 'they must *compel*' some unhappy man on the spot 'to provide 'what is absolutely necessary;—but that, even though there 'should be some small deficiency, that should not be an excuse 'for their delay in setting off.'

The coolness and activity of his mind are strongly evinced by the following letter. 'He was,' says General Kirkpatrick, 'at 'the date of it, not only deliberating on the measures to be pursued with respect to Shanur; in planning the future operations 'of the war in which he was engaged; and in providing for the 'safety of Burhaneddin's army; but he was, in fact, on the eve 'of a general engagement with the Mahrattas. Yet, all these 'important and urgent considerations united, were not capable 'of diverting his attention from any of the minor objects of his 'interest. Thus, in the bustle of a camp, and in the face of an 'enemy, he could find leisure, and was sufficiently composed, 'to meditate on the rearing of silk worms!' The singularity of the circumstances induces us to insert the letter itself, as highly illustrative of the mind of the writer. It is addressed from his camp to the commandant of his capital.

'Behaeddin and Casturi Ranga, who were sent some time since to Bengal for the purpose of procuring silk worms, are now on their return. On their arrival, you must ascertain from them the proper situation in which to keep the aforesaid worms, and provide accordingly. You must, moreover, supply for their food leaves of the wild mulberry trees, which were formerly ordered to be planted for this purpose. The number of silk worms brought from Bengal must likewise be distinctly reported to us. We desire, also, to know, in what kind of place it is recommended to keep them, and what means are to be pursued for multiplying them.

'There

'There is a vacant spot of ground behind the old palace, lately used as a storehouse, which was purchased some time ago with a view of building upon it. Prepare a place somewhere near that situation for the temporary reception of the worms.'

Tipu Sultan was, undoubtedly, a prince of a vigorous understanding, unceasing activity, and undaunted courage. Ambition was the leading passion of his mind, to which every thing else was subordinate. Fanaticism might possibly be another; yet we find it, on most occasions, subservient to his ambition. An enlightened policy would have dictated the encouragement of agriculture, and the enforcement of a strict system of equal laws, as the surest means of becoming a great and powerful sovereign; but the gigantic schemes which agitated his breast, could not wait for the slow returns derived from a course of gradual improvement. His peasantry were harassed with ever-changing modes of extortion, which his neglect of the works erected by former sovereigns to supply the means of artificial irrigation, rendered them annually less able to satisfy. The favourite measure of his reign, of which he never lost sight, was a general confederacy of the Mohamedan nations, to expel, extirpate, or convert the unbelievers. Fortunately for the world, none of them were in circumstances to cooperate efficaciously in his designs. The monarchs of Turkey, of Persia, of Cabul, and of Dehli, with difficulty supported their own tottering sway; whilst the Nizam, the Vizier, and the Nuab of the Carnatic were numbered amongst his opponents; and, in his estimation, little better than infidels. The talents, activity, and courage of Tipu, all sunk before the disciplined valour, and enlightened combination of an European army; yet it appears probable, that if the English had possessed no dominion in India, this restless and enterprizing prince might have founded an empire, vast as his ambition. Cruelty and avarice were the worst features of his mind.

Had the reign of this tyrant been of long duration, or had he established a dynasty, it must have added much to the labour of future geographers and chronologers. In his reign, the old Mohamedan era was set aside, and another substituted, which, although from its name it should date from the birth of the prophet, yet as, on that supposition, only thirteen years must have elapsed between the birth of Mohamed and his flight, appears rather to refer to his mission, or the period when he first announced himself as the messenger of God. A new calendar was introduced, and afterwards changed; and, in the course of his reign, the months twice received new Arabic names. The Indian appellations of most of the considerable places in his dominions were also set aside, and new ones substituted, chiefly derived from

Moslem tradition. These acts may possibly have flowed from unmeaning caprice, or childish vanity; and to these they have usually been attributed. We confess, however, that they appear to us to have formed a part of his general plan for rekindling the latent flame of Moslem valour, and again leading forth the soldiers of Islam, fired with the same enthusiasm which carried the followers of the first Khalifs to conquest and victory. His dreams, his omens, and latterly his pretensions to inspiration, all seem to us to flow from the same source.

The turbulent spirit of the Sultan, and the mystery in which he enveloped his proceedings, by cutting off all communication with the territories subject to the East India Company, rendered him, during a long period, an object of constant solicitude to their governors. Although no way distrustful of the event, should war become necessary, they found themselves obliged, by his imposing attitude, to delay the execution of reforms, which required for their success a certainty of peace with all the considerable states. Hence every thing that had relation to him acquired an unusual importance in the minds of our Indian statesmen. His present measures, and his future views, both wrapped in equal obscurity from the want of all authentic intelligence from Moisur, sometimes baffled, and always exercised their sagacity. On the other hand, the tremendous events which, during his reign, convulsed Europe, have probably prevented him from engaging that portion of attention in this country, which his character, designs and resources, really ought to have secured him.

ART. VI. *The Isle of Palms, and other Poems.* By John Wilson. 8vo. pp. 415. Edinburgh and London. 1812.

THIS is a new recruit to the company of lake poets;—and one who, from his present bearing, promises, we think, not only to do them good service, and to rise to high honours in the corps; but to raise its name, and advance its interests even among the tribes of the unbelievers. Though he wears openly the badge of their peculiarities, and professes the most humble devotion to their great captain, Mr Wordsworth, we think he has kept clear of several of the faults that may be imputed to his preceptors; and assumed, upon the whole, a more attractive and conciliating air, than the leaders he has chosen to follow. He has the same predilection, indeed, for engrafting powerful emotions on ordinary occurrences; and the same tendency to push all

his emotions a great deal too far—the same disdain of all worldly enjoyments and pursuits—and the same occasional mistakes, as to energy and simplicity of diction, which characterize the works of his predecessors. But he differs from them in this very important particular, that though he does generally endeavour to raise a train of lofty and pathetic sensations upon very trifling incidents and familiar objects, and frequently pursues them to a great height of extravagance and exaggeration, he is scarcely ever guilty of the offence of building them upon a foundation that is ludicrous or purely fantastic. He makes more, to be sure, of a sleeping child, or a lonely cataract—and flies into greater raptures about female purity and moonlight landscapes, and fine dreams, and flowers, and singing-birds—than most other poets permit themselves to do,—though it is of the very essence of poetry to be enraptured with such things:—But he does not break out into any ecstacies about spades or sparrows' eggs—or men gathering leeches—or women in duffle cloaks—or plates and porringers—or washing tubs—or any of those baser themes which poetry was always permitted to disdain, without any impeachment of her affability, till Mr Wordsworth thought fit to force her into an acquaintance with them.

Though Mr Wilson may be extravagant, therefore, he is not perverse; and though the more sober part of his readers may not be able to follow him to the summit of his sublimer sympathies, they cannot be offended at the invitation, or even refuse to grant him their company to a certain distance on the journey. The objects for which he seeks to interest them, are all objects of natural interest; and the emotions which he connects with them, are, in some degree, associated with them in all reflecting minds. It is the great misfortune of Mr Wordsworth, on the contrary, that he is exceedingly apt to make choice of subjects which are not only unfit in themselves to excite any serious emotion, but naturally present themselves to ordinary minds as altogether ridiculous; and, consequently, to revolt and disgust his readers by an appearance of paltry affectation, or incomprehensible conceit. We have the greatest respect for the genius of Mr Wordsworth, and the most sincere veneration for all we have heard of his character; but it is impossible to contemplate the injury he has done to his reputation by this poor ambition of originality, without a mixed sensation of provocation and regret. We are willing to take it for granted, that the spades and the eggs, and the tubs which he commemorates, actually suggested to him all the emotions and reflexions of which he has chosen to make them the vehicles; but they surely are not the only objects which have suggested similar emotions; and we really cannot understand why the circumstance

of

of their being quite unfit to suggest them to any other person, should have recommended them as their best accompaniments in an address to the public. We do not want Mr Wordsworth to write like Pope or Prior, nor to dedicate his muse to subjects which he does not himself think interesting. We are prepared, on the contrary, to listen with a far deeper delight to the songs of his mountain solitude, and to gaze on his mellow pictures of simple happiness and affection, and his lofty sketches of human worth and energy; and we only beg, that we may have these nobler elements of his poetry, without the debasement of childish language, mean incidents, and incongruous images. We will not run the risk of offending him, by hinting at the prosperity of Scott, or Campbell, or Crabbe; but he cannot be scandalized, we think, if we refer him to the example of the dutiful disciple and fervent admirer who is now before us; and entreat him to consider whether he may not conscientiously abstain from those peculiarities which even Mr Wilson has not thought it safe to imitate.

Mr Wilson is not free from some of the faults of diction, which we think belong to his school. He is occasionally mystical, and not seldom childish: But he has less of these peculiarities than most of his associates: and there is one more important fault from which, we think, he has escaped altogether. We allude now to the offensive assumption of exclusive taste, judgment and morality which pervades most of the writings of this tuneful brotherhood. There is a tone of tragic, keen and intolerant reprobation in all the censures they bestow, that is not a little alarming to ordinary sinners. Every thing they do not like is accursed, and pestilent, and inhuman; and they can scarcely differ from any body upon a point of criticism, politics or metaphysics, without wondering what a heart he must have; and expressing, not merely dissent, but loathing and abhorrence. Neither is it very difficult to perceive, that they think it barely possible for any one to have any just notion of poetry, any genuine warmth of affection or philanthropy, or any large views as to the true principles of happiness and virtue, who does not agree with them in most of their vagaries, and live a life very nearly akin to that which they have elected for themselves. The inhabitants of towns, therefore, and most of those who are engaged in the ordinary business or pleasures of society, are cast off without ceremony as *demoralized* and *denaturalized* beings; and it would evidently be a considerable stretch of charity in these new apostles of taste and wisdom, to believe that any one of this description could have a genuine relish for the beauties of nature—could feel any ardent or devoted attachment to another,—or even comprehend the great principles

upon which private and public virtue must be founded.—Mr Wilson, however, does not seem to believe in the necessity of this extraordinary monopoly; but speaks with a tone of indulgent and open sociality, which is as engaging as the jealous and assuming manner of some of his models is offensive. The most striking characteristic, indeed, as well as the great charm, of the volume before us, is the spirit of warm and unaffected philanthropy which breathes over every page of it—that delighted tenderness with which the writer dwells on the bliss of childhood, and the dignity of female innocence—and that young enthusiasm which leads him to luxuriate in the description of beautiful nature and the joys of a life of retirement. If our readers can contrive to combine these distinguishing features with our general reference of the author to the school of Wordsworth and Southey, they will have as exact a conception of his poetical character as can be necessary to prepare them for a more detailed account of the works that are now offered to their perusal.

The most considerable of these is 'The Isle of Palms,' which, though it engrosses the whole title-page, fills considerably less than half the volume,—and perhaps not the most attractive half. It is a strange, wild story of two lovers that were wrecked in the Indian Sea, and marvellously saved on an uninhabited, but lovely island, when all the rest of the crew were drowned;—of their living there, in peace and blessedness, for six or seven years—and being at last taken off, with a lovely daughter, who had come to cheer their solitude—by an English ship of war, and landed in the arms of the lady's mother, who had passed the long interval of their absence in one unremitting agony of hope and despair. This, in point of fact, is the whole of the story,—and nearly all the circumstances that are detailed in the four long cantos which cover the first 180 pages of the volume before us: For never, certainly, was there a poem, pretending to have a story, in which there was so little narrative; and in which the descriptions and reflections bore such a monstrous proportion to the facts and incidents out of which they arise. This piece is in irregular rhymed verse, like the best parts of Mr Southey's Kehama; to which, indeed, it bears a pretty close resemblance, both in the luxuriance of the descriptions, the tenderness of the thoughts, the copiousness of the diction, and the occasional harmony of the versification, —though it is perhaps still more diffuse and redundant. To some of our readers, this intimation will be quite enough; but the majority, we believe, will be glad to hear a little more of it.

The first canto describes the gallant ship, in the third month of

of her outward bound voyage, sailing over the quiet sea in a lovely moonlight evening, and the two lovers musing and conversing on the deck. There are great raptures about the beauty of the ship and the moon,—and pretty characters of the youth and the maiden in the same tone of ecstasy. Just as the sky is kindling with the summer dawn, and the freshness of morning rippling over the placid waters, the vessel strikes on a sunken rock, and goes down almost instantly. This catastrophe is described, we think, with great force and effect;—allowance being always made for the peculiarities of the school to which the author belongs. He begins with a view of the ship just before the accident.

'Her giant-form
O'er wrathful surge, through blackening storm,
Majestically calm, would go
Mid the deep darkness white as snow!
But gently now the small waves glide
Like playful lambs o'er a mountain's side,
So stately her bearing, so proud her array,
The main she will traverse for ever and aye.
Many ports will exult at the gleam of her mast!
---Hush! hush! thou vain dreamer! this hour is her last.
Five hundred souls in one instant of dread
Are hurried o'er the deck;
And fast the miserable ship
Becomes a lifeless wreck.
Her keel hath struck on a hidden rock,
Her planks are torn asunder,
And down come her masts with a reeling shock,
And a hideous crash like thunder.
Her sails are draggled in the brine
That gladdened late the skies,
And her pendant that kiss'd the fair moonshine
Down many a fathom lies.
Her beauteous sides, whose rainbow hues
Gleam'd softly from below,
And flung a warm and sunny flush
O'er the wreaths of murmuring snow,
To the coral rocks are hurrying down
To sleep amid colours as bright as their own.
Oh! many a dream was in the ship
An hour before her death;
And sights of home with sighs disturb'd
The sleepers' long-drawn breath.
Instead of the murmur of the sea
The sailor heard the humming tree
Alive through all its leaves,

The

The hum of the spreading sycamore
That grows before his cottage-door,
And the swallow's song in the eaves.
His arms inclosed a blooming boy,
Who listen'd with tears of sorrow and joy
To the dangers his father had pass'd;
And his wife---by turns she wept and smiled,
As she look'd on the father of her child
Return'd to her heart at last.
---He wakes at the vessel's sudden roll,
And the rush of waters is in his soul.' p. 32--34.

'Now is the ocean's bosom bare,
Unbroken as the floating air;
The ship hath melted quite away,
Like a struggling dream at break of day.
No image meets my wandering eye
But the new-risen sun, and the sunny sky.
Though the night-shades are gone, yet a vapour dull
Bedims the waves so beautiful;
While a low and melancholy moan
Mourns for the glory that hath flown.' p. 36.

The second canto begins with a very absurd expostulation to the Moon, for having let the good ship be lost after shining so sweetly upon it. Nothing but the singular infatuation which seems to be epidemic on the banks of Winander, could have led a man of Mr Wilson's abilities to write such lines as the following.

'Oh vain belief! most beauteous as thou art,
Thy heavenly visage hides a cruel heart.'

And a little after,

'Wilt thou not then thy once-lov'd vessel miss,
And wish her happy, now that she is gone?
But then, sad moon! too late thy grief will be;
Fair as thou art, thou can'st not move the sea.'

After this wild fit, however, has spent itself, we are conducted to a little sea-beat rock, where the unhappy lover finds himself stretched in horrible solitude; and where, in a sort of entranced slumber, he has a vision of a blissful land, over which he seems to wander with his beloved. On opening his eyes, he finds her actually leaning over him; and, by and by, the ship's pinnace comes floating alongside, with its oars and sails ready for immediate service. They embark with holy hope and confidence; and, at the close of evening, reach a shady and solitary shore, where they kneel down and return thanks to Providence.

The third canto is filled almost entirely with the description of this enchanted island, and of the blissful life which these lo-

vers

vers lived in its beautiful seclusion; and, certainly, a more glowing picture of Elysium has not often been brought before us, than is contained in these pages: such shades and flowers—and wooded steeps—and painted birds—and sunny bays and cascades—and dewy vales and thickets—and tufted lawns!—The following are but cold and tame citations.

'There, groves that bloom in endless spring
Are rustling to the radiant wing
Of birds, in various plumage bright
As rainbow-hues, or dawning light.
Soft-falling showers of blossoms fair
Float ever on the fragrant air,
Like showers of vernal snow,
And from the fruit-tree, spreading tall,
The richly ripen'd clusters fall
Oft as sea-breezes blow.
The sun and clouds alone possess
The joy of all that loveliness.
How silent lies each shelter'd bay!
No other visitors have they
To their shores of silvery sand,
Than the waves that, murmuring in their glee,
All hurrying in a joyful band
Come dancing from the sea.' p. 75, 76.

'Like fire, strange flowers around them flame,
Sweet, harmless fire, breathed from some magic urn,
The silky gossamer that may not burn,
Too wildly beautiful to bear a name.
And when the Ocean sends a breeze,
To wake the music sleeping in the trees,
Trees scarce they seem to be; for many a flower,
Radiant as dew, or ruby polish'd bright,
Glances on every spray, that bending light
Around the stem, in variegated bows,
Appear like some awakened fountain-shower,
That with the colours of the evening glows.
And towering o'er these beauteous woods,
Gigantic rocks were ever dimly seen,
Breaking with solemn grey the tremulous green,
And frowning far in castellated pride;
While, hastening to the Ocean, hoary floods
Sent up a thin and radiant mist between,
Softening the beauty that it could not hide.
Lo! higher still the stately Palm-trees rise,
Checquering the clouds with their unbending stems,
And o'er the clouds amid the dark-blue skies,
Lifting their rich unfading diadems.' p. 87, 88.

On

On the first Sabbath day, they take each other for husband and wife; and five or six years pass over, the reader does not well know how;—and still we find them enraptured with their flowers and their birds, and their own prayers, songs, and meditations. All at once a fairy child comes singing down a mountain, in a frock of peacock's feathers;—and we find they have a lovely daughter.

'Sing on! Sing on! It is a lovely air.
Well could thy mother sing it when a maid:
Yet strange it is in this wild Indian glade,
To list a tune that breathes of nothing there,
A tune that by his mountain springs,
Beside his slumbering lambkins fair,
The Cambrian shepherd sings.
Up yon steep hill's unbroken side,
Behold the little Fairy glide.
Though free her breath, untired her limb,
For through the air she seems to swim,
Yet oft she stops to look behind
On them below;---till with the wind
She flies again, and on the hill-top far
Shines like the spirit of the evening star.
Nor lingers long: as if a sight
Half-fear, half-wonder, urged her flight,
In rapid motion, winding still
To break the steepness of the hill,
With leaps, and springs, and outstretch'd arms,
More graceful in her vain alarms,
The child outstrips the Ocean gale,
In haste to tell her wondrous tale.
Her parents' joyful hearts admire,
Of peacock's plumes her glancing tire,
All bright with tiny suns,
And the gleamings of the feathery gold,
That play along each wavy fold
Of her mantle as she runs.' p. 113, 114, 115.

The blessed babe comes to tell of a strange sight she has seen on the sea; and her father soon discovers it to be a ship steering towards their shore.

'"How beautiful upon the wave
"The vessel sails, who comes to save!
"Fitting it was that first she shone
"Before the wondering eyes of one,
"So beautiful as thou.
"See how before the wind she goes,
"Scattering the waves like melting snows!" &c.
They cast their eyes around the isle:

But

But what a change is there!
For ever fled that *lonely* smile
That lay on earth and air,
That made its haunts so still and holy,
Almost for bliss too melancholy,
For life too wildly fair.
Gone---gone is all its loneliness,
And with it much of loveliness.
Into each deep glen's dark recess,
The day-shine pours like rain,
So strong and sudden is the light
Reflected from that wonder bright,
Now tilting o'er the Main.
Soon as the thundering cannon spoke,
The voice of the evening-gun,
The spell of the enchantment broke,
Like dew beneath the sun.' p. 118, 119.

The fourth and last canto carries us back to England, and to the woes of the despairing mother, whose daughter had embarked so many years before, in that ill-fated ship, of which no tidings had ever reached her home. After pining in agony for years in her native Wales, she had been drawn by an irresistible impulse to take up her abode in the sea-port from which she had seen her beloved child depart, and to gaze daily on the devouring waters in which she believed her to be entombed. The following lines we think are pathetic.

'And now that seven long years are flown,
Though spent in anguish and alone,
How short the time appears!
She looks upon the billowy main,
And the parting-day returns again.
Each breaking wave she knows;
And when she listens to the tide,
Her child seems standing by her side;
So like the past it flows.
She starts to hear the city bell;
So toll'd it when they wept farewell!
She thinks the self-same smoke and cloud
The city domes and turrets shroud;
The same keen flash of ruddy fire
Is burning on the lofty spire;
The grove of masts is standing there
Unchanged, with all their ensigns fair;
The same, the stir, the tumult, and the hum,
As from the city to the shore they come.' p. 157, 158.

As she is lingering one sunny day on the beach, a shout is raised for the approach of a long expected vessel; and multitudes hurry

hurry out to meet their returning friends and relations. The unhappy mother flies, sick at heart, from the joyful scene of congratulation; but strange murmurs pursue her in her retreat,

'Dark words she hears among the crowd,
Of a ship that hath on board
Three christian souls, who on the coast
Of some wild land were wreck'd long years ago,
When all but they were in a tempest lost;
And they are speaking of a child,
Who looks more beautifully wild
Than pictured fairy in Arabian tale;
Wondrous her foreign garb, they say,
Adorn'd with starry plumage gay,
While round her head tall feathers play,
And dance with every gale.' p. 165, 166.

She turns in breathless impatience, and sees the sailors rushing eagerly to the embraces of their wives and children—but

'—No sailor, he, so fondly pressing
Yon fair child in his arms,
Her eyes, her brow, her bosom kissing,
And bidding her with many a blessing
To hush her vain alarms.
How fair that creature by his side!
Who smiles with languid glee,
Slow-kindling from a mother's pride!
Oh! thou alone may'st be
The mother of that fairy child.
These tresses dark, these eyes so wild,
That face with spirit beautified,
She owes them all to thee.
Silent and still the sailors stand,
To see the meeting strange that now befel.
Unwilling sighs their manly bosoms swell,
And o'er their eyes they draw the sun-burnt hand,
To hide the tears that grace their cheeks so well.' p. 167, 168.

They then all retire to the romantic shades of their native Wales; and the piece concludes with another apostrophe to that fairy child, who seems to have chiefly possessed the raised imagination of the author.

'O, happy parents of so sweet a child,
Your share of grief already have you known;
But long as that fair spirit is your own,
To either lot you must be reconciled.
Dear was she in yon palmy grove,
When fear and sorrow mingled with your love,
And oft you wished that she had ne'er been born;
While, in the most delightful air

'The

Th' angelic infant sang, at times her voice,
That seem'd to make even lifeless things rejoice,
Woke, on a sudden, dreams of dim despair,
As if it breathed, "For me, an orphan, mourn!"
Now can they listen when she sings
With mournful voice of mournful things,
Almost too sad to hear;
And when she chaunts her evening-hymn,
Glad smile their eyes, even as they swim
With many a gushing tear.
Each day she seems to them more bright
And beautiful,—a gleam of light
That plays and dances o'er the shadowy earth!
It fadeth not in gloom or storm,—
For nature charter'd that aërial form
In yonder fair Isle when she bless'd her birth!
The Isle of Palms!—whose forests tower again,
Darkening with solemn shade the face of heaven!
Now far away they like the clouds are driven,
And as the passing night-wind dies my strain!' p. 178, 179.

We are rather unwilling to subjoin any remarks on a poem, of which, even from the slight account we have given of it, we are aware that the opinion of different readers will be so different. To those who delight in wit, sarcasm, and antithesis, the greater part of it will appear mere raving and absurdity;—to such as have an appetite chiefly for crowded incidents and complicated adventures, it will seem diffuse and empty;—and even by those who seek in poetry for the delineation of human feelings and affections, it will frequently be felt as too ornate and ostentatious. The truth is, that it has by far too much of the dreaminess and intoxication of the fancy about it, and is by far too much expanded; and though it will afford great delight to those who are most capable and most worthy of being delighted, there are none whom it will not sometimes dazzle with its glare, and sometimes weary with its repetitions.

The next poem in the volume is perhaps of a still more hazardous description. It is entitled 'The Angler's Tent;' and fills little less than thirty pages with the description of an afternoon's visit which the author had the pleasure of receiving from the simple inhabitants around Wast-Water, when he and Mr Wordsworth and some other friends had pitched their tent on the banks of that sequestered lake, one beautiful Sunday, in the course of a fishing excursion among the mountains. It is one of the boldest experiments we have lately met with, of the possibility of maintaining the interest of a long poem without any extraordinary

traordinary incident, or any systematic discussion; and, for our own parts, we are inclined to think that it is a successful one. There are few things, at least, which we have lately read, that have pleased or engaged us more than the picture of simple innocence and artless delight which is here drawn, with a truth and modesty of colouring far more attractive, in our apprehension, than the visionary splendours of the Isle of Palms. The novelty of the white tent, gleaming like an evening cloud by the edge of the still waters, had attracted the curiosity of the rustic worshippers, it seems, as they left the little chapel in the dell; and they came in successive groupes, by land and by water, to gaze on the splendid apparition. The kind-hearted anglers received them with all the gentleness and hospitality of Isaac Walton himself; and we sincerely compassionate the reader who is not both touched and soothed with the following amiable representation.

'And thus our tent a joyous scene became,
Where loving hearts from distant vales did meet
As at some rural festival, and greet
Each other with glad voice and kindly name.
Here a pleased daughter to her father smiled,
With fresh affection in her soften'd eyes;
He in return look'd back upon his child
With gentle start and tone of mild surprise:
And on his little grandchild, at her breast,
An old man's blessing and a kiss bestow'd,
Or to his cheek the lisping baby prest,
Light'ning the mother of her darling load;
While comely matrons, all sedately ranged
Close to their husbands' or their children's side,
A neighbour's friendly greeting interchanged,
And each her own with frequent glances eyed,
And raised her head in all a mother's harmless pride.
Happy were we among such happy hearts!
And to inspire with kindliness and love
Our simple guests, ambitiously we strove,
With novel converse and endearing arts!
The gray-hair'd men with deep attention heard,
Viewing the speaker with a solemn face,
While round our feet the playful children stirr'd,
And near their parents took their silent place,
Listening with looks where wonder breathed a glowing grace.
And much they gazed with never-tired delight
On varnish'd rod, with joints that shone like gold,
And silken line on glittering reel enroll'd,
To infant anglers a most wondrous sight!
Scarce could their chiding parents then control

Their

Their little hearts in harmless malice gay,
But still one, bolder than his fellows, stole
To touch the tempting treasures where they lay.
What rapture glistened in their eager eyes,
When, with kind voice, we bade these children take
A precious store of well-dissembled flies,
To use with caution for the strangers' sake!
The unlook'd-for gift we graciously bestow
With sudden joy the leaping heart o'erpowers;
They grasp the lines, while all their faces glow
Bright as spring blossoms after sunny showers,
And wear them in their hats like wreaths of valley flowers!'

p. 197-199.

The following picture of the mountain damsels is equally engaging.

'Well did the roses blooming on their cheek,
And eyes of laughing light, that glisten'd fair
Beneath the artless ringlets of their hair,
Each maiden's health and purity bespeak.
Following the impulse of their simple will,
No thought had they to give or take offence;
Glad were their bosoms, yet sedate and still,
And fearless in the strength of innocence.
Oft as, in accents mild, we strangers spoke
To these sweet maidens, an unconscious smile
Like sudden sunshine o'er their faces broke,
And with it struggling blushes mix'd the while.
And oft as mirth and glee went laughing round,
Breath'd in this maiden's ear some harmless jest
Would make her, for one moment, on the ground
Her eyes let fall, as wishing from the rest
To hide the sudden throb that beat within her breast.'

p. 205, 206.

The delighted guests depart by moonlight; and while they are climbing the shadowy hills, their entertainers raise a splendid bonfire to light them on their way, and hear new clamours of acclamation ring round all the awakened echoes. The following are some of the concluding reflections, which not only do great honour to Mr Wilson's powers of composition, but show him to be habitually familiar with thoughts and affections, far more to be envied than the fading renown that genius has ever won for her votaries.

'Yet, though the strangers and their tent have past
Away, like snow that leaves no mark behind,
Their image lives in many a guiltless mind,
And long within the shepherd's cot shall last.
Oft when, on winter night, the crowded seat
Is closely wheel'd before the blazing fire,

Then

Then will he love with grave voice to repeat
(He, the gray-headed venerable sire,)
The conversation he with us did hold
On moral subjects, he had studied long;
And some will jibe the maid who was so bold
As sing to strangers readily a song.
Then they unto each other will recal
Each little incident of that strange night,
And give their kind opinion of us all.
God bless their faces smiling in the light
Of their own cottage-hearth! O, fair subduing sight!

p. 215---216.

The same tenderness of thought and warmth of imagination are visible in the lines addressed to a Sleeping Child; from which we shall make a few detached extracts. It begins,

'Art thou a thing of mortal birth,
Whose happy home is on our earth?
Does human blood with life embue
Those wandering veins of heavenly blue,
That stray along thy forehead fair,
Lost 'mid a gleam of golden hair?
Oh! can that light and airy breath
Steal from a being doom'd to death;
Those features to the grave be sent
In sleep thus mutely eloquent;
Or, art thou, what thy form would seem,
The phantom of a blessed dream?'

'Oh! that my spirit's eye could see
Whence burst those gleams of extasy!
That light of dreaming soul appears
To play from thoughts above thy years.
Thou smil'st as if thy soul were soaring
To heaven, and heaven's God adoring!
And who can tell what visions high
May bless an infant's sleeping eye?
What brighter throne can brightness find
To reign on than an infant's mind,
Ere sin destroy, or error dim,
The glory of the seraphim?'

'Oh! vision fair! that I could be
Again, as young, as pure as thee!
Vain wish! the rainbow's radiant form
May view, but cannot brave the storm;
Years can bedim the gorgeous dyes
That paint the bird of paradise,
And years, so fate hath order'd, roll
Clouds o'er the summer of the soul,'

'Fair was that face as break of dawn,
When o'er its beauty sleep was drawn
Like a thin veil that half-conceal'd
The light of soul, and half-reveal'd.
While thy hush'd heart with visions wrought,
Each trembling eye-lash mov'd with thought,
And things we dream, but ne'er can speak,
Like clouds came floating o'er thy cheek,
Such summer-clouds as travel light,
When the soul's heaven lies calm and bright;
Till thou awok'st,---then to thine eye
Thy whole heart leapt in extacy!
And lovely is that heart of thine,
Or sure these eyes could never shine
With such a wild, yet bashful glee,
Gay, half-o'ercome timidity!'

We have now quoted enough, we believe, to give our readers a pretty just idea of the character of Mr Wilson's poetry. We shall add but one little specimen of his blank verse; which seems to us to be formed, like that of all his school, on the model of Akenside's; and to combine, with a good deal of his diffuseness, no ordinary share of its richness and beauty. There are some fine solemn lines on the Spring, from which we take the following, almost at random.

'———The great Sun,
Scattering the clouds with a resistless smile,
Came forth to do thee homage; a sweet hymn
Was by the low winds chaunted in the sky;
And when thy feet descended on the earth,
Scarce could they move amid the clustering flowers
By nature strewn o'er valley, hill, and field,
To hail her blest deliverer!—Ye fair trees,
How are ye changed, and changing while I gaze!
It seems as if some gleam of verdant light
Fell on you from a rainbow; but it lives
Amid your tendrils, brightening every hour
Into a deeper radiance. Ye sweet birds,
Were you asleep through all the wintry hours,
Beneath the waters, or in mossy caves?
———Yet are ye not,
Sporting in tree and air, more beautiful
Than the young lambs, that from the valley-side
Send a soft bleating like an infant's voice,
Half happy, half afraid! O blessed things!
At sight of this your perfect innocence,
The sterner thoughts of manhood melt away
Into a mood as mild as woman's dreams.
The strife of working intellect, the stir

Of

Of hopes ambitious, the disturbing sound
Of fame, and all that worshipp'd pageantry
That ardent spirits burn for in their pride,
Fly like disparting clouds, and leave the soul
Pure and serene as the blue depths of heaven.' 249---250.

There is a very sweet and touching monody on the death of Grahame, the much-lamented and most amiable author of the "Sabbath" and other poems; from which we shall indulge ourselves by making one more extract. The moral character of Mr Wilson's poetry is, throughout, very much the same with that of the friend he here commemorates; and, in this particular piece, he has fallen very much into his manner also.

'Some chosen books by pious men compos'd,
Kept from the dust, in every cottage lye
Through the wild loneliness of Scotia's vales,
Beside the Bible, by whose well-known truths
All human thoughts are by the peasant tried.
O blessed privilege of nature's bard!
To cheer the house of virtuous poverty,
With gleams of light more beautiful than oft
Play o'er the splendours of the palace wall.
Methinks I see a fair and lovely child
Sitting composed upon his mother's knee,
And reading with a low and lisping voice
Some passage from the Sabbath, while the tears
Stand in his little eyes so softly blue,
Till, quite o'ercome with pity, his white arms
He twines around her neck, and hides his sighs
Most infantine, within her gladden'd breast,
Like a sweet lamb, half sportive, half afraid,
Nestling one moment 'neath its bleating dam.
And now the happy mother kisses oft
The tender-hearted child, lays down the book,
And asks him if he doth remember still
The stranger who once gave him, long ago,
A parting kiss, and blest his laughing eyes!
His sobs speak fond remembrance, and he weeps
To think so kind and good a man should die.' p. 411-412.

We now lay aside this volume with regret: for though it has many faults, it has a redeeming spirit, both of fancy and of kindness, about it, which will not let them be numbered. It has, moreover, the charm of appearing to be written less from ambition of praise, than from the direct and genuine impulse of the feelings which it expresses; and though we cannot undertake to defend it from the scorn of the learned, or the ridicule of the witty, we are very much mistaken if it does not afford a great deal of pleasure to many persons almost as well worth pleasing.

ART. VII. *Observations on the Criminal Law of England, as it relates to Capital Punishments; and on the Mode in which it is administered.* By Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY. 8vo. pp. 76. Cadell & Davies. London, 1810.

WE owe an apology, we believe, both to our readers, and to the distinguished author of the work before us, for having so long delayed to enter upon an examination of the subject to which it relates. Various accidental circumstances, and several interruptions, of a nature alluded to in our last Number, have occurred to prevent us: Nor do we purpose, at this time, to attempt exhausting the topics which it presents for our consideration, but rather to introduce them, and lay the foundation of a series of discussions, which we may pursue at a future period. The honour of cooperating, in how humble soever a path, with such a man as Sir Samuel Romilly, in so grand a cause, is sufficient to gratify a far loftier ambition than ours.

There is a tendency in man, connected with some of the least unamiable weaknesses of our nature, to reverence with an undue observance established practices and existing institutions, merely because they have been handed down through a succession of ages, and owe their origin to a period of society, in which, as Lord Bacon sagaciously remarks, the world was by so many ages younger and less experienced than it is in our own times. This feeling, while it resists the changes by which customs, and systems of polity, would otherwise be insensibly adapted to the changes which, in spite of us, are constantly going on in the circumstances of society, persuades us, at the same time, that there is a virtue in those very incongruities, rendered every day more apparent, between ancient arrangements and the state of things, wholly unforeseen by their authors, to which they are now applied. Thus, by a strange refinement of self-complacency, we ascribe to design, effects produced, not by human contrivance, but in spite of it,—nay, in counteraction of it,—and actually give our ancestors credit for having intended that the same plan should work for some ages in one direction, and then for so many more in the very opposite. It is not easy to imagine, that any thing but the most entire thoughtlessness could, for a moment, so far supersede the evidence of facts, and the authority of common sense, as to impose such dreams upon our belief.

The most noted example of this delusion meets us in the great question of Reform, in both its branches. Broach the subject of Parliamentary Reform, and you are sure to be met with an inflated panegyric of the present system of representation,—contrived by the wisdom of our forefathers to attain the

utmost degree of perfection, and unite freedom, stability, and tranquillity. After an invective against reformers, as mere speculatists and theorists, a piece of the purest theory, the most unreal fancy-work is presented, which you are desired to regard as the true mechanism of the constitution. It was fashioned, we are assured, upon the principle of *virtual* representation—or, at least, a mixture of real and virtual representation, for the purpose of forming an assemblage of persons of all classes, capacities and endowments—some actually and publicly delegated, and others chosen by themselves or a few private nominators. The system of Rotten boroughs is thus recommended as the ancient British constitution;—and whoever is foolish enough to doubt, that our ancestors actually designed the stone walls of Gatton and Old Sarum to return as many members as Yorkshire and Lancashire, must be accused of *innovation!* Nor is this a statement merely held out *in terrorem* of rash speculators. We verily believe, that there are various worthy characters, in different parts of the country, who feel grateful to their forefathers for the wholesome and constitutional invention of *decayed* boroughs. In like manner, when you attack sinecures, or offices of which the progress of time has suppressed the duties, and augmented the emoluments, you are again charged with a newfangled disrespect for the wisdom of ages;—as if, in the nature of things, a sinecure itself could possibly be other than an innovation;—and as if our ancestors ever contemplated the uses ascribed to such places, any more than they foresaw the constitutional virtue of parliamentary elections by uninhabited towns. Thus, those changes which time is constantly making, are overlooked,—except it be for the purpose of imputing the abuses which steal upon the system, to wisdom and design; and all attempts to accommodate ourselves to those unavoidable changes—that is, to keep things, upon the whole, in their ancient and intended relation to each other—to maintain the order and arrangement contrived by our forefathers, are stigmatized as mere innovations.

The same delusion prevails, for want of but a very little reflexion, respecting several parts of our judicial system. It may safely be asserted, that no law was ever made in the world without the design of carrying it into effect; and yet nothing is more common than to hear the praises of that wise *provision* (as it is called) of the English law, by which severe punishments are denounced, while mild ones only are inflicted. When the severer statutes were passed, the manners of the age were different. The changes which have gradually softened the character and habits of the people, have made many of those laws a dead letter; but we are taught to praise this discrepancy between the theory

theory and practice of our jurisprudence, as if it were a positive good; and to venerate it as if it had been the result of design in our ancestors,—who, we must therefore suppose, made laws for the purpose of breaking them, or with the refined intention that they should be operative for a certain time, and afterwards cease to be executed.

The beautiful and interesting tract, now before us, begins with an exposition of the error to which we are now alluding: And the best proof of the mischiefs with which it is pregnant is to be found in the fact, that the most cruel laws have actually been executed, down to a comparatively recent period; and that, in general, the relaxation of the criminal law has only taken place to a considerable degree during the last half century. Even the sanguinary act of Elizabeth, Sir Samuel Romilly observes, which made it a capital offence for any person above the age of fourteen, to associate for a month with gypsies, was executed in the reign of Charles the First;—and Lord Hale mentions *thirteen* persons having, in his time, suffered death upon it at one assizes. Scanty and imperfect as are the materials for enabling us to trace the progress of the law, enough is known to convince us that no such refined plan can be discerned in former times, as that of leaving severe laws on the statute-book merely to terrify offenders, at the same time that they were relaxed in practice, or wholly suspended as to their execution. Sir John Fortescue tells us, that, in his day (in the reign of Henry VI), more persons were executed in England for robberies in one year, than in France in seven. Hollinshed states, that no less than 72,000 persons died by the hands of the executioner during the reign of Henry VIII—being at the rate of 2000 every year. In Queen Elizabeth's time, only 400 were executed yearly. But this relaxation, far from owing its origin to the Crown, draws forth the complaints of Lord Keeper Bacon, who tells the Parliament, that this ineffectual enforcement of the laws is not the default of her Majesty, 'who leaveth nothing 'undone meet for her to do for the execution of them.' In more modern times, we have further details of this subject. Mr Howard has published the Tables kept by Sir Stephen Janssen, by which it appears, that in seven years, ending 1756, there were convicted capitally in London and Middlesex 428—of whom about three-fourths, or 306, were executed;—that from 1756 to 1764, 236 were convicted, and 139, or above one half, executed;—from 1764 to 1772, 457 convicted, and 233, or little more than a half, executed. During the interval between 1772 and 1802, the accounts have not been published; but, from 1802 to 1808, the returns, printed by the Secretary of State's Office, afford very accurate information. In 1802, there were

97 convicted, and 10 executed—being about one-tenth; and the average yearly number of convictions for the whole seven succeeding years, being about 75, the average number of executions was about 9¼, or somewhat more than one-eighth. Thus a change of a very material kind has taken place during the present reign. At the beginning of it there were more executions than pardons of persons capitally convicted. Now, there are about seven times as many pardoned as executed. Our author is far from censuring a change so full of humanity and wisdom; but he justly observes, that a stronger proof can hardly be required than these facts afford, 'that the present method of administering the law is not 'a system maturely formed, and regularly established; but that 'it is a practice which has gradually prevailed, as the laws have 'become less adapted to the state of society in which we live.'

The speech, of which this pamphlet contains the substance, was delivered in the House of Commons, upon moving for leave to introduce bills to repeal the acts of 10. and 11. Will. III., 12. Ann, and 23. Geo. II., which make the crimes of stealing privately in a shop, goods to the value of five shillings, or in a dwelling-house, or on board a vessel in a navigable river, property of the value of forty shillings, capital felonies. The history of the enforcement of the two former statutes, affords the most striking illustration of the remarks with which we have been occupied. From Janssen's tables it appears, that in the period between 1749 and 1771, there were convicted for shoplifting and similar offences, 240 persons; and of these 109 were executed. The convictions for the seven years ending 1809, do not appear in the returns published by the Secretary of State; but those returns show, that during that period, 1872 persons were committed to Newgate for privately stealing in shops and dwelling-houses; and that of these only *one* was executed. 'In 'how many instances,' observes the author, 'such crimes have 'been committed, and the persons robbed have not proceeded 'so far against the offenders as even to have them committed to 'prison: how many of the 1,872 thus committed were discharg-'ed, because those who had suffered by their crimes would not 'appear to give evidence upon their trial: in how many cases 'the witnesses who did appear withheld the evidence that they 'could have given: and how numerous were the instances in 'which juries found a compassionate verdict, in direct contra-'diction to the plain facts clearly established before them, we 'do not know; but that these evils must all have existed to a 'considerable degree, no man can doubt.' p. 11.

It is however maintained, that whatever may be the history of this discrepancy between the letter and the execution of our criminal laws, or to what cause soever it may be ascribed, great good results

results from it; and the defence of it is summed up by its advocates in a single sentence. They contend, that it economizes punishment, and enables judges to deter men from crimes by slighter actual inflictions—the more severe denunciations of the law itself being 'a terror to evil doers.' Hence they maintain, that the law should be left as it is, for the sake of frightening the wicked; but that the discretion of executing it or not in each instance should be vested in the judge.

This doctrine is sure to find supporters among various important classes;—among the judges, whom it greatly flatters with ample, though it must be acknowledged most aweful, discretionary powers;—among the higher and older practitioners of the law, who feel with the Bench which they have a near prospect of ascending;—among the large body of persons afraid of all change, through ignorance or prejudice, and scared by a mere name, inasmuch as the Parliament scarcely ever holds a sitting without making some alteration in the law;—and among refining and over-ingenious praisers of the existing establishments, who are gratified in discovering beauties and contrivances in the combined works of chance and time. For our own part, we can conceive no proposition more utterly untenable, if the subject be once examined; and none so sure indeed to fall before the most superficial inquiry into the merits of the question.

In the first place, it must be remembered, that the very origin and use of laws is placed in principles wholly repugnant to this doctrine,—namely, the advantage of having *a fixed and known rule of conduct*, the same by whomsoever it is administered, and applicable to all cases; so that those whom it is intended to regulate may be distinctly aware of what is required of them, and what penalty they incur for disobedience. If the plan contended for were defensible, how much better would it be to substitute judges for laws at once; or, at any rate, to prohibit certain actions, but without affixing any penalties to the commission of them; and to leave the apportionment of these, in every case, at the discretion of the magistrate! Indeed, as Sir Samuel Romilly has remarked, this arrangement would in many respects be much better. The discretion would then be exercised under a degree of responsibility which does not now attend it. 'If,' says he, 'a man were found guilty of having pilfered in a dwelling-'house, property worth forty shillings, or in a shop that which 'was of the value only of five shillings, with no one circumstance 'whatever of aggravation, what judge, whom the constitution 'had entrusted with an absolute discretion, and had left answer-'able only to public opinion for the exercise of it, would ven-'ture, for such a transgression, to inflict the punishment of death?

'But

'But if, in such a case, the law having fixed the punishment, 'the judge merely suffers that law to take its course, and does 'not interpose to snatch the miserable victim from his fate, who 'has a right to complain? A discretion to fix the doom of 'every convict, expressly given to the judges, would in all cases 'be most anxiously and scrupulously exercised; but, appoint the 'punishment by law, and give the judge the power of remitting 'it, the case immediately assumes a very different complexion.' In truth, the plan contended for, gives a large discretion where there should be as little as possible,—appoints it to be exercised under a narrow and doubtful responsibility,—and, without obtaining the superintendance of magistrates, checked by responsibility, sacrifices the certainty and applicability which should be the chief characteristics of a system of jurisprudence, and the attainment of which marks its approach towards perfection. To say that no laws can provide for all cases; and that, even in China, something must be left to the magistrate—is in fact saying nothing. It is surely a poor reason for courting imperfection, that absolute perfectness is above the reach of our utmost efforts.

Secondly, or rather, to particularize the manner in which this doctrine departs from the fundamental principles of all jurisprudence, let us only consider the uncertainty which it introduces into the administration of justice. The judges to whom such powers are confided, have each their peculiar feelings and opinions, and prejudices and systems. One is more apt to be swayed by this favourable circumstance—another by that. What is a ground of mercy with one, may even operate unfavourably with another. A preconceived notion may regulate the whole practice of this magistrate, quite contrary to the system on which his brother judge acts; and thus, in order to learn how an offence shall be punished,—whether it be *in fact* a capital or a clergyable felony,—we must not look to the statute-book—but we must enquire geographically—we must ascertain the *venue*; and this will not serve us much, until the circuits of the judges are cast for the ensuing season, and we can learn by whom it is to be tried. On one line of country, where the same judges have constantly travelled, the law may pretty uniformly be different from that which prevails on the opposite coast; while, in other tracks, where the judges vary, the complexions of crimes will change from spring to fall, or even from town to town, as rotation or accident shall send one of the associated magistrates to deliver the gaol, and another to sit at *Nisi Prius*. We are here putting, not, it is to be hoped, the case which actually does occur, but that case towards which the administration of justice must be constantly tending, under the influence of the doctrines in question;

question; and which it must approach, exactly in proportion to the efficacy of those doctrines. It is the case too, which those doctrines, if pushed the length of absolute consistency, could not fail to realize. That it is far from being altogether imaginary, let the following fact attest. We take it upon Sir Samuel Romilly's authority, with the most implicit reliance on his accuracy.

Not a great many years ago, upon the Norfolk circuit, a larceny was committed by two men in a poultry yard; but only one of them was apprehended:—the other having escaped into a distant part of the country, had eluded all pursuit. At the next assizes the apprehended thief was tried and convicted; but Lord Loughborough, before whom he was tried, thinking the offence a very slight one, sentenced him only to a few months imprisonment. The news of this sentence having reached the accomplice in his retreat, he immediately returned, and surrendered himself to take his trial at the next assizes. The next assizes came; but, unfortunately for the prisoner, it was a different judge who presided; and, still more unfortunately, Mr Justice Gould, who happened to be the judge, though of a very mild and indulgent disposition, had observed, or thought he had observed, that men who set out with stealing fowls, generally end by committing the most atrocious crimes; and, building a sort of system upon this observation, had made it a rule to punish this offence with very great severity; and he accordingly, to the great astonishment of this unhappy man, sentenced him to be transported. While one was taking his departure for Botany Bay, the term of the other's imprisonment had expired. 'What,' exclaims our author, 'must have been the notions 'which that little public, who witnessed and compared these 'two examples, formed of our system of criminal jurisprudence!'

Nor is this uncertainty and fluctuation only observable in the decisions of different judges;—the same judge acts differently at different times. It is a common remark, that at first a judge is more disposed to lenity than a larger experience of human depravity permits him to be: And where the temper of the times experiences great and sudden changes, we can hardly expect that those revolutions should not be felt on the Bench; although, doubtless, they reach that seat of purity much more slowly and imperfectly in this country than elsewhere. The history of the Scotch Sedition trials may, however, furnish us with recollections of this kind. Many of our readers will recollect the punishments (known in the expressive language of Scotch law by the technical name of *arbitrary*) inflicted in the early periods of the French revolution. As late as 1797, a prisoner was sentenced

ced to *fourteen years* transportation for a slight resistance to the militia law; no copy, we believe, of the new act having been sent to the district where the disturbance broke out; and a militia being then, for the first time, known in any part of Scotland. Were the same offence tried now, by the same judges, we cannot help thinking that a far lighter punishment would be inflicted. Indeed, in the case alluded to, the sentence went so much against public feeling, that the jury acquitted, against evidence, the next person tried for a similar delinquency; and the severer sentence never was executed.

Again, the discretion contended for has a direct tendency to counteract the whole design of punishment, by preventing its operation as an example; and this tendency is twofold; both by concealing from the public the connexion between the offence and the punishment, or even by misleading the public with respect to the offence, and by diminishing the certainty of that connexion. This is by much the most important view of the matter, and requires to be more fully stated.

The only object which lawgivers propose to themselves in public inflictions of punishment, is the effect which they may produce upon the spectators; and, through them, on the rest of the community. This indeed is the sole object of all punishments, except such as have in view the reformation of the offender; but it bears so great a proportion to the whole end of punishment, that we may here disregard the remaining object. How then is this purpose to be effected? Evidently by practically proving to the public this proposition—Whosoever commits this offence is sure of being thus punished. In this lesson two considerations are involved; and each person to whom we may teach it, will assuredly entertain them both. He will ask himself—first, What is the offence? and, secondly, Is there a certainty of my being thus dealt with if I commit it? Now, that system of law is undoubtedly the most perfect, which best enables him to answer the first of these questions readily, and the second affirmatively;—which leaves the spectator of a punishment in the smallest doubt *wherefore* it is inflicted, and *whether* or not it will be applied to his own case, should he commit the prohibited act.

But let us see how the system which we are examining enables the spectator to answer the first of these questions. He sees a man put to death, and inquires the cause of it. He is told, that he had stolen five shillings worth of goods privately in a shop. He exclaims perhaps against the cruelty of the punishment; and he receives for answer, 'That there were peculiar circumstances in the case, which made it proper to enforce the law;

'for

'for that, in 999 instances in 1000, this crime is not punished ca-'pitally.' He is thus left in as complete ignorance as he was before he first put his question: He is not so much deceived, perhaps, as he would have been, had he remained satisfied with the first answer he received; nor so completely misled, as he would be by looking at the record of the Court where the culprit was tried, or the calendar of the prison where he was confined: for those documents tell a tale wholly wide of the truth, namely, that the punishment is inflicted for breaking a particular law. So far his inquiries have set him right. He has learnt that the sufferer has lost his life,—*not* because he offended against that law, but because there were some circumstances in his conduct or situation which he cannot discover. The punishment which he has seen inflicted, he therefore only knows to be the consequence of some unknown thing; and the lesson is entirely thrown away upon him.

But suppose our spectator is to be left in the belief that the law is really executed—that the culprit suffers death because he stole five shillings in a shop: for it is only upon this supposition that the law can be defended on its avowed principle, and that the sight of its execution can deter the public from violating it.—He will then put the second question, and ask, if he is sure to be so punished, should he himself commit shoplifting?—The sight before his eyes may no doubt awaken some apprehensions in his mind—it may lead him to believe that such *may* be his fate, if he steals in a shop: but this is all. The question of probability remains unanswered; for the punishment of this one culprit does not necessarily prove, that all who so offend shall so suffer. The answer to this question is to be gathered from various considerations, most of which probably pass through the spectator's mind during, or soon after the sight of the punishment, and all of which, we may be well assured, are present to his contemplation, while revolving whether he shall commit an act of shoplifting or no. The first, in order of time as well as in weight, is the chance of escape or detection: but this, we may here pass by, as it refers itself to those parts of the judicial system which provide for the securing of offenders, and which come under the extensive and important chapter of Police. But supposing he is so unlucky as to be taken, there are chances of escape still to be computed. The prosecutor may not come forward—evidence may not be forthcoming—juries may be unwilling to convict—judges may be loath to condemn—or mercy may, in the last resort, be extended. Now, in estimating the chance of escape, which each of these circumstances gives him, we cannot fail to observe,

serve, that the severity of the punishment goes directly to increase each separate chance.—Whether the practical reasoner, whose case we are figuring, will so argue, is of no consequence; he knows the fact, whatever may be the reason. The fact is, that persons are or may be more slow to prosecute a shoplifter—witnesses more unwilling to come forward—juries more anxious to acquit—and judges more prone to reprieve or pardon—than if the punishment were less severe. This fact being known to him, he being sure, in short, that only one in nearly 1900 is executed for offences of this description, what can be so obvious as the conclusion, that the spectacle he has witnessed proves nothing, practically speaking, but the bad luck of the sufferer;—and that it should no more influence his own conduct, than if he never had beheld or heard of it?—Such is the answer which he gives to the second question.

The existence of the law in the statute-book, or, as it is termed, the denunciation there promulgated, is of most feeble force, when put in the balance against such considerations as these. What avails it to tell men that they shall suffer death for certain acts, and to show them the contrary?—Will they believe the book rather than the fact?—Will the rogue appeal from the evidence of his senses to the text of a statute; and, instead of looking at his comrades taken to prison for shoplifting, and afterwards let off,—will he pore over the 10th and 11th of William III. to convince himself that it is a capital felony? Such fancies really suppose the persons who are the objects of criminal legislation, either to be a great deal more refined, or a great deal more dull and unthinking, than the rest of mankind.

Let us now turn to the administration of this law,—and we shall observe the fruits of the doctrine of discretion in another shape. Hitherto we have been considering chiefly its influence upon the public, to whom punishments are addressed. We shall now, in tracing its influence upon the mode of trial, see at the same time additional proofs of its interference with the instruction which punishments are meant to convey.

When a person is put upon his trial for a crime, it seems a very obvious proposition, that the truth or falsehood of the charge brought against him should be the point, and the only point, submitted to the consideration of the tribunal before which he is tried—that the sentence, pronounced in the event of his conviction, should impose on him the penalty due to the offence of which he was accused—and that the same tribunal which tries him, should investigate the truth of the charge whereupon the penalty attaches. Yet, nothing can be more wide of the proceedings which, in fact, take place under the pre-

prevalence of the present system. The charge preferred in the indictment is frequently different from the charge inquired into by the Court. The culprit is accused of having stolen to the amount of five shillings in a shop; and it is *possible* that nothing beyond this charge may come before the Court which is to try it. But it is also very possible that other matter may arise out of the judicial investigation; and that this incidental matter may be so important in its influence upon the ultimate result of the trial, as nearly to supersede the original subject of inquiry. The prisoner may turn out to be a person of abandoned character, generally; he may prove to have been frequently before tried for a similar offence; he may have attempted to defend himself by suborning perjured evidence. If these things appear against him, the Court considers them; although one of them—that one which most frequently occurs, is a specific crime known in law, and severely punishable. So, if a person is tried for robbery, the felonious and forcible taking is not the only matter inquired of: A question arises often much more material to his fate, whether any act of violence was committed by him.—Again, the punishment awarded by the sentence is not always that which the law attaches to the crime charged. When one has been suspected of murder, but the proof of this charge fails, he may be convicted of stealing forty shillings in a dwelling; and the offence which cannot be proved—nay, which cannot be mentioned on the trial—may decide the sentence. A person charged with privately stealing in a shop or dwelling, and nominally tried for that offence, but found, in the course of the trial, to be a man of general bad character, or to have set up a perjured *alibi* in his defence, is sentenced to death; not evidently because the law makes the crime charged a capital felony, (for this *denunciation* is never attended to in courts), but because he has been found, or supposed, to be guilty of that for which he never was tried, and which no law ever made capital—of having a bad character, which is not punishable at all—or of suborning perjury, which is punishable as a misdemeanour. Lastly, the tribunal which ought to try the truth of the whole charge, is frequently not permitted to inquire into that part of it which is to regulate the final result. This requires a little more attention.

The jury, by our law, are the judges of the whole facts of the case;—the whole matter in issue is referred to them. The charge is stated in the indictment; and (at least in the great majority of cases) generally denied by the plea of the defendant. This affirmation, on the one hand, and denial on the other, of a proposition of fact, constitutes the issue which the jury

jury are to try; and their verdict, or the opinion formed by them upon examining the evidence adduced on either side, is a decision of this question, or a determination affirming or denying the proposition submitted to them. If the indictment charges that the prisoner stole five shillings in a shop, the verdict of the jury can only determine whether or not he did steal to this amount in a shop; and the jury decide no other question. But the prisoner attempts an *alibi;* and the jury no doubt consider whether he has succeeded in proving it. If they say he is guilty of the charge in the indictment, they say by implication that he has not proved his *alibi:* but they say nothing more. They do not determine any thing with respect to the merits of this defence, except, in general, that it has failed. How it has failed, they do not decide, nor have they any means of inquiring. It may be, that the prisoner has suborned false witnesses to swear he was absent from the spot where the crime was committed: or it may be, that his friends, unknown to him, have been guilty of this subornation: or it may be, that the witnesses were mistaken in the time, or in the person of the prisoner; and that he alone knew of their mistake. In the first case, he has suborned false witnesses: In the second, he has only stood by, and profited by the subornation of others: In the third, no perjury has been committed; but the prisoner has suffered a mistake to be committed beneficial to his defence, and innocent on the part of those who fell into it—has done something, in short, not very different in point of guilt from the mere assertion of his innocence, implied by pleading the general issue. Now, if the merits of this mode of defence are to regulate the sentence which follows on the verdict of guilty, it is manifest that the material question is not, whether the prisoner committed shoplifting? but, to which of the three cases just enumerated his defence belongs? Because, certainly, if it belongs to the last class, and probably if it belongs to the second, a perfectly different decision will be come to, from that which would follow if it belonged to the first. This, then, is *really* the question to be tried, in so far as the life of the prisoner is at stake: But this is a matter not directly in issue. It is a point into which the Jury do not inquire, and upon which their verdict is quite silent. By whomsoever the most material question is tried, the Jury have nothing to do with it. They try something quite different, and comparatively unimportant. The fate of the prisoner depends upon others;—not merely his punishment, but the facts of his case are decided on by the court. He cannot be said to be tried by a Jury.

But are we quite sure that he has been really tried at all;—that the facts most material to his case—those points, upon the truth

truth or falsehood of which the result of the trial hinges, have been judicially inquired into by any part of the tribunal said to try the cause? We fear not. The verdict only answers the question raised in the pleadings; and the trial is only shaped with a view to answer this question. If the witnesses who swear to the *alibi* are mistaken, the affirmative is as much proved as if they were wilfully perjured; and therefore, no inquiry needs be instituted into the point—upon which, however, the sentence is to hinge—Whether there be perjury in the defence or not? It is clear that, if no such inquiry is necessary, none will, in the majority of cases, be made; because the prosecutor only seeks to prove his case, that is, to bring evidence sufficient for substantiating the charge on the record. The court cannot call witnesses, and try the emerging point—the collateral issue, whether the *alibi* is founded in false swearing or not. There may be grounds of suspicion;—observations may occur;—the case may, of itself, furnish more or less of light into its origin:—But, how wide is this of the certainty required by our law? The prisoner is fenced round with forms, and protected from all unfavourable presumptions, upon the inquiry which professedly constitutes the subject of the trial, but the result of which is insignificant in determining his life or death;—while the question upon which every thing turns, is to be determined without forms, or precautions, or safeguards of any kind—to be decided without deliberate examination, incidentally, and upon the evidence adduced in prosecuting a perfectly different inquiry. Let it also be remembered, that in confining ourselves to the illustration from the aggravation now alluded to, we are taking the case most favourable to the opposite argument, inasmuch as it involves an imputation at least of a known charge, which might be inquired of, and is not a vague indefinite aspersion, like that of general bad character, which could scarcely, in any shape, be judicially sifted.

Cases will probably occur to the legal reader, in which the result of a trial is affected by matters not put in issue; and others, where the result turns materially upon points which, though in issue, are nevertheless by no means the main object of the proceedings. Thus, where an action of damages is brought against a person for seducing another's wife, and the defence consists in an attempt to prove that the husband treated her brutally, prostituted her to others, or connived at her guilt;—or where a similar action is brought for seduction of a daughter, and the defence is to destroy the woman's character by attempting to prove prostitution, the nature of these defences, if the proof of them fails, will be taken into the account in assessing the damages; and the plaintiff

plaintiff may be said to recover more for the loss of his wife's or daughter's society than he ought to do, because his own or his daughter's character has been attacked in the course of the proceedings. In like manner, if an action is brought for slander or libel, and there is a plea of justification which fails, the damages will be greatly increased, although, strictly speaking, the Jury are only required to try the matters arising previous to bringing the action. But, in all these instances, the necessity of the case justifies, or rather requires, a departure from strict and rigorous principle. There is no other remedy—no other means of assessing the additional compensation which every one must admit that such defences render just and fitting to be given—at least no means which would not greatly endanger the free course of justice. The inconvenience would be extreme, of allowing separate actions to be brought for injuries sustained by the recriminations of the defendant's counsel; and there would be a manifest absurdity in making the statements set forth on a record, or sworn to (and not falsely sworn to) by witnesses, the subject-matter of new trials. Besides, in all these cases, no inconvenience arises from the incidental matters which are raised for consideration. When these matters are on record, by being pleaded specially, they are in every respect before the court, and notified to the opposite party, as much as if they formed the original ground of any proceeding; and even when they arise in the course of trial under the general issue, they are regularly examined and decided upon by the Jury, exactly as the rest of the case is.

Very different, however, is the evil of which we have been complaining in our criminal procedure; and it is an evil by no means justified by any necessity. The letter of the law says, shoplifting is a capital felony. The practice of the courts says, it shall not be punished capitally, except it be accompanied with certain aggravations. Then, why not put those aggravations in issue, as well as the act of shoplifting itself? But is there any sense in thus confounding together distinct offences? Would it not be infinitely better to punish each appropriately and separately? Why not attach a certain penalty to shoplifting, and a certain penalty to subornation of perjury? If the former crime should be punished with transportation or imprisonment, and the latter with imprisonment or pillory—if such would infallibly be the sentences pronounced, where the same person committed the second offence in any other way but in the attempt to escape punishment for the first—why should we, in this one case, confound the two crimes together, and, out of a clergiable felony (as in practice it has become) and a misdemeanour, create, by some strange process of judicial compounding,

ing, something quite different from both, a capital felony? Nothing surely can be more rude or clumsy than such a contrivance—nothing more repugnant to all clear and distinct principle.

The object of those improvements, which Sir Samuel Romilly has laboured with such exemplary perseverance to effect in the criminal law, is to correct the inconsistencies, and remove the hurtful anomalies which we have been endeavouring to describe. Finding that the statutes in question are not enforced so as to punish the crimes which they pretend to prohibit, but that they are the means of introducing such proceedings as we have just now contemplated;—observing, that all certainty of punishment is thus destroyed, and that a distinct knowledge of the practical nature of the law, as well as of the very meaning of the punishments inflicted, is withheld from the public, whom the law is made to guide, and the punishments are inflicted to instruct;—persuaded that, though seldom enforced, the denunciations of the statutes in question are sufficient to deter persons from prosecuting, from giving evidence, and from convicting, though they only confound the notions of those whom they are intended to deter from committing the offences; this enlightened and virtuous legislator recommends the adoption of some more fixed and known method of punishing—of the very method which our own practice, as far as it consistently means any thing, points out for adoption. He says, repeal the capital part of these felonies, and leave it *certain*, that whoever is guilty of shoplifting, or stealing in a dwelling, or upon a navigable river, shall be punished as guilty of a clergiable felony.

We have already illustrated the importance of making whatever punishment the law denounces, as certain as the imperfections of police and jurisprudence will permit. That the certainty of the punishment is much more important in preventing crimes than its severity, seems a maxim now universally agreed upon. 'If it were possible' (observes our author) 'that punishment, as the consequence of guilt, could be reduced to an absolute certainty, a very slight penalty would be sufficient to prevent almost every species of crime, except those which arise from sudden gusts of ungovernable passion. If the restoration of the property stolen, and only a few weeks, or even a few days imprisonment, were the *unavoidable* consequence of theft, no theft would ever be committed. No man would steal what he was sure that he could not keep;—no man would, by a voluntary act, deprive himself of his liberty, though but for a few days. It is the desire of a supposed good, which is the incentive to every crime. No crime, therefore, could

'could exist, if it were infallibly certain that not good, but evil 'must follow, as an unavoidable consequence to the person who 'committed it. This absolute certainty, however,' (he continues) 'is unattainable, where facts are to be ascertained by human 'testimony, and questions are to be decided by human judg- 'ments. All that can be done is, by a vigilant police, by ra- 'tional rules of evidence, by clear laws, and by punishments 'proportioned to the guilt of the offender, to approach as near- 'ly to that certainty as human imperfection will admit.'

How far these sound and unquestionable principles are violated by the present mode of proceeding, we have already in part explained. But a few more observations may be subjoined upon the same important topic. Those who find that the statutes in question are in fact scarcely ever executed, may conjecture that the knowledge of this will operate upon prosecutors, witnesses and juries, as well as on culprits; and remove the scruples from the former, as well as the fears from the latter;—a plausible doubt to the first view, but very little founded in the nature of the thing. For, when a man is balancing with himself whether he shall commit an offence, tempted by the desire of attaining some favourite object, his disposition leans towards gratifying this desire; and he adventures in what he accustoms himself (to use our author's apposite expression) to regard as the lottery of justice, provided the chances of escape are considerable. But it is otherwise when a man, under the influence of no such passions, knowing that the culprit is actually taken, weighs with himself whether he shall do an act, the consequence of which will be—not indeed the certain, or even the probable—but the possible death of a fellow-creature; and at any rate the delivering him over to others, in whose discretion it must now be, whether death shall be inflicted or not. 'I have had five 'shillings stolen from me,' he says, 'by this man. If I come 'forward against him, he will be convicted; and could I be 'sure of his only suffering imprisonment, or even transporta- 'tion, it might be well. But how do I know that his charac- 'ter may not turn out a bad one—that he may not set up a 'perjured defence—or that, if convicted of the simple offence 'which he has committed against me, mercy may not be re- 'fused? I will incur no such risk;—I will never have to re- 'proach myself with having *exposed* a man to be hanged for 'stealing a crown;—I will not expose myself to the risk of his 'actually being hanged for such a theft.' How far such reasoning is well-founded, we do not inquire; that it influences men's minds, and directs their conduct, is matter of fact. The same person whom we have been supposing robbed of five shillings,

lings, has seen a fellow-creature murdered; he knows that the evidence which he gives, must send the murderer to the gallows; but he feels no such scruples as before:—his feelings all go along with his duty in this case; and he hesitates not a moment what course to take. True it is, that, strictly speaking, he has no right to draw such distinctions; he is assuming a sort of legislative authority; and taking considerations into his mind, which any Judge, who might accidentally discover his process of reasoning, or rather of feeling, would not fail severely, perhaps justly, to reprove. But until all men shall be so fashioned, as to think and feel in their private hours, and in the secret recesses of their hearts, according to the very letter of the law, and shall in every respect act as a legislator may desire, he will do well to adapt his contrivances to their natures; and, if he would not be disappointed, he had best lay his account with their following their own inclinations, in all cases where he cannot prevent them. We have put the case of prosecutors and witnesses. To jurors the observation applies with equal force. But the evil effects of the system on that class, are far more to be lamented; and we should in vain hope to describe them so plainly and so forcibly at the same time, as by extracting the following admirable note from Sir Samuel Romilly's pamphlet.

'The latitude which juries allow themselves in estimating the value of property stolen, with a view to the punishment which is to be the consequence of their verdict, is an evil of very great magnitude. Nothing can be more pernicious, than that jurymen should think lightly of the important duties they are called upon to discharge, or should acquire a habit of trifling with the solemn oaths they take. And yet, ever since the passing of the acts which punish with death the stealing in shops or houses, or on board ships, property of the different values which are there mentioned, juries have, from motives of humanity, been in the habit of frequently finding, by their verdicts, that the things stolen were worth much less than was clearly proved to be their value. It is held, indeed, by some of the Judges (whether by all of them, and upon all occasions, I am not certain), that juries in favour of life may fairly, in fixing the value of the property, take into their consideration the depreciation of money which has taken place since the statutes passed; or, in the words of Mr Justice Blackstone, "may reduce the present nominal value of money to its antient standard." * To show, therefore, to what an extent juries have assumed to themselves a power of dispensing with the law in this respect, it will be proper to refer to the earliest trials, for these offences, that I happen to have met with.

'In the year 1731-2, which was only thirty-two years after the

* Com. vol. iv. p. 239.

act of King William, and only sixteen after the act of Queen Ann, a period during which there had scarcely been any sensible diminution in the value of money, it appears from the sessions papers, that, of thirty-three persons indicted at the Old Bailey for stealing privately in shops, warehouses, or stables, goods to the value of five shillings and upwards, only one was convicted, twelve were acquitted, and twenty were found guilty of the theft; but the things stolen were found to be worth less than five shillings. Of fifty-two persons tried in the same year at the Old Bailey, for stealing in dwelling-houses, money, or other property, of the value of forty shillings, only six were convicted, twenty-three were acquitted, and twenty-three were convicted of the larceny, but saved from a capital punishment by the jury stating the stolen property to be of less value than forty shillings. In the following years, the numbers do not differ very materially from those in the year 1731.

'Some of the cases which occurred about this time are of such a kind, that it is difficult to imagine by what casuistry the jury could have been reconciled to their verdict. It may be proper to mention a few of them.—Elizabeth Hobbs was tried in September 1732, for stealing in a dwelling-house one broad piece, two guineas, two half-guineas, and forty-four shillings, in money. She confessed the fact, and the jury found her guilty, but found that the money stolen was worth only thirty-nine shillings. Mary Bradley, in May 1732, was indicted for stealing in a dwellinghouse, lace which she had offered to sell for twelve guineas, and for which she had refused to take eight guineas; the jury, however, who found her guilty, found the lace to be worth no more than thirty-nine shillings. Wm. Sherrington, in October 1732, was indicted for stealing privately in a shop, goods which he had actually sold for 1*l.* 5s., and the jury found that they were worth only 4s. 10d.

'In the case of Michael Allom, indicted in February 1733, for privately stealing in a shop forty-three dozen pairs of stockings, value 3*l.* 10s.; it was proved that the prisoner had sold them for a guinea and a half, to a witness who was produced on the trial; and yet the jury found him guilty of stealing what was only of the value of 4s. 10d. In another case, that of George Dawson and Joseph Hitch, also indicted in February 1733, it appeared that the two prisoners, in company together at the same time, stole the same goods privately in a shop, and the jury found one guilty to the amount of 4s. 10d., and the other to the amount of 5s.; that is, that the same goods were at one and the same moment of different values. This monstrous proceeding is accounted for by finding that Dawson, who was capitally convicted, had been tried before at the same sessions for a similar offence, and had been convicted of stealing to the amount only of 4s. 10d. The jury seem to have thought, that having had the benefit of their indulgence once, he was not entitled to it a second time; or in other words, that having once had a pardon at their hands, he had no further claims upon their mercy.' p. 65—67.

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The able and satisfactory refutation of Dr Paley, which forms a considerable portion of this tract, we regret that we cannot pursue in detail. Earnestly intreating the reader's best attention to it, we must close our account of the publication with a very eloquent passage, in which one of Dr Paley's positions is commented on—the most paradoxical, and yet the most mischievous, in the whole reasonings of this writer upon the subject of Criminal Law. We allude to the argument by which he contests the maxim, that it is better ten guilty persons should escape, than one innocent man suffer. Again referring to Sir Samuel Romilly's own pages for the full and convincing refutation of Paley's doctrine, we shall here only present the concluding passage of it to the reader's admiration.

'When the guilty escape, the law has merely failed of its intended effect; it has done no good, indeed, but it has done no harm. But when the innocent become the victims of the law, the law is not merely inefficient—it does not merely fail of accomplishing its intended object—it injures the persons it was meant to protect—it creates the very evil it was to cure, and destroys the security it was made to preserve.

"They ought rather," continues Paley, "to reflect, that he "who falls by a mistaken sentence, may be considered as falling for "his country, whilst he suffers under the operation of those rules, "by the general effect and tendency of which the welfare of the "community is maintained and upheld." Nothing is more easy than thus to philosophize and act the patriot for others, and to arm ourselves with topics of consolation, and reasons for enduring with fortitude the evils to which, not ourselves, but others, are exposed. I doubt, however, very much, whether this is attended with any salutary effects. Instead of endeavouring thus to extenuate, and to reconcile to the minds of those who sit in judgment upon their fellow-creatures, so terrible a calamity as a mistake in judicature to the injury of the innocent, it would surely be a wiser part to set before their eyes all the consequences of so fatal an error in their strong but real colours;—to represent to them, that of all the evils which which can befal a virtuous man, the very greatest is to be condemned, and to suffer a public punishment as if he were guilty;—to see all his hopes and expectations frustrated; all the prospects in which he is indulging, and the pursuits which he is following, for the benefit, perhaps, of those who are dearer to him than himself, brought to a close;—to be torn from the midst of his family;—to witness the affliction they suffer, and to anticipate the still deeper affliction that awaits them—not to have even the sad consolation of being pitied;—to see himself branded with public ignominy;—to leave a name which will only excite horror or disgust;—to think that the children he leaves behind him, must, when they recal their father's memory, hang down their heads with shame;—to know that, even if, at some

distant time, it should chance that the truth should be made evident, and that justice should be done to his name, still that his blood will have been shed uselessly for mankind—that his melancholy story will serve, wherever it is told, only to excite alarm in the bosoms of the best members of society, and to encourage the speculations for evading the law, in which wicked men may indulge.

'When we are weighing the evil of the punishment of one innocent man against that of the impunity of ten who are guilty, we ought to reflect, that the suffering of the innocent is generally attended, in the particular instance, with the escape of the guilty. Instances have, indeed, occurred like that which I have already mentioned of Calas, where a man has been offered up as a sacrifice to the laws, though the laws had never been violated;—where the tribunals had committed the double mistake of supposing a crime where none had been committed, and of finding a criminal where none could exist. These, however, are very gross, and therefore very rare examples of judicial error. In most cases the crime is ascertained; and to discover the author of it is all that remains for investigation; and in every such case, if there follow an erroneous conviction, a twofold evil must be incurred, the escape of the guilty, as well as the suffering of the innocent. Perhaps, amidst the crowd of those who are gazing upon the supposed criminal, when he is led out to execution, may be lurking the real murderer, who, while he contemplates the fate of the wretch before him, reflects with scorn upon the imbecility of the law, and becomes more hardened, and derives more confidence in the dangerous career upon which he has entered.' 74—76.

We should here have closed the remarks on Sir Samuel Romilly's proposed reforms into which we have been led, had not the attempts that have been made by bigoted and interested men to cry down the object, as well as to distort the designs of his truly patriotic and humane labours, called for some more general notice. It is not our intention to go into the subject of his plans, generally, upon the present occasion; but we conceive that a simple statement of what he has effected, and what he has proposed, unfortunately without success, may tend to dissipate at once the mist which the heats of personal and party animosity have raised round this admirable and most deservedly popular character; and to show how far the charge of "*rash and daring innovation*," which has so wildly been launched at him, is founded in the facts. Those who, without looking at the real extent of his different plans, may have heard of this imputation, we venture to predict, will be not a little astonished when they come to see the real state of the case.

The first subject which engaged Sir Samuel Romilly's attention after he came into Parliament, must, we should suppose, be admitted on all hands to have been peculiarly appropriate;—

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one, which his professional habits singularly well qualified him to deal with—the Bankrupt Law. From the manner in which his legislative labours have been treated, those who do not know much of this learned person might be tempted to imagine, that he was some wild enthusiast, rushing from his study, in utter ignorance of the world, to pull down the established judicial system with which he was unacquainted, and erect another upon his own speculative and fantastical views. But we believe the bulk of our readers are aware, that he belongs neither to this description, nor to that other class which the country has some experience of; and which, with the cry of innovation on their lips, dabble to no small extent in legislative changes—narrow-minded and violent persons—brought up to the profession of the law, and vainly attempted to be pushed into its employments by the hand of power and patronage—but wholly unable either to acquire practice themselves, or to retain that which is thrust upon them, and ever ready to abandon the trade as hopeless, for offices where court favour may be powerful enough to support them. Sir Samuel Romilly was not of this caste. He had, by the force of his own learning and talents, and the most spotless integrity, risen to the very heights of professional ambition, before he was even heard of in Parliament;—and when he approached the important subjects of the Bankrupt Law, and the Law of Debtor and Creditor in general, he was, beyond all question or pretence of rivalry, the first man in the Courts of Equity in this country. The reforms, which he here began with suggesting, were the result of his own observation, in the course of a practice the most various and extensive;—and, moderate as they were in extent, they are much greater changes than any of those which he has since ventured to recommend. In addition to those undoubted intrinsic advantages, he possessed accidentally another, at the time to which we are referring, that of being his Majesty's Solicitor-General;—and to this we, in all probability, owe the comparatively slight opposition with which his first and most important measures were carried.

It is, no doubt, known to the reader, that, by the original and fundamental principles of the Bankrupt Law, the whole estate of the bankrupt vests in the assignees under the commission by relation, from the time of the act of bankruptcy;—so that all his dealings, with respect to the estate after the act of bankruptcy,—all his conveyances or payments to others, and all their payments of debts due to him, are liable to be rescinded by the assignees. The numerous hardships consequent on the rigorous prosecution of this principle, and its utter repugnance to the state of things in a commercial country, had very early occasioned a relaxation of it;—and, by the statutes of 1. Jac. I. c. 15, and

and 21. Jac. I. c. 19, protection had been given to payments of debts *bonâ fide* due to the bankrupt, before the debtor knew of his bankruptcy, and to purchasers for a valuable consideration from the bankrupt, where the commission was not sued out within five years after the act of bankruptcy. But further relaxation being found necessary, by the 19. Geo. II. c. 32, further protection was extended to persons dealing with the bankrupt, against the effects of the principle of relation, in respect of secret acts of bankruptcy. It protects receipts of money by *bonâ fide* creditors, in the usual course of trade, in respect of goods sold to the bankrupt, or bills drawn, negotiated, or accepted by him. The principle of relation was, however, still much too rigorous; and, in some particulars which the statutes of James I. and Geo. II. had not even touched, it was productive of the most intolerable hardships. The *bonâ fide* debts contracted subsequent to a secret act of bankruptcy with persons wholly ignorant of that act, could not be proved under the commission;—and, what was still worse, a commission regularly sued out, upon the petition of a creditor wholly ignorant of any secret act of bankruptcy committed prior to the contracting of his debt, and regularly proceeded in through all its stages, was liable to be avoided, and, with all the proceedings under it, utterly annulled, upon the discovery of some secret act of bankruptcy prior to the petitioning creditor's debt. To remedy such great evils, and to relax generally the principle of relation, according to a fixed and immutable rule, were the chief objects of the 46. *Geo. III. c.* 135, the first of Sir Samuel Romilly's acts. Besides allowing *bonâ fide* debts to be proved, notwithstanding previous secret acts of bankruptcy, and protecting the commission and proceedings from such acts, provided that, in either case, the creditor was ignorant of them, this statute protects all dealings with the bankrupt *bonâ fide* had, above two months before the date of the commission, from the effects of a prior act of bankruptcy, provided the person dealing with the bankrupt had no notice of that act, or of the bankrupt's insolvency, or his stopping payment. These are the principal enactments of this statute:—And, that they form a most important amendment of the law, can be doubted by no one who is not ready to defend every existing abuse, and injustice and impolicy,—and to maintain that every thing is perfect which has been made law before a certain date.

The statute which we have now been considering, was amended in some respects by another, which its author carried through parliament in 1809, the 49. *Geo. III. c.* 121. The alterations made on the former related to points which we have not specified; chiefly to the provision of that statute, which made a docket struck notice of a prior act of bankruptcy, whether a commission

mission was sued out upon it or not. But this last statute introduced many salutary changes into the proceedings under commissions;—it enlarged the facilities of proving debts—it extended to executions and attachments against lands and goods the protection from the effects of secret acts of bankruptcy which the former statute had given to *boná fide* dealings with the bankrupt—and it enacted, that the production of the commission and proceedings should in all actions, by, or against, the assignees, be evidence of the trading, the act of bankruptcy, and the petitioning creditor's debt; unless notice be previously given of an intention to contest these points, and dispute the validity of the commission. We believe the general experience of the profession has decided in favour of these alterations; and that the only doubt which remains relates to another, and perhaps the most material branch of the act, by which the concurrence of *three-fifths* in number and value of the creditors is declared sufficient to grant the bankrupt's certificate and discharge, instead of *four-fifths*, the proportion formerly required. Into the merits of this point, however, it would be inconsistent with the plan of this sketch to enter. We are confident, that the question will receive a full and rigorous, though candid, scrutiny among the learned persons within whose province it lyes to decide it; and we are no less persuaded, that the first to acknowledge he has been wrong, and to assist in correcting the error, will be the liberal and ingenious author of the measure, if a further trial shall convince him that the old proportion is preferable. *

In the next measure which Sir Samuel Romilly proposed, he would, in all probability, have been equally successful, but for the change of ministry which took place while his bill was passing through the House of Commons. By the law of England, the creditor has his election (except in the case of debts to the Crown—for the other kinds of extent are obsolete), of taking either the property or the person of the debtor † in satisfaction of his

* We refer our readers, for many important observations on these subjects, to the excellent pamphlet published by Mr Evans, entitled, '*A letter to Sir Samuel Romilly.*' This is the same gentleman to whom the world is indebted (among other valuable publications) for a translation of Pothier's work, with most learned and useful commentaries; and certainly there are few members of the profession who adorn it with more depth and variety of legal learning.

† He may take, in the first instance, the goods in execution; and then, for the part of the debt remaining unsatisfied, he may take the person of the debtor; or he may take the goods, and the profits of the land already accruing (a remedy nearly obsolete); or he may take the goods,

his debt;—and if he takes his real estate, he can only seize one half of the land, out of the profits of which he may satisfy one debt. This remedy is not a very ample, nor a very easy one in all cases; but there is one case in which it wholly fails. If a person owes money on simple contract, and dies before any judgment has been obtained, unless he leaves personals, the creditor has no claim upon his estate, however extensive it may be, and how little soever burthened with debts by specialty, and however free from the fetters of an entail. Thus a man may owe upon bill, note of hand, or account with his tradesmen, ten or twenty thousand pounds—he may die and leave his son, or a stranger, a clear landed estate to the amount of twenty thousand a year:—Not one of his creditors can come upon this estate for payment. When Sir Samuel Romilly broached this subject, the evil was still more enormous. A person might engage in trade to the largest amount—he might, for example, by the issue of bank notes, obtain possession of hundreds of thousands—he might vest all this in land;—if he died, and left the land to his family, or to a stranger, the creditors, with whose money it had been bought, could not touch an acre of it.* Sir Samuel Romilly, therefore, introduced a bill to make the freehold estates of persons dying indebted, assets for the payment of their simple contract debts. He cautiously abstained from touching copyhold estates—he proposed that specialty creditors should still have full preference; yet great exception was taken at such '*daring innovation*;'—an attempt was made to raise an alarm among the aristocracy, by a cry of the landed interest being in danger; and the supporters of the bill were openly accused of insulting the memory, and undervaluing the '*wisdom of our ancestors.*' It would be a tedious and unprofitable task to expose such base follies as these;—to ask what honour the aristocracy could derive from a privilege to cheat their creditors, of

goods, and a moiety of the land, to hold by *elegit* until the debt is satisfied. He cannot take the person first, and then the goods; nor can he take the person and the land. For debts by statute-merchant and statute-staple, he could have taken all three by extent; but these kinds of recognizance being now obsolete, the only extent in use is that issued for debts due to the Crown; and to satisfy these, goods, lands and person are all liable, and the lands even in the hands of a *bonâ fide* purchaser for a valuable consideration. Our readers, in this part of the United Kingdom, will readily excuse us for mentioning these particulars, as necessary to prevent mistakes.

* There were innumerable cases of this kind; and one is pretty well known, in which the debtor destroyed himself to defraud his creditors, and left his, or rather their, land to his heir.

of which no honest man ever did in fact avail himself, and which notoriously is only beneficial to the most unprincipled of men;—to demand where is the consistency of protecting the landed estate of a man the moment he dies, while you leave it at the mercy of *elegit* during his lifetime,—or to suggest that every session promulgates, and of necessity must promulgate laws, by which the '*laws of our ancestors*' are repealed, and their '*wisdom*' disregarded,—if, indeed, it be disregarding their wisdom, to do the very things which, in all probability, they would have been too wise to leave undone, had they been called to legislate in circumstances like ours. Nevertheless, these topics, if such they may be termed, were eagerly caught, for the purpose of exciting clamour. The *No-Popery cry* being raised, the ministry with which Sir Samuel Romilly was connected were turned out;—and, on the day of their resigning, the same courtiers (we allude to the secret advisers of the King and Royal Family), * unable to resist the abolition of the Slave-Trade, so hateful in their sight, consoled themselves for its being extorted from them on that very day, by rejecting Sir Samuel Romilly's bill.

During the short session in summer 1807 which soon followed, he renewed his efforts with exemplary perseverance, and succeeded in carrying a portion, but the most material part, of the former measure. It was enacted, by the 47. *Geo. III. st.* 2. *c.* 84, that the freehold estates of persons deceased, who were, during their lifetime, traders within the bankrupt laws, shall be assets for the payment of their simple contract debts, preference being given to their specialty debts. How much soever we may rejoice at so wise and just a bill having received the sanction of Parliament, it is not very easy to descry the consistency of the silent acquiescence given to this measure, with the loud outcry raised against the other a few months before.

In the same short session, Sir Samuel Romilly carried another act, which might be thought to trench somewhat on parliamentary privilege; and indeed would, in all probability, have been thrown out, had it been proposed to Parliament after three years additional experience had taught most of our public men far higher lessons of privilege. Members of Parliament had a most useless, and in many cases oppressive, right, when sued in courts of equity, of receiving, at the cost of the plaintiff, a copy of the bill filed against them. The expense of this not being allowed

* It is a melancholy but unquestionable fact, that his Majesty, the Prince of Wales, and the whole of the Royal Family have (with the honourable exception of the Duke of Gloucester), uniformly and zealously opposed the abolition of the Slave-Trade. The courtiers have of course agreed.

lowed in costs when the suit was determined in favour of the plaintiff, a serious burden was imposed upon every one claiming his rights against those having privileges of Parliament, a burthen quite sufficient to prevent the suit, where the value of the matter in dispute was inconsiderable, or where (as frequently happens) several must be made parties to the bill who were members of Parliament. By the 47. *Geo. III. st.* 2. *c.* 40, Sir Samuel Romilly put an end to this odious privilege, as far as regards members of the House of Commons.

The next subject which engaged his attention, is so closely connected with the reforms discussed at large in the former part of this article, that we shall not enlarge further upon it, than merely to indicate it. Since the reign of Elizabeth (8. *Eliz. c.* 4.), the picking of pockets had been punishable as a capital felony; though, for a long time past, like the acts already discussed, this penalty never had been inflicted, unless something else came out against the culprit. By the 48. *Geo.* III. *c.* 129, this offence is made a felony within clergy, and punishable with transportation or imprisonment. It seems strange that the legislature which repealed the statute of Elizabeth, should, immediately afterwards, have made such a stand against the repeal of the statutes of Anne, William III, and George II, so often above referred to. The argument is the very same in all these cases; and it was treated in the same way when broached in Parliament. Nevertheless, Sir Samuel Romilly having attempted twice to carry these last bills, was defeated sometimes in the one, and sometimes in the other House; so that the objectionable laws remain on our statute-book, and the evil practice still subsists in full force. With a discrimination, however, which we must rejoice in, without pretending to comprehend the grounds of it, the same persons who so vehemently and successfully resisted the innovations attempted upon the statutes of King William and Queen Anne, have suffered Sir Samuel to carry a bill repealing the capital part of the felony created by the more recent act 18. *Geo. II. c.* 27, against stealing from bleaching grounds; and, while we write, intelligence has reached us of his having been permitted to carry a repeal of that most sanguinary and disgraceful law (39. *Eliz. c.* 17.), inflicting the punishment of death on soldiers and sailors who shall be found begging without testimonials of their discharge;—a law which was far too barbarous to be executed later than a very few years after it was made.

This statement of the seven bills which Sir Samuel Romilly has succeeded in carrying, and of the four in which he has failed, may serve to show the reader, not previously acquainted with

with these matters, what the real extent is of those reforming and innovating designs about which he must have heard so much. He will probably rise from the consideration of the subject, with a conviction that no clamours were ever raised upon a more slender groundwork; and will feel disposed, after contemplating the sum of his legislative labours, to admire, for his exemplary caution, and temperance, and wisdom, the man, whom he has been accustomed to venerate for his devotion to the cause of liberty, and to love, for the purity of his blameless life, and the generous warmth of his feelings towards his fellow-creatures. From such grateful reflections, we would not rashly or hastily withdraw the reader of these pages to the spectacle he will encounter, upon casting his eye towards the antagonists of this eminent legislator. But our sketch, feeble at the best, would be still more imperfect, if we forgot to note, that they who thus persecute, with their base clamours, the author of such moderate and disinterested reforms as we have been discussing,—they who affect to hold up this profound and practical lawyer as a theorist rashly seeking the destruction of English jurisprudence,—they who would set a mob upon him if they durst, for striving to render the people more virtuous, more peaceful, more orderly—without any party view or bias whatsoever—(for the faction whose cause he espouses is that of his country and his kind)——They, are the very men who for the last twenty years have been tampering with every principle and bulwark of the constitution,—levelling about them, to serve party and personal interests, all the fundamental laws of the realm,—suspending the statutes in which the English government is embodied,*—violating the solemn compacts between prince and people, upon which the throne was limited to the reigning family,*—repealing the safeguards of the estates annexed to the Crown, in order to humour, or enrich, the individual who, for the time, happens to wear it, ‡—multiplying capital felonies, in order at one time to crush the spirit of the people, † at another, to protect some trading company in its undue gains, §—and (to pass over numberless lesser extravagances) oversetting the most ancient and venerable parts of the law of the land, by interfering between debtor and creditor, landlord and tenant,—destroying the existing contracts of the former, and the established securities of the latter. ‖

** Habeas Corpus,—Bill of Rights, &c.

‡ 39. *Geo. III c.* 88. repealing 1. Ann, st. 1. c. 7.

† Gagging Bills.

§ Bank Bills.

‖ The Bank Note Bills of 1811 and 1812.

ART. VIII. *Travels in the Island of Iceland, during the Summer of the year* 1810. By Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE, Bart. 4to Constable & Co. Edinburgh. Longman & Co. &c. London. 1811.

ICELAND is perhaps the country in the whole world where civilization has proceeded the greatest length, considering the physical difficulties it has had to encounter. In a remote island, situate on the farthest verge of the habitable globe; encompassed by polar ice, and ravaged by volcanic fire; in a climate where a long winter, cold, dark and tempestuous, is succeeded by a short summer, so little genial that it is insufficient to ripen grain of any species:—In such a country, it is wonderful that the industry of man has been able to do more than to supply the most urgent of his wants. Yet, here, learning flourished at a very early period; poetry was cultivated; and here the mythology of the northern nations was first reduced into a systematic form. A people, independent and free, enacting their own laws, and choosing their own magistrates, found, in the possession of these inestimable blessings, what was more than a compensation for all the physical evils which they endured. Accordingly, while feudal tyranny, by the bloodshed and oppression to which it everywhere gave birth, retained the finest countries of Europe in a state of barbarism;—liberty and peace, with learning and the arts in their train, took refuge in this inhospitable clime; and found, on the confines of the polar circle, an asylum which the plains of France or Italy could not have afforded them;—a memorable example how much worse the sufferings are, produced by art, than those produced by nature.

Iceland, indeed, in the state to which it is now reduced, does not exhibit so agreeable a spectacle. The physical evils remain, and perhaps have increased; but the moral and political resources, by which their bitterness was allayed, have nearly vanished. The conquest of Iceland by the Norwegian princes, and the union of Norway to the crown of Denmark, have converted Iceland into the poor appendage of an absolute monarch. In the ignorance of political economy, or the contempt for it which always prevails in such governments, even the means devised for promoting the advantage of this unfortunate island, have proved fatal to its prosperity; and the exclusive privilege of a commercial company—an engine of such destructive power, that even the wealth of India is, as has been found by experiment, hardly able to withstand it—quickly proved ruinous to Iceland. The arts, however, the knowledge and the learning, which once flourished so remarkably in that island, have not entirely abandoned it; and there still remains much to excite

excite and to gratify the curiosity of an enlightened traveller. The manners of civilized nations, however much they may resemble one another, must assume a different aspect in countries of which the natural history is very different; and it must be always interesting to observe, when the change is great, how the former of these accommodate themselves to the latter, and how they contrive to diminish the evils which they cannot remove. In the instance of Iceland, there is added to all this the peculiarities of its natural history, derived from the extensive operation of volcanic fire.

It has accordingly been three times visited by travellers from Britain, within the last forty years. In 1772, Sir Joseph Banks, who had already circumnavigated the globe, thought it worth while to visit the shores of Iceland; being willing, it would seem, after having seen the most delightful dwelling of savage life, to look on civilization in its poorest abode. He was accompanied by Drs Solander and Lind, and by M. Von Troil, who afterwards, in a series of letters, gave some account of Iceland.

In the year 1789, Iceland was again visited by Sir John Stanley, accompanied by some other gentlemen, who sailed with him from Leith. An analysis of the water of the Geyser, so remarkable for the silicious incrustations it produces, made by Dr Black, was a consequence of this voyage. To the account of this analysis was added a letter of Sir John Stanley, which caused much regret that the author of such a lively and picturesque description should not have favoured the public with a fuller account of his observations.

In the beginning of summer 1810, Sir George Mackenzie, accompanied by Dr Holland and Mr Bright, performed the same voyage; and the volume before us gives an account of the part of Iceland visited by these gentlemen. Iceland is a very large island; but its coasts only are inhabited, and of these the part that is most accessible and best known, is that which fronts the south-west. It was for this part that our travellers shaped their course; and the tract they visited comprehends an extent of about 120 miles in length along the coast in a direction nearly north-west, by a breadth that varies from 40 to 20 miles. In a country, consisting almost entirely of rocks or of marshes, where there are no roads, the horses weak, and the people slow, motion must needs be difficult; and to have visited so large a tract of country, in the course of an Icelandic summer, required no small share of activity. The line of the coast being deeply indented by the sea, is, in fact, much longer than could be inferred from the measures above mentioned. The south-west corner of the island sends out two extensive promontories, between which a deep gulph, called the *Faxé Fiord*,

ord, is included. The south promontory, called the *Guldbringé Syssel*, is about 45 miles long, by 10 or 12 broad, and stretches a little to the south of west. The northern promontory, the *Snæfell Syssel*, or the district of Snowy Mountains, is somewhat longer, considerably broader, and nearly parallel to the former. The distance of these promontories, measured along the bottom of the gulph, is about 40 miles in a straight line. Our travellers went round the shores of these promontories, and also along those of the intervening country, besides traversing them in several directions, and extending their excursion also inland north-east to the Geyser, and east to Hecla and the Obsidian rock, distant about 90 geographical miles from *Reikavic*, the place where they landed, and the metropolis of Iceland, situated on a point of land on the north side of the Guldbringé Syssel.

This is the country examined; but it is not from the extent of the field, but from the minuteness, the accuracy, and the selection of the observations, that the merits of a traveller are to be estimated. In this respect, great praise, we think, is due to Sir George Mackenzie and his associates. The objects to which their attention has been directed, appear to have been well chosen; and no opportunity has been lost of acquiring information concerning either the past or the present state of the country, the manners of the inhabitants, their arts, education, laws, &c.; or concerning the natural history of a country rendered interesting by the very severity with which nature has treated it, and by the unparalleled extent to which volcanic fire has carried its operations. On the spirit, therefore, the activity, and the judgment with which these travels have been conducted, we mean to bestow our unqualified approbation, and to point them out as highly worthy of imitation. The account with which the public is here presented, is written with great plainness and simplicity. The narrative is clear and lively; and the pictures it draws, whether moral or physical, carry with them every appearance of accuracy and good faith. On some occasions, the detail perhaps is more minute than was quite necessary; and circumstances are now and then dwelt on, which, though they might affect the comfort of the travellers at the time, do not throw much light either upon the natural or moral history of the country. Yet, this does not frequently occur; and as it only makes the picture more complete, and serves as a security that nothing material is omitted, it is in reality better than the opposite extreme, where a narrative, meagre and bare of circumstances, always produces a suspicion that something, essential, and tending

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ing to develop characters, moral or physical, has been omitted.

We shall first present our readers with an account of what relates to the manners of the inhabitants; and next of what respects the natural history of the country.

On landing at Reikavic, they were received with kindness and hospitality; and as it was yet too early in the season (7th May) for setting out on any distant excursion, they remained there for some time, and had an opportunity of becoming well acquainted with the principal people, among whom they found several men of learning and information. They gave a ball to the ladies at Reikavic, of which the account is amusing, as it shows how differently the same object is pursued in different situations. At length, they became impatient to set out; and in this first tour they walked on foot, and only used horses for carrying their baggage. A young man who had been educated as a priest, and who spoke Latin tolerably well, was hired to attend them as their guide.

'Early in the morning,' says Sir George, 'the preparation for our journey began; but the motions of the Icelanders were so slow, and there were so many discussions about distributing the loads on the horses, that it was past two in the afternoon before all was ready. The pack-saddles consist of square pieces of light spungy turf cut from the bogs. These are tied on with a rope; and a piece of wood, fitted to the horse's back with a peg projecting from each side, is fastened over the turf, and from these pegs the baggage is suspended. The Icelanders pretend to be very nice in balancing the loads; but I do not recollect to have ever travelled two miles without stopping ten times to rectify the baggage. When all the horses are loaded, they are fastened to each other, head to tail, and thus proceed in order. The horses are very hardy, and patient of fatigue, but easily startled. Every Icelander, of whatever rank, can shoe a horse; the shoes are plain, and the nails, which are very large, are driven firmly through the hoof, and carefully doubled over. In this simple state the shoes remain firm, till worn out or broken. Travellers always carry a supply of shoes and nails on long journeys. When iron is scarce, the horns of sheep are made use of for horse shoes. The day we set out on was fine; but snow showers were falling on the mountains round us. We passed through a bare, dismal country, among low hills; till, not far from *Havnefiord*, we entered a rough path, where we saw the first marks of subterraneous fire. The melted masses of lava seemed to have been heaved up in every direction, and had assumed all sorts of fantastic forms;---on every side chasms and caverns presented themselves. When we least expected it, we descried the town of *Havnefiord* situated in the midst of the lava, and so placed, that the houses obtained complete shelter from masses of matter that had formerly carried destruction in their course.'

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The following account seems well calculated to give an idea of an Icelandic landscape, and of the face of this very singular country.

'Having passed a low ridge of hills, we descended into a valley filled with lava, which is connected with that about Havnefiord, and has evidently proceeded from the same source. Along the edge of this we travelled for about two miles, and then began to ascend a ridge covered with light slags. We observed that the lava had run down on the east side of the valley, and, in some places, it appeared as if it had ascended. The ascending of lava is a well known fact, though in examining a cold mass, this circumstance strikes an inexperienced observer as something wonderful. It is caused by the formation of a crust on the cooling of the surface; and a case or tube being thus produced, the lava rises in the same manner as water in a pipe. Beyond this spot we saw the most dreadful effects of subterraneous heat all around us; and, as far as the eye could reach over a wide extended plain, nothing appeared to relieve it from the black rugged lava, which had destroyed the whole of the district. The surface was swelled into knobs, from a few feet in diameter to forty or fifty, many of which had burst, and disclosed caverns lined with melted matter in the form of stalactites. Near this place we went to visit a cave which had been described to us. It was nothing more than an extensive hollow, formed by one of those blisters or bubbles in the lava, hundreds of which we had walked over. The bottom of it was covered with ice, and numerous icicles hung from the roof. The distance to the farther end was 55 yards; the height not more than 7 or 8 feet. The inside was lined with melted matter disposed in many singular forms.

'In our progress to-day, we passed by the source of the river Kaldaa, which is a large basin at the bottom of a hollow, into which numerous streams empty themselves. After running about two miles, this river entirely disappears, and is lost among the lava. We met with a number of little craters, in a stream of lava less rugged than the rest. In one of them, the melted matter had formed a sort of dome, about 25 feet in diameter, and open at one side. Within, it was lined with an assemblage of stalactites, hanging in groups, very curious and fantastic.

'The houses of the Icelanders are all constructed nearly on the same plan. An outer wall of turf, about four feet and a half high, and six feet thick, encloses all the apartments. On the side facing the south are doors serving as entrances to the dwelling-house, smithy, dairy, &c. From the door of the house is a long narrow passage, into which, on each side, the different apartments open. Between each of these is a thick partition of turf; and every apartment has a separate roof, through which light is admitted by pieces of glass four or five inches square. The principal rooms of the better sort of houses have windows in front, consisting of several panes of glass. The turf walls, the earthen floors damp and filthy, make the smell insupportable.

insupportable. There is no mode of ventilating any part of the house. The cottages of the poorest people are so very wretched, that it is wonderful how any thing in the human form can breathe in them.'

We ought not to be astonished at this want of cleanliness. In such a climate as Iceland, warmth and shelter are the articles of first necessity, to the attainment of which every thing must be sacrificed; and more skill in architecture than falls to the share of a rude people, is required in such circumstances to reconcile airiness with warmth. In a country too, subject almost to perpetual tempests, this difficulty is greatly increased. The hovels in Iceland, we have no doubt, are very bad, but probably not worse, allowing for the greater scantiness of resources, and the greater severity of climate, than are to be met with in a country with which we presume that Sir George Mackenzie is well acquainted;—hovels, in the wretchedness and poverty of which, have been reared many of those brave and hardy men, to whom the military glory of Great Britain owes no small share of its support.

A visit to a clergyman, Mr Hialtalin, at Suarbar, presents a more pleasant picture than the preceding.

'In the course of the evening,' says Sir George,' we had much conversation with our worthy host, who spoke Latin exceedingly well. We obtained some interesting information relative to his parish; and had much reason to admire his paternal care of the flock committed to his charge. In a population varying from 200 to 210 there are 15 married couples. The annual number of births is 7; of deaths 6 or 7; of marriages not quite so much as 1. The parish is 16 English miles in length, and 10 in breadth; so that the population does not exceed $1\frac{1}{4}$ to a square mile.

'We were gratified with the sight of Mr Hialtalin's parish-register, in which is an entry made annually of the state of each family in the parish. Under the head of each family were entered, in separate columns, the condition of each individual—their age—whether confirmed or not—whether communicants or not—whether able to read—general conduct—abilities, &c.; also a list of the books belonging to each family.'

In every situation, but especially in such a one as Iceland, where the comforts of life are so few, a pastor like Mr Hialtalin must be of inestimable value. He must appear as a friend and a father; as an angel sent from heaven, to dispel, by the light of religion and truth, the evils by which his flock is so closely surrounded. He himself, in the midst of continual hardship and privation, enjoys the great advantage of occupying a place where no distinction is to be obtained but by the faithful discharge of his duty. If the ministers of religion shall ever be arranged according to their real usefulness and importance to the

world, how many Bishops and Cardinals will doff their mitres and their hats before the *priest* of *Suartar!*

The following will give a tolerably good notion of the manner of living of the people of the better sort. Sir George and his friends made a visit at the house of the Chief-justice Stephenson.

'We were received very cordially, but with a considerable degree of form; and were ushered into the best room by Mr Stephenson, who met us at the door. Almost immediately after we had seated ourselves, the ladies of the family made their appearance; and we had coffee, wine, biscuit, and English cheese, set before us. This was merely a prelude to a more substantial dinner, or rather supper, which was brought in at eight o'clock. It consisted of boiled salmon, baked mutton, potatoes (from England), sago and cream, London porter, and excellent port wine. We had no doubt that the ladies, who had prepared and brought in the dishes, would partake of them; and on our declining to take our seats before they had placed themselves at table, we were surprised when told they had already dined. The females of the highest, as well as of the lowest rank, as in former times in our own country, seem to be regarded as mere servants. During the repast, our hostess stood at the door with her arms akimbo, looking at us; while her daughter, and another young woman, were actively employed in changing the plates, and running backwards and forwards for whatever was wanted. Occasionally her ladyship assisted in the rites of hospitality; and next day, when restraint was somewhat worn off, she and the young ladies chatted and joked with us, laughing heartily at our broken Icelandic, which was mixed with English and broken Danish, neither of which they understood.'

The husbandry of Iceland consists entirely in the management of stock, as no corn is produced in the island. The crop of grass seems in many places to be considerable, though not nearly what, by proper attention, it might be rendered. They begin to cut their hay about the end of July; but Sir George observes, that he did not see any field in which plants either useless, or very little nutritious, were not equal in quantity to those of greater value. All are cut down together by means of a short narrow scythe, with which the Icelanders work expeditiously and neatly. The rest of the process is much the same as with us in Scotland. The hay is kept chiefly for the cows; but, in severe weather, a little is dealt out to the sheep and horses. When the whole is got in, a festival like our harvest-home takes place. Draining seems to be the species of improvement most wanted.

The cattle, in point of size and appearance, are very like the largest of our Highland sorts, except that they have seldom horns. The sheep appear to be nearly the same with the old breed in the Highlands of Scotland, now nearly extinct. The horses

are exceeding good. They are accustomed to scramble slowly through the bogs and over the rocks, and to dart rapidly forward whenever they come to dry and even ground. In travelling, each of the party has generally two or three horses with him, and he changes from one to another as they become tired.

The wages given to servants, male and female, are from four to six rixdollars a-year, with food and clothing. The rixdollar, which is paper, is worth 4s. English at par; but the government paper is greatly depreciated, and a guinea of gold passes for fifteen of these dollars. The rulers of Iceland have not, it would seem, discovered the expedient which does so much credit to the wisdom of the British senate, that of preventing the depreciation of the paper by penal statutes. Every thing, such as weaving, spinning, knitting, forging horse-shoes, &c. is done at home, and forms the household work in the long dismal winter of that climate. The extent of this home manufacture is doubtless the reason why clothing is a part of the wages of labour: such articles, in many of the situations in Iceland, cannot be had easily to purchase. While the people are occupied in these different works, one generally reads aloud from their tales and histories. Most families are supplied with such books, which they are careful to exchange with one another.

The article on the education and literature of the Icelanders is by Dr Holland; and will be considered as singularly interesting by all who love to see the desire of knowledge, the great characteristic of man, going with him, to console and elevate his mind in the most remote and forlorn situations. A preliminary dissertation, by the same gentleman, on the ancient history of Iceland, displays great ingenuity and research; and we regret that we have not been able, for want of room, to make our readers acquainted with it. 'At the present time,' Dr Holland remarks, 'there are many individuals living on this 'remote spot, and from their situation exposed to innumerable 'privations, whose talents and acquirements would grace the 'most refined circles of civilized society. The business of edu-'cation is systematically carried on among all ranks of the inha-'bitants; and the degree of information existing, even among 'the lower classes, is probably greater than in almost any part 'of Continental Europe.'

At present, the school at Bessasted is the only regular establishment in Iceland, for what may be accounted academical education. It consists of three masters, and twenty-four scholars; and the head master, or Lector Theologiæ, has an annual salary of 600 rixdollars. At this time, the person who held that situation was Steingrim Jonson, a man of ability and learning.

The school is furnished with a library of twelve to fourteen hundred volumes, containing some good editions of the classics; and, beside books in Icelandic ad Danish, a considerable number in German, and some in English and French.

Of the students educated here, a few are sent to prosecute their studies at the University of Copenhagen: the rest are probably mostly settled in Iceland, as Danish priests. Even in this profound solitude, and entire seclusion from all literary society, frequent instances occur, of men who retain their ardour for study, and pursue it successfully through life. This so often happens, Dr Holland says, that it may be regarded as a phenomenon requiring a particular explanation. The leisure afforded by the long winter of Iceland, he suggests as one of the most obvious causes that, by affording an opportunity, may produce a taste, for mental improvement. We must be permitted to remark, however, that without a strong predisposition to such exertions, the opportunity which retirement affords will be found of little avail. Even in academical institutions kindly intended to remove every cause of distraction, anxiety or care, that could turn away the mind from the steady pursuit of science or literature, how rarely is an effect produced that corresponds to the benevolent intentions of the founder! If amidst the cold and the damp, the darkness and the tempests of the polar circle, such effects more frequently arise, it must proceed from some favourable structure of the mind, or some happy combination of external causes, with which we are not sufficiently acquainted.

Concerning the diffusion of knowledge among the lower ranks, Dr Holland observes, that it is a very rare thing to meet with an Icelander who is unable to read and write, or who does not possess considerable intelligence on all subjects which he has any access to examine. 'The instruction of his children,' he adds, 'forms one of his stated occupations; and while the little earthen 'hut which he inhabits is almost buried in the snow, and while 'darkness and desolation are spread universally around, the 'light of an oil lamp illumines the page from which he reads 'to his family the lessons of knowledge, religion and virtue.' The importance that is attached to knowledge by all ranks, is attested by a very singular article in the ecclesiastical code of this country, which grants to the bishops, or even the inferior clergy, the power of preventing any marriage where the woman is unable to read.

The books in the possession of the lower classes are chiefly of a religious nature. In many parishes, there is a small library belonging to the church, from which, under the superintendance of the priest, every family in the district may derive some little addition

addition to its means of instruction and improvement. How wonderful is all this in a country, where nature, aided by the utmost efforts of human industry, seems barely adequate to provide for the articles of first necessity!—Is it because intellectual enjoyment is the only luxury that the place affords?—

The attainments of the Icelanders, with respect to languages, are very wonderful, and are among the circumstances that most forcibly attract the attention of a stranger. 'He sees men 'whose habitations bespeak a condition little removed from the 'savage state; men who are deprived of almost every comfort, 'and who, amid the storms of the surrounding ocean, seek in 'their little boats the scanty provision on which their families 'depend. Among these very men he finds an acquaintance 'with the classical writings of antiquity, a taste formed on the 'models of Greece and Rome, and a susceptibility to all the 'beauties which these models disclose. While traversing the 'country, he is often attended by guides who can communicate 'with him in Latin; and, arriving at his place of rest for the 'night, he not unfrequently draws forth from his little smithy 'a man who addresses him in Latin, with great fluency and 'elegance. The Icelanders abound in poetical compositions; 'history is also a favourite study with them; but it is remarkable, that in science and philosophy they are not at all distinguished.' Dr Holland accounts for this last circumstance, by supposing that the confusion in which the natural history of the country appears, manifesting the action of so many unknown and astonishing powers, the operation of which seems so little subjected to rule, and so little guided by analogy, has overwhelmed their understandings, and disappointed all attempts at generalization. It is certain, that the Icelanders are very superstitious, which is no doubt the consequence of living in the midst of a terrible and disorderly scene, where the facts cannot be reconciled with one another. We shall conclude this head with Dr Holland's remark, 'that this disparity of physical 'and moral circumstances is an interesting fact, not only in the 'history of Iceland, but in that of the human species. While 'the calamities of internal warfare, and the oppression of tyrannical governments have clouded with ignorance and barbarity countries on which the sun of nature sheds his brightest 'beams, the possession of Peace, of Political Liberty, and well 'ordered Laws, has given both intellectual and moral exaltation 'to a community which has its abode on the very confines of 'the habitable globe.'

The natural history of Iceland contains a great number of rare

rare and interesting objects. Among these we may reckon the Sulphur-mountains; one of which, on the south side of the Guldbringé district, is described by Sir George Mackenzie. At the foot of the mountain there was a bank composed of clay and sulphur, with steam issuing from all parts of it. From a ridge immediately above it, under which was a deep hollow, a profusion of vapour arose, and a confused noise was heard, of boiling and splashing, joined to the roaring of steam escaping from crevices in the rock. The opposite side of the mountain was covered with sulphur, and clay of a white or yellowish colour. From whatever spot the sulphur was removed, steam instantly escaped; and, in many places, the sulphur was so hot that they could scarcely touch it. From the smell it appeared that the steam was mixed with a small quantity of sulphurated hydrogene gas. When the thermometer was sunk a few inches into the clay, it rose almost to the boiling point. At the bottom of the hollow, they found a caldron of mud and water boiling with great vehemence. The mud was in constant agitation, and often thrown up to the height of 6 or 8 feet. In some places the quantity of sulphur was very great, and formed a smooth crust, beautifully chrystallized, and from a quarter of an inch to several inches in thickness. The violence with which the steam issues through the crevices of the rock is in some places so great, that the noise may be heard at the distance of several miles. The visit to this place was not without danger. The sensations, says Sir George, of a person standing on a support which feebly sustains him over an abyss where fire and brimstone are in dreadful and incessant action;—having before him tremendous proofs of what is going on beneath;—enveloped in thick vapours, and stunned with thundering noises;—are hardly to be conceived by one who has not experienced them.

Their next visit was to the hot springs of Geyser, situated considerably inland, and more than 60 miles east of Reikiavic. They are in a valley of considerable size, and on the side of the river. The principal fountain, the great Geyser, is in the middle of a small eminence, which extends all round it, and is about 7 feet high. The basin in the middle is of an oval form, 56 feet in the longest diameter, and 46 in the shortest. This basin, when they arrived, was full of hot water, with a little running out at one side. After examining some of the fountains in the neighbourhood, of which there are several, they returned to the great Geyser, where they were alarmed by a sound like the distant discharge of artillery, and the shaking of the ground. The water, after heaving several times, suddenly arose in a large column,

lumn, accompanied by clouds of steam, to the height of 10 or 12 feet. The column then seemed to burst, and, sinking down, caused the water to overflow in considerable quantity. This was followed by a succession of jets, to the number of 18, some of them rising to the height of 50 feet. After the last of these, the water disappeared from the basin, and sunk within a pipe about 10 feet wide, which is in the centre of it. The perpendicular depth of the basin is about 3 feet, and that of the pipe appeared to be about 60. At 29 minutes past 6 in the evening, the pipe was full, and the water being within reach, its temperature was found to be 209°. No great jet, however, took place for a long time. 'We pitched our tents,' says Sir George, 'at the distance of about 100 yards from the Geyser, and determined to keep watch by turns during the night. About 4 in the morning, Mr Bright, who happened to have the watch, gave the alarm; and we saw water thrown up, and steam issuing with a tremendous noise, from a place within 50 yards of us, which we had not before remarked. There was little water; but the force with which the steam escaped, produced a white column of spray and vapour at least 60 feet high. We enjoyed this astonishing and beautiful spectacle till 7 o'clock, when it gradually disappeared. We conjectured this to be the fountain which Sir John Stanley has called the New Geyser.'

The beautiful and variegated petrifactions which surround the Geysers have been often described; the leaves of birch and willow are seen converted into white stone, in a state of the most perfect preservation, every fibre being entire. Grass, rushes, and masses of peat, are in the same condition. On the outside of the mouth of the Geyser, the depositions, owing to the splashing of the water, are rough, and have been compared to the heads of cauliflower. The inside of the basin is comparatively smooth; and the matter forming it is more compact and dense than the exterior crust. Sir George and his friends carried off a great quantity of these curious specimens; of which he has presented a very fine collection to the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

It was not till the night after the explosion just mentioned, that they had the satisfaction to see the Great Geyser display its utmost magnificence. This happened about midnight. At that season of the year there was light enough to render the whole visible; and the effect was more striking, perhaps, from the partial obscurity. The fountain threw up a succession of magnificent jets, the highest of which reached to the height of 90 feet.

The internal structure necessary to produce those singular alternations

ternations of activity and rest, even supposing a sufficiency of water and of heat to be provided, is not easily conceived. That the elasticity of vapour is the great agent, and that the Geyser is a natural steam engine cannot be questioned. A great quantity of steam is always thrown up with the water; and, in some of the smaller fountains, bursts of steam are sometimes thrown up through the water, the ground at the same time being felt to tremble all round. Sir George has given a description of the manner in which he thinks that the Geyser may be produced. He conceives a cavity in the heart of a rock to be supplied with water by percolation; while a pipe, first bending to a lower level, sends up a perpendicular shaft, which opens at the surface. The lower part of this cavity, and part of the shaft or neck, being filled with water, if heat continue to be applied, a quantity of steam will fill the part of the cavern between the surface of the water and the roof. The steam, thus enclosed, if the heat be continued, will increase in temperature, and acquire elasticity sufficient to force up the water in the shaft, and to throw it to a great height in the air. This is certainly a mechanism by which appearances similar to the Geyser may be produced; though, whether it be the actual process of nature, we may never be able to discover. Sir George observed a fountain, to which he gives the name of the Alternating Geyser. It consisted of two jets from different points; and the one began to rise always when the other ceased. He has proposed it as a problem in hydraulics, to contrive the means by which an alternation of this kind might be produced without the use of valves, which he thinks it probable that nature does not employ. We see no reason, however, for thinking that valves are not among the resources which nature has in store in the bowels of the earth. If we suppose a perpendicular pipe or shaft in which there is a contraction, and that above that contraction there lyes a large round and smooth stone, of size sufficient to shut the contracted part of the pipe, but not completely to fill the superior or wider part, we have a valve of a very perfect kind, and one which, in strict conformity to analogy, we may imagine nature to possess. By means of such a valve, the jet of the Geyser might be produced, without the bent pipe in the description just given. It would be no objection to this theory, that such a valve as is here supposed, must be subject to continual waste, and must in time be insufficient for the purpose. The changes that take place in these fountains seem to show, that the mechanism by which they are produced is not the most permanent.

We

We have already mentioned the extensive promontory that bounds the Gulf of Faxé on the north. This promontory is very mountainous, and the summits of the mountains are mostly covered with snow. The name given to a mountain of this sort, in the Icelandic language, is Jokul; and the highest of these, situated at the very western extremity of the promontory, is called Snæfell-Jokul. Mr Holland and Mr Bright ascended to the top of the Jokul; and a very lively account of their excursion is given from the journal of the latter.

Having procured a guide, which was no easy matter, (such is the kind of superstitious terror that the Icelanders have for this mountain), they began to ascend; and, after walking two hours over a barren surface that at every step became more destitute of vegetation, they reached the snow. At first, the snow yielded to the impression of the foot; but by and by, it became harder, and the steepness so great, as to render the ascent difficult. The snow was frequently intersected by deep and wide chasms, the passage of which was difficult, and not a little dangerous. At last, they reached one of the three summits; but the highest point of all, about 100 feet higher, was rendered inaccessible by a deep chasm that intervened. At the highest point to which they reached, the thermometer stood at 34, and on the snow, at 32; it was then about 3 o'clock. On the sea-shore, at 11 in the morning, the thermometer was at 58. After having enjoyed a fine view of the coast, and the adjacent mountains, they descended, much pleased with their excursion, and none more than the guide, who found it difficult however to persuade his countrymen that he had really been on the top of *Snæfell Jokul*; such is the superstitious reverence or fear with which this mountain is regarded. We regret that the travellers had no barometer, as the ascertaining of the lower limit of the snow, is a material point, not merely in the natural history of this country, but of climate in general, as fixing the limit of congelation at the entrance into the polar circle. The barometer is an instrument very liable to such accidents as had deprived our travellers of theirs; and it would be well if the resources were perfectly understood by which the want of a barometer may, in some measure be supplied.

If a traveller be provided with a quadrant, or any instrument for measuring vertical angles, his best and easiest method is to take the angle of altitude from a point, of which the distance from the mountain can be measured on a map. Had our travellers, for instance, taken such an observation at *Olafsvic*, on the sea-shore, the place from which they set out, and had they repeated the same at a point on the opposite coast, when they were on the

the other side of the mountain, the mean between these two computations of the height could not have failed of coming very near the truth. The corrections for curvature and refraction might be applied as directed in the note.* We would very much recommend this method to travellers, who feel an interest in measuring the elevation of the ground over which they pass, and are not provided with barometers.

Whenever mountains, where snow is perpetual, are described, a question occurs which it is always material to resolve, viz. Whether the covering consists simply of snow, or if it is what is properly called a *glacier?* Travellers do not seem to be always aware of the difference between these two ways in which frost takes possession of the tops and declivities of mountains. In the one, the substance is real snow, perhaps much indurated, but still retaining its granular texture, and its white colour. In the other, the snow is first soaked with rain, which afterwards freezes, and converts the whole into ice. This last is the glacier; it is an emanation from the snow, and constitutes a river of ice, if we may so call it, descending from the great lake of congealed water which rests on all the summits that penetrate into the region of perpetual frost. Wherever we would define the lower boundary of that region, and trace through the atmosphere the line that separates animate from inanimate nature, this distinction is necessary to be kept in view. Mr Bright has not stated directly any opinion on this subject; but his account seems to exclude the idea of a glacier. Supposing this to be fact, the height at which they fell in with the snow, according to KIRWAN'S table,† was 2516 feet above the level of the sea.

At Olafsvic, the nearest village to the mountain, the sun was seen both to rise and set in the sea; and, on the 5th of July, Mr Holland observed that he was 2^h 35′ under the horizon, the latitude being 64° 58′. Calculating from the instant of the upper limb of the sun descending below the horizon, to the instant when the same limb appears above it, the time, paying no regard

* Multiply the horizontal distance in feet by the tangent of the observed angle, it will give the height nearly, to be corrected for the curvature of the earth, and the refraction of light, thus:

Square the horizontal distance reckoned in English miles; two-thirds of the amount is the correction in feet, to be added to the height already found on account of the curvature of the earth.

From the height thus corrected, subtract one-seventh of the last correction, and it will give the height corrected, both for curvature and refraction.

† *Estimate of the temperature of different Latitudes.* p. 9.

gard to the refraction, comes out nearly 40^{m} greater; so that the refraction must have retarded sun-set by 20 minutes, and accelerated sun-rise by the same quantity.

Hecla is the most celebrated volcano of Iceland; and it would seem to argue great want of curiosity in a traveller not to visit that mountain, though at present it offers nothing very remarkable to an observer. The principal advantage which our travellers derived from their excursion to Hecla, was from it becoming the means of their seeing the Iceland Agate, or Obsidian, in its native place. A very intelligent guide, whom they there met with, told them that he could conduct them to the place where a great quantity of Iceland agates was to be found. It was situated 25 or 30 miles to the eastward of Hecla. There, in a small valley, with a lake in one corner, to which they descended with some difficulty, they saw opposite to them a perpendicular face of rock, resembling a stream of lava. As they advanced towards it, the sun broke through the clouds; and the reflexion of his beams, from the supposed lava, quickly distinguished the Obsidian.

'On ascending one of the abrupt pinnacles which arose out of this extraordinary mass of rock, we beheld a region, the desolation of which can scarcely be paralleled. Fantastic groups of hills, craters and lava, leading the eye to distant snow-crowned jokuls; the mist rising from a water-fall; lakes embosomed among bare, bleak mountains; an awful and profound silence; lowering clouds; marks all around of the furious action of the most destructive of the elements; —all combined to impress the mind with sensations of dread and wonder.'

The fires of Hecla are not at present in a state of great activity. On its sides, the heat in one or two places under the surface was observed to be 144. When arrived at the summit, they found a crater not exceeding 100 feet in depth, with a large mass of snow in the bottom of it. The thermometer stood at 39°; it was at this time about 4 in the afternoon. The thermometer, at the bottom, at 9 o'clock, had stood at 59°. They estimated the height of Hecla at about 4000 feet. The eruptions of this volcano, as far as they have been recorded, amount only to 22; none of them more ancient than 1004. Besides these, 20 other eruptions from different volcanos, have been enumerated. Of these volcanos, 6, including Hecla, may be considered as active, having erupted in the course of the last century.

No single volcanic mountain appeared to us to have thrown out much lava. This was probably owing to the vast number of apertures which have given vent to the subterraneous heat.

There

There is, accordingly, no country where volcanic eruptions have been so numerous as in Iceland, or have been spread over so large a surface: no part of the island is wholly free from the marks of volcanic agency.

The *mineral kingdom* in Iceland assumes a character highly interesting, on account of the marks of volcanic fire that are so strongly impressed almost on every object. Of this, no one who has visited this island, as far as we know, has given an account that, either for accuracy or extent of view, is at all to be compared with that which is contained in the volume before us. We have only to regret, that there is sometimes too much theory mingled with the description, and too great a tendency to run into polemical discussion. We shall, without any theory, endeavour to give some account of the leading facts.

The rocks which compose the S. W. of Iceland, are all either of the trap formation, or they are real lava. No sandstone, or limestone, or argillaceous strata, were any where visible. Greenstone was the most common species of trap, and in some cases basalt. These rocks are not easily distinguished from lava; and whatever opinion may be entertained of their formation, no one can deny that there is great similarity in their visible appearance. They are chiefly distinguished by this, that calcareous spar is often found in greenstone and basalt, but never in those lavas that have actually flowed on the surface. The lavas that have flowed in the open air have likewise a rugged aspect, hardly to be mistaken, acquired by their flowing and cooling at their external surface at the same time. A crust is formed as the lava flows along, that stops for a while, or retards the progress of the stream, till, by accumulation, it gathers force, and breaks in pieces the crust, which is tossed about, and forms vast wrinkles, as it were, in the rock. The outward part of the lava is vesicular and slaggy; the interior often more compact, and in all respects similar to basalt, greenstone, &c. The lava of Hecla cannot be distinguished from some varieties of basalt; and that of Snæfel-Jokul has the same characters. Obsidian and pumice are also found in Iceland, in circumstances that leave no doubt of their volcanic origin. These resemble in all respects the stones of the same kind found in the Lipari islands, and described by Dolomieu and Spallanzani.

The volcanic origin of pumice is supported by numberless observations. Sir James Hall and Dr James Home visited a mountain on the north side of Lipari, that had escaped the survey of Dolomieu. A mass which, at a distance, they took for common lava, on a nearer approach they found to be entirely composed of obsidian and pumice, which passed into each other.

The

The pumice had evidently flowed along with the obsidian, and formed the upper surface of the stream, which, on examination, they found to have flowed by different mouths from the great crater. The greatest breadth of this stream was about two miles and a half, and the length of it about three. Nothing can make the volcanic origin of obsidian pumice more evident than these phenomena. It is not inferred from this that they are in every case produced by fire; but it is made certain that fire does produce them in some instances.

A very remarkable fact, of which we owe the knowledge to Sir George Mackenzie, is equally favourable to the volcanic origin of pumice. About the end of January 1783, flames were observed rising out of the sea, about 30 miles off Cape Reikianes, the western point of the *Guldbringé Syssel*. Several small islands also appeared, which however, on subsequent examination, were not to be found; but a reef of sunk rocks now exists in the direction in which the flames were seen, terminating in what is called the Blind Rock, over which the sea breaks. The flames lasted several months; during which time, vast quantities of pumice and light slags were washed on shore all around the Gulph of Faxé. In the beginning of June, earthquakes shook the whole of Iceland; the flames in the sea disappeared, and a dreadful eruption commenced from *Skaptaa Jokul*, two hundred miles distant from the place where the continuance of flame over the surface of the sea, for the space of six months, had so clearly indicated the explosion of a submarine volcano.

On climbing the mountain Drapuhlid, in search of pearlstone, our travellers met with masses of wood mineralized in a manner different, we believe, from any hitherto observed. It looks like charcoal, but feels much heavier, and contains a great deal of chalcedony intersecting it in transverse fissures. It burns without flame; and when the carbonaceous matter is consumed, the substance is little altered, and its weight scarcely diminished. The Surturbrand, another kind of fossil wood peculiar to Iceland, burns with flame; and from some specimens of it, seems not at all mineralized. It is worked as timber; and Sir George brought with him a piece which had served for a table.

Another very singular phenomenon is here described, and is peculiar to Iceland, as far as is yet known. The mountain of Akkrefell is composed of beds from 10 to 20, nay sometimes 40 feet thick, consisting of amygdaloid, tuffa, all apparently in their original position, and in one that does not at all indicate the action of volcanic fire. Our geologists, therefore, were very much surprised when they found the under sides of many of these beds having a slaggy appearance, and bearing unequivocal marks of no slight operation of fire. This was the case at the under side of every bed, excepting those of

tuffa, as far as they ascended. They observed also a vein of greenstone, about four feet thick, cutting these beds, and having a vitreous coating on its sides, as is usual in all the veins of the country. There are similar appearances observed in some other of the Icelandic mountains; and the slag above described is sometimes united to calcareous spar. This last circumstance is certainly a proof, that the heat which produced the slag-like appearance was applied under great pressure, otherwise the calcareous spar would have been reduced to quicklime. The face of Akkrefell, where these appearances are observed, may have been the wall or side of some volcano at the bottom of the ocean: the under sides, or edges, of the beds of greenstone may have been melted, without the beds themselves having flowed.

Another of the facts brought out in this tour, will, we are persuaded, appear no less new than the preceding. Sir George was soon led to distinguish two very distinct formations of lava; the one the common; the other, which he has distinguished by the name of *Cavernous Lava*, had no appearance of having flowed, but rather of having been melted in its place; for it appears heaved up into large bubbles, or blisters, of various forms, from a few feet to 40 or 50 in diameter. Many of them had burst, and displayed caverns of considerable depth. It was on this account the name of Cavernous Lava was given them.

This lava was traced to a great distance; it appeared to form large valleys; it was often covered by more recent lava—sometimes with sand, and very commonly with soil. The whole of the great plain below Hecla is composed of cavernous lava. It reaches from Cape Reikianes to Thingvalla, a distance of 55 nautical miles. The theory which Sir George has formed of the formation of this extraordinary rock, is, that it is one which has been softened, and even melted, by subterraneous heat, over a vast extent of surface, but without being removed from its place. This must have happened at the bottom of the sea, which is confirmed by the sand and sometimes gravel which cover it. But till volcanic countries are more carefully examined, we cannot hope for any stable theory of these singular phenomena.

Thus we have three very curious and new facts in geology brought to light by these travels. The existence of carbonized wood, containing veins of chalcedony; the slaggy beds of amygdaloid, &c. on the face of Akkrefell; and, lastly, the cavernous lava. Sir George Mackenzie, and the two gentlemen who accompanied him, entered on the examination of a volcanic country with particular advantages, in consequence of having studied the class of rocks that have the greatest affinity to lava in the great variety of these afforded by Scotland, and particularly by the country round Edinburgh: We mean the trap or whinstone rocks, so apt to be confounded with lava, and which, in a coun-

try where the two are so much intermixed as in Iceland, would unavoidably be so, if the language which nature speaks had not been previously studied in one of its simplest forms.

The volume concludes with a catalogue of Icelandic minerals, of which Sir George has presented very rich collections both to the Royal Society and to the University of Edinburgh. To all this an account of the Botany and Zoology of Iceland is added by Mr Bright. A Meteorological Journal, for the year 1811, is also given; from which, if we had leisure to enlarge on it, many curious conclusions might be deduced.

ART. IX. *Religion and Policy, and the Countenance and Assistance each should give the other. With a Survey of the Power and Jurisdiction of the Pope in the Dominions of other Princes.* By Edward, Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1811. 8vo. pp. 711.

FEW of those, we suppose, who have lately discussed the great question of religious toleration, with a reference to the Roman Catholics, expected to find a part taken in the controversy by the great Earl of Clarendon, in the year 1811. So the fact is, however; and we are glad to have an opportunity of considering the subject under some of the points of view suggested by that venerable person.

From an advertisement prefixed to this work we learn, that the manuscript from which it was printed, together with several other unpublished writings of the same author, was given by his representatives to certain trustees, for the benefit of the University of Oxford. The date of the donation is not mentioned; but we collect from the names of the parties, that it was made in the year 1777, or in one of the six preceding years. For the publication of the work now before us, the world is indebted to the present trustees, William, Earl of Mansfield; John, Lord Bishop of London; the Right Hon. Charles Abbot, Speaker of the House of Commons; and the Rev. Dr Cyril Jackson, late Dean of Christ-Church, Oxford.

The title of the book, which appears to proceed from the author himself, is very ill calculated to apprize the reader of the nature of its contents. Of the 711 pages which it contains, 636 are occupied in an historical development of the rise, progress and decline of the Papal authority; beginning with the foundation of the Church of Rome, and ending with the reign of Clement X, who was elected in the year 1670. The remaining 75 pages are divided between a short introduction of 11 pages, and a chapter entitled, *Concluding Observations upon the Pope's U-*

surped Supremacy; and the Duty of Catholic Subjects to Protestant Sovereigns. Except with reference to the conflicts between the Pope and temporal princes, very little occurs in any part of the work, which can justify the adoption of the first part of the title; and Lord Clarendon's sentiments respecting 'the countenance and assistance which religion and policy should give each other,' do not materially differ from the principles generally prevalent in the intolerant age during which he lived.

The chief object which Lord Clarendon had in view in the composition of this work. was to demonstrate two propositions, which we will subjoin in his own words.

'The first is, the extreme scandal and damage religion hath sustained from this exorbitant affectation of superiority and sovereignty in the Pope; the greatest schisms and separations amongst Christians having flowed from that fountain; and from thence the greatest ruin to kings and kingdoms, in the vast consumption of treasure and blood in unnatural wars and rebellions, having had their original. The second is, that Catholic princes themselves, who, *for their own benefit and mutual exchange of conveniences*, * do continue that correspondence with the Pope, and do themselves pay and enjoin their subjects to render that submission and obedience to him, have not that opinion of his divine right, nor do they look upon it as any part of their religion; so that in truth the obligation which is imposed upon the Catholic subjects of Protestant princes is another religion, or at least consists of more articles of faith than the Catholic princes and their subjects do profess to believe.' p. 649.

In a subsequent passage, the second proposition is more concisely stated in the following terms.

'Catholic princes themselves, and their subjects who continue their correspondence with the Pope, and do pay that submission and obedience to him, do it not out of any opinion of the divinity of it, nor do look upon it as a vital part of their religion.' p. 660.

Such being the sentiments of the noble author respecting the Papal authority, the historical part of his work is drawn up in a mode entirely conformable to them. It contains, in the first place, we will not say an exaggerated, but certainly a very highly coloured picture, of the enormities of the several pretended Vicars of Jesus Christ; and, secondly, an ample account of the most remarkable instances of resistance to their pretensions, which have proceeded from princes and governments which adhered to their communion. In the relation of these examples of resistance, Lord Clarendon frequently stops to remind the reader, of the absolute incompatibility of such conduct, on the part of Catholic states, with a serious persuasion that the Bishop of Rome has, by divine or apostolical institution, any spiritual authority out of his own diocese. We will give a short

* The words in Italics contain an unguarded admission of considerable importance.

specimen of our author's mode of reasoning on this subject, which may also serve as a specimen of the style of his work, considered as a literary composition.

It is well known, that the interdict of the republic of Venice by Paul V., in the year 1605, was the last instance in which the Pope attempted to brandish that spiritual thunder which had been so formidable during the dark ages. The 'shrewd brushes' which he received in this affair, and in several others during the preceding century, have confined him to his cave ever since, at the mouth of which he sits 'grinning at the pilgrims who pass by.' To a long, and not unentertaining * account of that impotent transaction, Lord Clarendon subjoins the following remarks.

'The wounds which the Papal Chair received in that conflict may be closed and bound up; but the scars thereof can never be wiped out. To have all his claims of a supreme ecclesiastical dominion, by arguments and places of Scripture refuted and retorted upon him; to have his excommunication examined, and contradicted as invalid, by the rules of law; and his interdict resisted and condemned as without ground; and all this by a sovereign body of Catholics, is, and will continue to posterity, an undeniable evidence, that those excesses and powers were not held of the essence of Catholic religion; and when such fulminations may pass without being felt, and are recalled without leaving smart or sign behind them, and without the least acknowledgment that they were so much as taken notice of, men cannot but believe that they have no terror in and from themselves, but from the stupidity of the persons who are affected by them; and whilst the memory of Paul the Fifth is preserved in the ecclesiastical annals, the distinction of spiritual and temporal persons in the administration of the sovereign justice of kingdoms will be neglected as ridiculous, † and the Pope's excommunication of sovereign princes will be held fit to be derided.' p. 523.

* A priest of Padua, being asked by the Podesta, whether he preferred being hanged for obeying the Pope, or being excommunicated for obeying the Senate, replied, 'that for his part, he had rather be excommunicated thirty years, than be hanged a quarter of an hour.' p. 499.

† By the distinction between spiritual and temporal persons in the administration of justice, Lord Clarendon means the benefit of clergy, in its original acceptation, the abolition of which was one of the two principal causes of the quarrel between the Pope and the Republic. The other measure which the Pope endeavoured to counteract, was the establishment of a law of mortmain. Here it may be observed, that the Pope has very seldom attempted, even in the darkest times, to wage war with temporal princes on private and personal grounds. In almost every case, he has appeared in the character of the defender of the real or supposed rights of the clergy of the country.

The disputes between Lewis XIV. and Alexander VII., are also commented on in the same spirit; and if the life of the author, which terminated at Rouen on the 9th of December 1674, had been prolonged a few years, the disputes between the same monarch and Innocent XI., which commenced in the year 1678, would have afforded him an excellent opportunity of again inculcating the truth of his second proposition.

Whatever difference of opinion may subsist respecting other parts of the subject, we believe that candid persons of all persuasions will admit, that Lord Clarendon has not exaggerated the pretensions of the See of Rome. It is now, indeed, more than two centuries since the Popes have seriously attempted to put in execution the most offensive of their imaginary powers; and we believe it to be nearly impossible, that the concurrence of circumstances, which supported the extravagant authority of the See of Rome during the middle ages, can ever again take place. The Popes, however, to the best of our knowledge, have never openly and explicitly renounced the pretensions of Innocent III. and Boniface VIII.; nor are we aware that they have ever permitted them to be called in question within the circle of their immediate temporal jurisdiction. In this respect they resemble most other princes, who obstinately retain the shadow of authority, long after they have been deprived of the substance. In the year 1635, the Court of Rome could not be prevailed upon to sanction an oath of allegiance which the English Catholics were desirous of taking, as the price of their release from the penalties and disabilities incurred by their recusancy. The Pope, indeed, was willing to give the King all imaginable private assurances, that he had not the slightest intention of attempting to depose him. But he could not be induced by any representations made by the English Catholics, to abandon the abstract proposition. * Considerable vestiges of this want of accommodation to the prevailing sentiments of the age, have been discernible at a much later period; and, indeed, are discernible at the present moment. In the year 1768, the Nuncio of the fanatical Clement XIII. at Brussels, in a public letter to the catholic Archbishop of Dublin, had the assurance to

* John Wilford, an agent of the English Catholics at Rome, writes to his correspondent in England, May 9th, 1635: 'Take heed of 'meddling with deponibility of princes, for that article will never 'pass here.' *Clarendon, State Papers*, I. p. 272. Perhaps the ministers of Urban VIII. were satisfied, that their obstinacy would be productive of no real inconvenience to the English Catholics. Sooner or later, Charles I. would have consented to the toleration on conditions agreeable to the court of Rome. The Parliament would not have consented on any conditions.

to assert, that the deposing power of the Pope was defended and maintained by most Catholic nations.† In the year 1790, by desire of Mr Pitt, and for the satisfaction of several members of Parliament, who had heard or read that the Popes claimed a power of deposing princes in certain circumstances, the sense of six eminent Catholic universities was taken upon that question. The answers which were returned were perfectly satisfactory to all persons who were disposed to rely upon declarations of that nature. At the same time, it might be remarked, that none of the universities in the Pope's temporal dominions were consulted, and it can hardly be supposed that the omission was unintentional. A declaration of the university of Bologna, for instance, similar to those which were received from the universities of Paris, Salamanca, Alcala, Valladolid, Louvaine, and Douai, would have had the effect, not indeed of silencing the captious, which is impossible, but at least of diminishing by one the number of their objections. * We suspect that the persons who were employed on that occasion, were aware that an application to one of the Pope's own universities would be disagreeable to the Court of Rome, and would probably receive an evasive answer.

The pretensions of the Pope to power and jurisdiction in the dominions of other princes, resemble, in one respect, the pretensions of the House of Stuart to the crown of England, or of the kings of England to the crown of France;—that is to say, their importance does not greatly depend upon the justice of their foundation, and still less on the confidence with which they are asserted, or the inflexibility with which they are persevered in. Their real weight arises from the approbation with which they are received, and the number and strength of the party which is disposed to

 support

† The whole epistle, which the enemies of the Catholics place in the front row of their arguments, may be seen in many pamphlets; and, among others, in Bishop Woodward's *Present State of the Church of Ireland*, 1787, p. 118.

* The Rev. Thomas le Mesurier, in his *Sequel to the Serious Examination into the Roman Catholic Claims* (p. 39, 40), strenuously maintains, that if the German, Italian, and Portuguese universities had been consulted, very different answers might have been expected. His reasons for that opinion are given at full length. He then proceeds to prove, with admirable consistency, that catholic divines of all countries make no scruple of concealing and misrepresenting the real doctrines of their church, for the purpose of imposing on credulous protestants. We observe that Mr le Mesurier (p. 40.) supposes the university of Douai, as well as that of Louvaine, to have been situated in the dominions of the Emperor Joseph II.

support them. A theologian may consume his leisure hours not unprofitably, in sifting the bulls of Popes, in collecting the opinions of canonists, and in refuting the *theses* of Jesuits. A statesman will perhaps be more usefully employed in endeavouring to ascertain, from the actual observation of judicious and impartial persons, the quantity of influence which the See of Rome actually maintains, or is likely to maintain in future, over the hundred millions of Christians who hold communion with it, and whom Lord Clarendon, in compliance with popular usage, improperly denominates Catholics. It is worth while to compare Lord Clarendon's opinion respecting the degree of authority which the Pope really possesses, with the representation of that authority which is given in a thousand publications of the present day.

After a pause of thirty or forty years, it has again become fashionable to maintain, that the authority of the Pope over other princes, even in temporal matters, is a fundamental principle of the Roman Catholic religion; and that those Catholics who deny that authority, probably are insincere, and certainly ought to be considered as contradicting the public and general voice of their Church. It is contended, that a Catholic who is true to his religion, cannot avoid 'transferring the more 'important half of his allegiance from his natural sovereign to 'a foreign potentate.' * These propositions being proved or assumed, it is inferred, that Catholics are not entitled to the same rights and privileges as other subjects, who yield a more entire and perfect allegiance to their sovereign.

In favour of this doctrine, many great and respectable authorities might be alleged, both of the present time, and of times past. At present, however, we shall be contented with calling the attention of our readers to the books written in favour of toleration by Dissenters and Lowchurch men, from the restoration till the middle of the last century. It was usual for the enemies of toleration to contend, that the arguments which were adduced in favour of general liberty of conscience, would justify the toleration of papists as well as of presbyterians: and as the toleration of popery was supposed, both by churchmen and dissenters, to be entirely out of the question, the dissenters and their friends were compelled to seek for particular reasons, which might be sufficient to exclude the Catholics, without weakening the claims of the Protestant dissenters. The mere denial of the king's supremacy by the Catholics could not be urged; as that supremacy, in its ancient sense, was not less odious to the Protestant

* Le Mesurier's Serious Examination, &c. p. 20.

Protestant Dissenters than to the Catholics. It became necessary, therefore, to exaggerate the danger to be apprehended from the papal power, and to treat as frivolous the distinction which the Catholics made between the church and court of Rome. The attempts of the Dissenters to procure the repeal of the test laws, have frequently been opposed by the same argument which had been urged against their demand of bare toleration. A good specimen of the mode in which this *reductio ad absurdum* was pressed by the enemies of the Dissenters, may be seen in Swift's ironical piece, entitled, *Reasons humbly offered to the Parliament of Ireland, for repealing the Sacramental Test in favour of the Catholicks, otherwise called Roman Catholicks, and by their ill-willers, Papists.* We believe that this consideration will explain many passages in the writings of Hoadley, Blackburne, and other authors of that stamp, in which the difference between Popery and all other religions is stated more to the disadvantage of the former, than truth and candour appear to require.

On the other hand, Lord Clarendon earnestly maintains, that the authority of the Pope in the dominions of other princes, even in spiritual matters, is no essential part of the Roman Catholic religion; and, that the inhabitants of Catholic countries consider the exercise of that authority as founded on no other basis than custom, convenience, and the consent of the sovereign. Hence Lord Clarendon not very unreasonably infers, that it is the duty of catholic subjects of protestant princes, to renounce an authority injurious to their sovereign, and admitted by themselves to be built merely on a human foundation. This inference, indeed, is the sum and substance of the work before us: and we shall therefore take the opportunity which it affords us, to inquire what advantage could accrue, in the first place, to Protestant governments; and, secondly, to the Catholic subjects of those governments, from the adoption of the measure which Lord Clarendon recommends.

When we consider the incurable difference of opinion which subsists among the members of the Church of England, respecting the true sense of several of the thirty-nine articles of religion, we must not wonder that the members of the Church of Rome are very far from being agreed among themselves respecting some of the doctrines of their church, and especially respecting those doctrines which have never been decided by an authority to which all Catholics conceive themselves to be bound to submit. The question concerning the nature and extent of the papal authority is rendered still more intricate, by the consideration that, for practical purposes, it is less necessary to inquire into the solemn doctrine of the church, than into the opinion actually entertained

tertained by the majority of her members. Controversial writers among the Catholics differ so widely in their sentiments on this subject, that a Protestant has it in his power to produce a specious show of grave authorities, in favour of almost any system which it suits his purpose to represent as the general doctrine of the Church of Rome. Unfortunately, at the present moment, for obvious reasons, it suits the purpose of many Protestants to render their Catholic fellow-subjects as odious as possible in the eyes of the government, and of the people at large. It is quite proper and natural, that writers of this description should select the most offensive representation of their adversaries' opinions. If they acted otherwise, we should not consider them as labouring diligently in their vocation, or as deserving of their reward.

In our opinion, however, both Lord Clarendon and the writers to whom we allude, have mistated the general sentiments of the Catholics respecting the jurisdiction of the See of Rome. Because particular Catholic princes have bullied and maltreated the Pope, and because his extravagant pretensions have been repelled by Catholics, in many instances with a considerable degree of indignation, Lord Clarendon conceives himself to be entitled to conclude, that the spiritual authority of the Pope is admitted by the Catholics themselves to be a mere excrescence of their religion, like the Inquisition, or the order of the Jesuits; and that it may be cut off without touching the essential parts of the system. This conclusion appears to us to be as ill founded, as the supposition of many good courtiers, that a member of parliament who votes against the King's ministry, must in his heart be an enemy to the person or office of the Sovereign. Lord Clarendon himself candidly admits, in his History of the Rebellion, that the principal members of the popular party in the Long Parliament, with some exceptions, had no wish to destroy either the church or the monarchy, although they were displeased with several things in the administration of both. The disputes between the Popes and the members of their communion, exactly resemble, in this respect, the disputes between Charles I. and the Long Parliament. Whether the Bishop of Rome has, by divine or apostolical institution, any prerogatives which are not imparted to other bishops, is a question of pure theology, into which our readers will readily excuse us for not entering. In whatever way that question may be decided, we are unable to perceive any inconsistency in the conduct of those persons who believe that part of the jurisdiction, which the Pope exercises out of his own diocese, is committed to him by Jesus Christ, and at the same time refuse to obey him, when he endeavours to assume powers

to

to which they do not conceive him to be entitled. Every Catholic prince in fact believes, that not only the bishop of the diocese in which he lives, but even the rector of the parish in which his palace is situated, has a certain jurisdiction over him by divine institution; yet no Catholic prince will scruple to punish either the bishop or the priest for the smallest invasion of his temporal authority. Upon the whole, we are not aware that the lowest Catholics have ever gone so far as to place the supremacy of the Pope on the same footing with the preeminence of primates and metropolitans; that is to say, to consider it as a merely human institution.

The writers whom we oppose to Lord Clarendon, appear to us to deviate as far from the truth as he does, but in an opposite direction. Because all Catholics acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Pope to a certain extent, the writers in question maintain, that the standard of the Vatican is the authentic measure of that jurisdiction. The sentiments of this school may be conveniently given in the words of Mr Le Mesurier.

'There is no article of their communion, the supremacy of 'the Pope, invocation of saints, communion in one kind, pur-'gatory, transubstantiation itself, which is more solemnly de-'creed than that which relates to the persecution of heretics, '*and the deposing of princes and kings*, who are either heretics 'themselves, or abettors of those that are.' *Serious Exam.* &c. p. 54. 'The Pope has always been, and continues to be, as 'far as he can, the most absolute of despots: *such at least is* '*the doctrine of his church.*' *Ibid.* p. 61.

We could easily fill a greater number of pages than we can afford to devote to the whole of this article, with similar passages, taken from books written since the year 1800. We observe that these writers sometimes unwarily fall into Lord Clarendon's line of argument, which is entirely inconsistent with their own. Mr Le Mesurier informs us (*Sequel*, &c. p. 21.), that from the end of the eleventh century to the middle of the sixteenth, 'there was not, as he believes, a being in the church 'that presumed to advance a word against the king-deposing 'and king-killing doctrine; and hundreds wrote in support of 'it.' Another labourer in the same vineyard, however, seems to give a somewhat different account of the state of public opinion during the middle ages. The following passage occurs in an anonymous pamphlet, called *Catholic Emancipation*, which was published in the year 1805, p. 12. 'At present, the King 'of England is the supreme head of the church, as well as of 'the state. His supremacy, as head of the church, is recog-'nized by a variety of statutes, *one of them as old as the thirty-'fifth year of Edward the First*, (1306).'

These gentlemen have the faculty of blowing hot and cold with the same breath. When it is their object to render Catholics odious in the eyes of Protestants, they represent all mitigated sentiments respecting the Papal authority, as modern innovations, adopted merely for the purpose of rendering that authority somewhat less terrible in Protestant countries. On the other hand, when they wish to prove that the system of Henry VIII. derived support from the example of some of the most illustrious of his predecessors, they magnify every instance of resistance to the tyranny and extortion of the Popes, into a total renunciation of their authority.

It is not our intention to undertake the discussion of these thread-bare controversies, which are treated with contempt in every country except our own, and which we firmly believe will be nearly forgotten in England before the year 1820. It may not, however, be superfluous, for the information of some of our readers, to give a short account of the 'famous king-deposing and king-killing doctrine,' which we have mentioned more than once in the course of this article.

The right of the See of Rome to depose heretical princes, is founded upon two propositions, which ought to be separately considered. * The first proposition is, that the people of every country have the right of resisting, and even of deposing their sovereign, if such resistance be necessary to the preservation of the established religion. We believe this proposition to be true: But, whether it be true or false, those who do not admit the truth of it have no alternative, except to allow that the religion of the country ought to depend entirely on the caprice of the sovereign for the time being. It must be remembered, that during the middle ages, the Roman Catholic religion was established throughout all the Western world, with the exception of that part of Spain which was in the possession of the Moors. The word *heretic* may sound harshly in a Protestant ear; but, in reality, it means nothing more, in the mouth of a Catholic, than a Christian who believes the Roman Catholic religion to be false; perhaps to be blasphemous and idolatrous. In the dark ages, when religious zeal was much stronger than it is at present, it was not supposed that the defence and protection

* *Bellarminus de Summo Pontifice*, Lib. V. cap. 7. 'Non licet 'Christianis tolerare Regem infidelem aut hæreticum, si ille co- 'netur pertrahere subditos ad suam hæresim, vel infidelitatem. At 'judicare, an Rex pertrahat ad hæresim, necne, pertinet ad Pon- 'tificem, cui est commissa cura religionis. Ergo Pontificis est ju- 'dicare, regem esse deponendum vel non deponendum.'

tection of the Catholic religion, which was held to be the most important function of the Sovereign, could be safely entrusted to a person who believed that religion to be a mass of superstition and error. For this reason, it was conceived to be a fundamental law of every Catholic kingdom, that a heretic was not capable of inheriting or of retaining the crown. As the modern principle of toleration was entirely unknown in those times, we must not wonder that a favourer of heretics, that is to say, of the declared enemies of what was commonly held to be the true religion, was regarded nearly in the same light as a heretic.

It may be observed, too, that those persons who declaim in the loudest terms against the truth of the proposition laid down in the preceding paragraph, are equally ready with the rest of mankind to act upon it, when they find it expedient to do so. In England, for instance, before the Revolution, it was considered as an article of faith, that it is not lawful, on any pretence whatever, to take up arms against a lawful sovereign; 'not for the maintenance of the lives and liberties of ourselves 'or others; nor for the defence of religion; nor for the pre-'servation of a church or state; no, nor yet, if that could be 'imagined possible, for the salvation of a soul; *no, not for the* '*redemption of the whole world.*' * This kind of language, which was as common in the mouths of the Tillotsons and Burnets, † as of the Sprats and Crewes, did not prevent the English nation from receiving with open arms a foreign prince, who invaded the country for the avowed purpose of resisting by force the daily attacks which the King was making on the established religion. In our opinion, those persons who fairly and openly inform their Sovereign what he may expect, if he transgresses the just limits of his authority, are much less dangerous enemies to him, than those who unintentionally tempt him to his ruin by pompous theories of obedience, which are sure to vanish into air, as soon as the hour is come for putting them in practice. No nation which is strongly attached to the established religion ever did, or ever will, suffer the prince to tamper with it at his pleasure. We may add, that the property and privileges of the clergy will always be considered by themselves as an essential part of the established religion; and that

* Bishop Sanderson, quoted by Sacheverell's counsel, *State Trials*, V. p. 735.

† A specimen of Tillotson's language on this subject will be given hereafter. It is difficult to acquit him, and impossible to acquit Burnet, of gross prevarication on the question of resistance.

that if the clergy are popular, the laity will always assist them in the defence of their rights against the temporal sovereign.

The second proposition is, that the Pope is the sole judge of all matters appertaining to religion; and that in all doubtful cases, both of belief and of practice, it is the duty of all Catholics to apply to him for information, and to submit blindly to his decisions. In other words, the Pope is the absolute monarch of the Catholic Church. From this proposition, it was inferred by the Popes and their flatterers, that it was part of the office of the Pope to determine, from the particular circumstances of the case, whether resistance to the Prince was necessary to the preservation of religion. This proposition is so agreeable to the Court of Rome, that we doubt not that Mr Le Mesurier and several other writers, who have laboured so strenuously to convince the English and Irish Catholics that it is the true doctrine of their Church, would receive some distinguishing mark of the favour of that Court, if it were re-established in its ancient splendour. For our own parts, however, we know of no other mode of ascertaining whether Catholics believe the Pope to be the absolute monarch of their Church, than by observing the degree of obedience which they actually pay to him: and we advise those persons who really wish for information on this subject, and who have no local and personal knowledge of the state of the Papal authority in Catholic countries, to lay aside the pamphlets of Mr Le Mesurier and Dr Milner, and to betake themselves to the reading of history. We do not recommend the historical writings either of Sir Richard Musgrave or of Mr Plowden, but those of almost any sober and judicious author, either Catholic or Protestant. Those who have not the opportunity of entering into a laborious investigation of the subject, will probably find, in the work now before us, a sufficient number of facts to convince them that the notions of the Papal authority which have been lately revived, are greatly exaggerated. Although we think that Lord Clarendon has failed in his attempt to prove that Catholics do not believe the authority of the Pope to be of divine institution, he has sufficiently demonstrated that the Catholics pay very little practical regard to the mandates of the head of their Church, except when those mandates coincide with their own inclinations.

In what we have lately said respecting the deposing power of the Pope, we have supposed the Roman Catholic religion to be the established religion of the country. We shall speak afterwards of the attacks of the See of Rome on Protestant Princes.

We now request the reader to turn back to p. 436, and peruse Lord Clarendon's bill of indictment against the Pope in his

his own words. Admitting the facts upon which this accusation is founded to be true, nothing can be more vulgar and unphilosophical than Lord Clarendon's application of them. With the assistance of Bayle's Dictionary and the *Biographia Britannica*, we could easily compile a bulky collection of the lives of wicked men named *John*, to which we might subjoin an exhortation to all parents not to suffer their children to be baptized by that abominable name. Perhaps Sir John Sinclair, Mr John Reeves, Mr John Bowles, Mr John Gifford, or some other person interested in supporting the honour of the name, might endeavour to demonstrate, that most of the crimes committed by the Johns, had arisen from the depravity of human nature; and that the Richards and Thomases were, upon the whole, not a great deal more virtuous. In the same spirit, we have many histories of the Presbyterians and Independents, composed by intemperate members of the Church of England, —and of Protestants in general, composed by intemperate members of the Church of Rome; the *object* of all which histories is to demonstrate, that the sects against which they are directed ought to be exterminated from the face of the earth; and the certain *effect* is to provoke recrimination, and to furnish materials for the amusement and edification of the enemies of Christianity in general.

The truth is, that the misery which Lord Clarendon supposes to have arisen from the Papal power, arose from the ignorance, superstition, and fanaticism of the dark ages; which, in all probability, would not have been less than they were, if all the bishops of the Christian church had preserved a perfect equality of rank. We see no reason for supposing that the decline of learning and true religion would have been retarded, if, after the fall of the Western empire, the different nations which belonged to the Latin church had formed themselves into separate and independent religious communities; nor do we see any thing in the condition of the Greek and other Oriental churches, which induces us to believe that they derived any advantage from the schism which divided them from the communion of Rome. We readily admit, that the Protestant churches which were founded in the sixteenth century, derived great advantages from their separation from the See of Rome; but we attribute those advantages, not to the separation itself, but to the circumstance of its having taken place in a learned and inquisitive age, and having been accompanied by great and important alterations both in the doctrine and the discipline of the Church. If the Church of England had assumed her independence in the reign of Henry II, instead of that of Henry VIII, perhaps her present condition

tion would have resembled that of the church of Muscovy. If the children of Henry VIII. had imitated their father, in retaining nearly the whole of Popery, except the authority of the Pope, we should have thought the abrogation of the payment of first fruits and tenths to the See of Rome, very dearly purchased, at the expense of the miseries of the last years of that execrable tyrant. *

In our opinion, the most substantial inconvenience which arises from the authority of the Pope, and, indeed, the only one of considerable magnitude, is its tendency to perpetuate the corruptions which Protestants impute to the Roman Catholic religion. What we consider as an inconvenience, however, Catholics naturally consider as an advantage. They maintain, that, setting aside all consideration of the divine institution of the Papacy, the unity of the church, as they understand that unity, could not subsist, if the papal authority were destroyed: —and here it may not be amiss to add a short explanation of the sense in which the unity of the Church is commonly understood by Catholics.

Catholics believe, that the Catholic or Universal Church is a society of divine institution, of which it is the duty of all Christians to be members, and which is composed of a number of smaller societies, called particular churches. It is not material to the present question, whether, by particular churches, we understand national churches, as the Churches of France, Spain, and England; or societies of Christians, each governed by one bishop, as the Churches of Paris, Toledo, and Canterbury. The latter is the proper and ancient acceptation of the term. The unity of the Catholic church consists in the agreement of particular churches; not in rites and ceremonies, which are admitted to be of inferior importance, but in doctrine and government, which are the essentials of Christianity. Two particular churches which compel their members to profess opposite doctrines, and which refuse to hold fraternal communion with each other, cannot both be members of the Catholic church. The same assertion may be made, *a fortiori*, of two particular churches which excommunicate and anathematize each other. The Church of Spain, for instance, pronounces the Church of England to be heretical and schismatical. The Church of England, on the other hand, charges the Church of Spain, in common with all the churches of the Roman communion, with blasphemy

* The payments of all sorts which the Pope received from France, amounted to less than 16,000*l. per annum*, on an average of five years ending 1768. *Duclos, Voyage en Italie*, p. 40.

my and idolatry. * Whether these mutual accusations be true or false, it is quite obvious, that the churches which bring them against each other, cannot both be members of the Catholic Church, according to the preceding description of it.

Such being the notion which the Catholics entertain respecting the unity of the Catholic Church, it remains to inquire, how that unity is to be preserved, when the unity of the state is dissolved, and the great body of Christians is no longer subject to one Sovereign. It is contended by all Catholics, and admitted by many Protestants, † that, in the present state of the world, the unity of the Church, in the Catholic sense, can only be maintained by the adoption of some common tribunal, entrusted with a certain degree of jurisdiction over all particular churches. Whether this tribunal be composed of one person, or of many—whether it be called Pope, or General Council, it must necessarily be deemed a foreign jurisdiction, and an invasion of the rights of the Sovereign, as those rights are understood by Lord Clarendon, and by many other writers.

No person who is acquainted with the heat and passion with which many controversies have been carried on, even in modern times, within the pale of the Church of Rome, can doubt, that if particular churches in that communion enjoyed the same independence on all other churches, which Protestant churches enjoy, every Catholic country would long ago have erected many doctrines into articles of faith, in addition to those points on which all Catholics are agreed. Nothing but the prudence and management of the See of Rome, and the necessity which is incumbent on the Pope, of consulting the temper of all the churches under his jurisdiction, has prevented Thomism from becoming the established religion in one country, Scotism in a second, Jansenism in a third, and Molinism in a fourth.

Whether the Catholics are mistaken in considering unity of doctrine as one great criterion of the Catholic church, is a question into which we do not mean to enter at present. If they are

* For the blasphemy of the Church of Rome, see the Thirty-first Article of Religion. For her idolatry, see the Homilies, *passim*, and the Declaration against Popery, 30 Car. II, st. 2.

† John Fox, the Martyrologist, was of opinion, that if the Pope could be prevailed upon to turn Protestant, and to renounce those pretensions which are as offensive to most Catholics as to Protestants, 'his opposers should not refuse but that some one man may 'have the principall place of counsell and government in the Church-'affairs, as being a thing, which would have many conveniences in 'it, when it might be done with security.' See his Life, prefixed to his Acts and Monuments.

are in an error, every person who has any tincture of theology will admit, that their error is a very ancient and respectable one, and that the measures which they take to preserve that unity, are entitled to some indulgence even from those who discern the fallacy of the system.

These considerations, however, do not seem ever to have occurred to Lord Clarendon. If he suspected that the authority of the See of Rome has any tendency to preserve unity among Catholics, he acted wisely in concealing his suspicions, as he was writing a book for the information of Catholics. A Protestant dissenter may be convinced in his own mind, that the Test and Corporation acts are the great safeguards of the Church of England. If, however, he is pleading for the abrogation of those laws, he will carefully abstain from revealing his private opinion of the consequences to be expected from that measure. This species of wisdom is not possessed by our friend Mr Le Mesurier, whose words we subjoin.

'If they [the Catholics] could be brought to dismiss all 'hopes of it [the reestablishment of the Papal supremacy], we 'might then have a reasonable prospect of seeing them united 'to us, not only in allegiance to their Sovereign, but in religious faith. Once cut off from the see of Rome, I am persuaded 'that they could not long persist in the schism which separates 'them from the national church.'—*Serious Examination, &c. p.* 30.

It is Lord Clarendon's opinion, that Catholic princes, by acknowledging the spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope, deprive themselves 'of the better moiety of their sovereignty in their 'own dominions' (p. 6.); a circumstance which he conceives to be injurious to the cause of Christianity among Turks and Heathens.

'And how can we reasonably hope that those great and powerful princes, who command so much the greater part of the world, will ever embrace the Christian faith, when they know that they are not only thereby to cease to be Mahometans, but to be Monarchs; and admit another prince to have an equal, if not superior command over their own subjects in their own dominions, and must cease to be emperors before they can be admitted to be Christians?' p. 7.

We know of no better mode of answering this question, than by producing the authority of another writer, whose knowledge of the state of religion in Catholic countries was very accurate and extensive, and whose dislike to the Pope and all his works was very vehement and sincere. The following passage is extracted from Bishop Burnet's Exposition of the Thirty-seventh Article.

'Upon the whole, the power of the King in ecclesiastical 'matters among us, is expressed in this article, under those re- 'serves, and with that moderation, that no just scruple can lye 'against it; and it is that which all kings, even of the Roman 'communion, do assume, and in some places with a much more 'unlimited authority. The methods of managing it may differ 'a little; yet the power is the same, and is built upon the same 'foundations.'

As an instance of the different methods of managing the same power, we may adduce the practice of England and of France in the appointment of bishops. In England, bishops are nominally elected by the chapters of their respective cathedrals; whereas in France, they were, and indeed still are, nominally appointed by the Pope. In both countries, however, the real appointment is in the hands of the Sovereign. In England, the chapter may be compelled, by legal process, to elect the person recommended by the King. In France, the Pope, indeed, could not be cast in a *præmunire*; but the consequence of his refusal to grant bulls to the person recommended by the king, was an actual schism, which lasted till the Pope thought proper to yield to the king's will.

It must not be denied, that the ecclesiastical supremacy of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth might, with no great exaggeration, be called 'the better moiety of their sovereignty.' In those reigns, all was swallowed up in the Crown, 'temporals and spi- 'rituals, soul, body, estates, and conscience.'* That system, however, has long been departed from; and we fervently hope that it will never return. It originally arose from a laxity of religious principle, and a servile veneration for the royal authority, which prevailed in England during the greater part of the sixteenth century, to a greater extent than in any other period of our history. For more than a century past, the king of Great Britain, with magnificent ecclesiastical titles, has had less power in ecclesiastical matters, and less influence over the clergy of the established religion, than most European princes, either Catholic or Protestant. His influence over the clergy is founded almost entirely on the power which he enjoys of nominating to the bishoprics, and to many other of the greater benefices. This power is enjoyed by several Catholic princes; for instance, by the kings of France before the revolution, in a much more ample degree than by the king of Great Britain.

It may be observed, that no prince has ever permanently rejected the authority of the Pope, without making other considerable

* Lord Molesworth's Account of Denmark, p. 166, ed. 1738.

derable innovations in the constitution of the church. When the breach has not been rendered irreparable by the institution of new articles of faith, it has always been closed again, after a certain time, with the full consent of all parties. Since it has been discovered, that Protestant princes are as far from being absolute masters of the consciences of their subjects as Catholic princes, few princes of either persuasion have felt much solicitude respecting a power which our author considers as 'the better moiety of their sovereignty.' It is amusing to consider the extreme anxiety of some subjects, to preserve entire to their sovereign an authority of which the prince himself is totally regardless.

Whenever the tide of public opinion has run in favour of absolute monarchy, it has been usual among Protestants to represent the Roman Catholic religion as unfavourable to the power of princes. Sir Simon Harcourt, for instance, in his speech in defence of Sacheverell, stigmatizes resistance to princes as 'a doctrine of the Church of Rome.'* On the other hand, when the love of liberty is prevalent among Protestants, popery and slavery are represented as twin sisters. In our opinion, both representations are extravagant; and if the Grand Turk is really disposed to embrace Christianity, it is not very material, as far as his authority is concerned, whether he adopts the Catholic or the Protestant persuasion.

In the opinion of Lord Clarendon, the authority of the Pope is the principal obstacle to the reconciliation of the Catholic and Protestant churches, so as to enable all good Christians 'to pray for and with one another.' Protestants will not consent to return to their ancient subjection to the Pope; and therefore the first article of the treaty of union must be, that the Papal jurisdiction be abolished. Lord Clarendon observes, that the Popes are aware of this determination on the part of the Protestants, and therefore exert all their influence to prevent such a treaty from being even taken into consideration. If this impediment

* State Trials, V. p. 713. See also Tillotson's Letter to Lord Russel, quoted in the same trial, p. 737. 'Your Lordship's opinion '[of the lawfulness of resisting the prince for the preservation of the 'constitution] is contrary to the declared doctrine of all Protestant 'Churches; and though some particular persons have taught otherwise, yet they have been contradicted herein, and condemned for 'it, by the generality of Protestants. I beg your Lordship to consider, how it will agree with an avowed asserting of the Protestant 'religion, to go contrary to the general doctrine of Protestants.' The letter is dated July 20th, 1683.

pediment were removed, the noble author appears to believe that the peace of the Christian church might easily be restored.

'For neither of the churches believe, that there is no doctrine in either which may not be better explained, and that there are not many other particulars, both in discipline and practice, which may not be altered or departed from, for the satisfaction of such a considerable body of good christians as would thereby be reconciled to one congregation, and one communion. And this would easily be done, if sovereign princes would vindicate their own authority and supreme jurisdiction; and, by national councils, take care for the settling all matters pertaining to the church in their own dominions, which, by correspondence with the like national councils under the neighbouring princes will, without any difficulty, sever what is of the essence of religion from what may in the practice of it be permitted,' &c. p. 680.

An ignorant reader would hardly suppose, that the writer of these words, which are so full of moderation and conciliation, had contributed, in a very eminent degree, perhaps in a greater degree than any other man who ever existed, to the perpetuation of the bitterest animosities among Christians, who were subjects of the same prince, and who acknowledged that their differences of opinion did not extend to articles of faith, and the essentials of religion. * The real fact is, that Lord Clarendon, notwithstanding his animosity against the Pope, had no dislike to the Roman Catholic religion in general; and perhaps was more desirous of weakening than of strengthening the Protestant interest, as it is called, in the general affairs of Europe. Such feelings naturally arise out of the principles of the Laudian school, in which he had been educated. It is one of the leading tenets of that school, that those points in which the Church of England agrees with the Church of Rome, and differs from the foreign Protestant Churches, are more essential to true Christianity, than those in which all Protestant Churches, including the Church of England, are united against the Church of Rome. In other words, a Roman Catholic is, upon the whole, a better Christian than a Presbyterian. We cannot give a stronger example of Lord Clarendon's Laudianism, than the manner in which he mentions the great Gustavus Adolphus in the following sentence.

'The blackest action, and surely the least apostolical, that unhappy Pope (Urban VIII.) was guilty of, was, that when the victorious King of Sweden, of whom the world had scarce ever heard

* See Lord Clarendon's observations on 'the unhappy policy of 'making concessions to the Dissenters,' in the continuation of his Life, p. 148. Fol.

before, had covered all Germany with blood and slaughter, and by fire and sword wrought a greater devastation, almost to desolation, than hath ever been produced amongst Christians by a war between them: This successor of St Peter, whose office and peculiar obligation they pretend is to root out all heretics, and by right or wrong to remove all obstructions which hinder the growth or improvement of Catholic religion, refused to give the Emperor and Catholic party any assistance in money, of which he was known to have abundance, and the other to want nothing else.' * p. 555.

When it is considered, how little success has attended every attempt to unite any two Protestant sects, we cannot accede to Lord Clarendon's supposition, that the downfal of the Pope would contribute materially to the reconciliation of Protestants and Catholics, who differ in opinion upon so many points of the highest importance. The correspondence between Wake and Dupin, part of which is printed at the end of Maclaine's translation of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, sufficiently demonstrates, that the most lukewarm Catholics will never consent to abandon all the distinguishing tenets of their religion, however strongly they may be inclined to break with the court of Rome.

The mention of national councils in a passage which we have lately quoted, and a paragraph in the concluding chapter of the book, entitled on the margin, *National Councils the best Conservators of Christian Religion*, prove that Lord Clarendon entertained a higher opinion of the prudence and moderation of those assemblies, than experience appears to justify. The synod of Dordrecht, the national synods of the French Protestants, and the factious convocations in the reign of Queen Anne, show how little such meetings contribute to the peace either of the Church or of the State. National councils of the established religion seem to be entirely laid aside in every Christian country, in which the power of calling them, or, at least, of preventing them from being held, is possessed by the Sovereign. Catholic princes, in particular, have generally found the Pope to be more tractable and manageable than a synod composed of their own subjects.

Whatever

* The Popes have seldom been particularly well inclined to give assistance to their friends in hard cash. Like the infernal deities in Æschylus, Λαβεῖν ἀμείνους εἰσὶν ἢ μεθιέναι. There is, indeed, a kind of paper money, called Indulgences, which was formerly in great repute, and of which the Popes, to do them justice, have never been niggardly. The credit of this currency, however, was so much shaken by a kind of Bullion Committee, of which one Martin Luther was chairman, that there has been very little demand for it during the two last centuries.

Whatever ill effect may arise from the conflict of ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction, in countries in which the authority of the Pope is recognized by law, we are unable to perceive that any considerable inconvenience results from that authority, in countries where it has no legal existence,—except the tendency which it undoubtedly has, to prevent the Catholic inhabitants of Protestant countries from adopting the religion of the State. Perhaps it may be said, that the power of the Pope is dangerous to Protestant sovereigns, from its tendency to excite revolt among his Catholic subjects. This objection deserves to be seriously considered.

No person can be weak and timorous enough to suppose, that the Pope will ever excite Catholics to rebel against a Protestant sovereign, unless he is of opinion, that there is a considerable probability that the rebellion will be crowned with success. Nor will such Catholics, admitting them to be as devoted to the court of Rome as the Jesuits were, listen to the voice of their chief pastor, unless they are convinced that they are likely to derive advantage from following his advice. In every country where the Catholics know that they form so small and inconsiderable a body, as to render resistance to the government perfectly hopeless, it is both their interest and their inclination to recommend themselves to the State, and to their fellow-citizens, by their peaceable and loyal demeanour. As we do not ascribe any merit to this conduct in such circumstances, perhaps we may be allowed to say, that the English Catholics have given little or no cause of complaint to the government for the last two hundred years. The most lion-hearted Popes know very well how to assume the meekness of lambs on proper occasions.

On the other hand, in countries where the Catholics form so large and powerful a body, as to afford the prospect of successful resistance to the government, we are willing to admit, that the Pope will not be remiss in instigating them to try the experiment. This admission may appear at first sight to be fatal to our cause; but we strenuously maintain, that, in such circumstances, the conduct of all sects always has been, and always will be, nearly the same. We except those sects, the members of which, from any cause, happen to be destitute of personal courage. The patience of the Greek Christians, for instance, under the yoke of the Mahometans, must not be ascribed to the purity of their religious principles, but to the levity and cowardice which have been inherent in them for so many ages. In every country which has an established religion, the honours and advantages which arise from the establishment, are the natural property of the strongest sect, which, it must be remem-

bered, is not always the most numerous. Superiority of strength is the only real security which the established church of every country has for the maintenance of her preeminence. If that superiority be lost, she may 'entrench herself in parchment to the teeth,' but the Dissenters will find the proper way to attack her. As soon as a religious party, which has been depressed, discovers that, from the continual fluctuation of human opinions, and from the change of other circumstances, it has gained so great an accession of strength and popularity, as to enable it to cope with the established religion, it will either break out at once into open rebellion, or will begin by making a formal demand that the prerogatives of the establishment be transferred, either entirely or in part, to itself. If the government does not think proper to accede to this demand, a civil war ensues; and the question is ultimately decided by the sword.

On these occasions, oaths of allegiance, declarations of loyalty, and protestations of nonresistance, are never regarded by large bodies of men, whose passions are inflamed; nor does any wise government ever place the smallest reliance upon such frail securities. * If any man supposes that, in this respect, there is any practical difference between the principles of Catholics and those of Protestants, he must have derived his knowledge of those principles, not from a cool and attentive observation of the conduct which results from them, but from the partial and passionate declamations of Catholics against Protestants, or of Protestants against Catholics. Even those declaimers of the latter class, who frighten us with the bulls and dispensations of the Pope, do not scruple, when they are off their guard, to acknowledge, that all sects are equally regardless of political oaths, when it suits their purpose to break them. The following interrogations are proposed by Mr Le Mesurier.

'Did ever in fact any statesman, reasoning upon what sort of 'persons were fit to be admitted to offices, lay any stress upon 'the oath of allegiance? Did it ever come into the contemplation 'of worldly politicians? Did it ever stop any man who was not 'restrained by other considerations?' *Sequel*, &c. p. 60.

With the exception of a few pious and conscientious persons, like some of the English Nonjurors, we reply to the last question, *Certainly not.* The great body of the Jacobites, who were as good Protestants as Mr Le Mesurier himself, took, without hesitation, every oath which the ingenuity of the government could devise; and were certainly restrained by no other consideration

* Some excellent observations on the futility of political oaths, written by Speaker Onslow, may be seen in Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.

deration than the fear of the gallows, from violating those oaths on the first opportunity.

As to instigation to rebellion, it will never be wanting, when the people are prepared to receive it, in any country which contains fanatical priests and discontented nobles. Among the former order, we beg leave to distinguish a very reverend person, John Knox by name, from whom the most experienced Jesuit might have taken lessons in the art of preaching sedition. Indeed, domestic professors of this art will always be more skilful and more successful than foreign interlopers. The emissaries of the court of Rome generally perplex and embroil the transactions with which they meddle, by their endeavours to sacrifice the general interest of the Catholic cause to the private advantage of their master. Whoever is acquainted with the history of Innocent X. and Rinaccini, will probably acknowledge, that the friends of the Protestant interest in Ireland have no reason to regret the direct interposition of the Pope in the affairs of that country.

From the preceding considerations arises a question of the greatest practical importance, on which it is not our intention at present to enlarge:—What are the best means of preventing a weak sect from acquiring strength, and a strong sect from subverting the established religion? The ancient specific of persecution being fallen into disrepute, exclusion from political power, that is to say, from offices under government, is now almost the only medicine which the doctor recommends. We have great doubts of the efficacy of this remedy. It may, indeed, diminish in a small degree the power of the patient to do mischief; but if it increases, in a much greater degree, his propensity to innovation, which we believe to be the case, it is evident that more is lost than is gained by the use, or, in the language of the Faculty, by the exhibition of it.

It appears to be part of Lord Clarendon's plan, that the English Catholics shall not only renounce the authority of the Pope, but that they shall entrust the King with the appointment of their ecclesiastical superiors. After urging the necessity of banishing the Jesuits, he continues as follows.

'Whereas other ecclesiastical orders, at least particular persons the secular and regular clergy, the Jesuits excepted, may be easily found out, who are of peaceable and quiet dispositions, who will give that security to the state for their obedience which can be desired, and renounce any other dependence upon any superior, but such as the King shall appoint to govern over them.' p. 6.

This paragraph affords a striking specimen of the alteration which has taken place in the opinions of Englishmen on the subject of religious liberty since the reign of Charles II. At present,

present, the most inconsiderable sect of Protestant dissenters would strenuously resist any attempt on the part of government to interfere with its religious concerns; and it seems, indeed, to be admitted by the government, that every sect which is deprived of the advantages of an establishment, is fairly entitled to the liberty of managing its own concerns in its own way. Even the measure of the *Veto*, as it is called, is merely urged as a preservative against foreign influence, which Lord Clarendon supposes to be extinguished in a more direct and effectual manner. In all probability, the noble author believed that society could not exist under the system of ecclesiastical police which has prevailed in England for an hundred and twenty years. Under the present government of France, the ecclesiastical administration of every sect is so organized, as to make its ministers the mere tools and creatures of the Crown.

When Lord Clarendon invites the Catholic subjects of Protestant princes to break off their connexion with the See of Rome, it will naturally be expected, that some advantage will be proposed to them as the price of their compliance. A paragraph to that effect occurs (p. 708, 709), the marginal abstract of which is as follows: *When foreign jurisdiction is excluded, those who differ from the established religion of the State may be safely admitted to the common privileges of subjects.* What these privileges were, in the opinion of the author, may admit of some doubt. Unfortunately the text of his work is still more obscure than the margin.

'If the authority of sovereign princes were thus vindicated within their several dominions,—princes would then easily agree what indulgence they would allow to such other subjects, who are of a contrary religion to what is established by their laws, when they might grant such an indulgence without any danger to the peace of their dominions.' p. 708.

Such language is very vague and general. Even at present, fierce verbal disputes frequently take place, whether, by the common privileges of subjects, we ought to understand any thing more than that political situation which Jews occupy in England, and Christians in Turkey.

It has long been our opinion, that the condition of Catholics in Protestant countries has very seldom been materially affected by the mere apprehension of their attachment to the Church of Rome. The contrary opinion, indeed, is frequently inculcated, particularly in books written since the ancient doctrine of religious persecution has become too odious to be openly taught or avowed. The severities which Protestants formerly exercised towards Catholics, appear to us to have arisen from the same motives as the severities which Catholics exercised towards Protestants;

testants; that is to say, from religious bigotry and political animosity. The supremacy of the Pope is a convenient *locus* in the hands of Protestants, because the Catholics cannot retort to it. It is, however, of little consequence to Catholics, whether Protestants have a decent pretext for treating them with rigour, provided they are certain that the removal of the pretext would not ameliorate their condition. Till within the last hundred years, there were very few Protestant countries in which the exercise of any religion was permitted, except the established religion. In Scotland, for instance, in the year 1703, a bill was introduced into Parliament for the toleration of all Protestants; against which a strong remonstrance was made by the General Assembly of the Church, concluding with these words:

'That they were persuaded that, to enact a toleration for 'those of the Episcopal way, (*which God of his infinite mercy 'avert!*) would be to establish iniquity by a law, and would 'bring upon the promoters thereof, and their families, the 'dreadful guilt of all those sins and pernicious effects that might 'ensue thereupon.' *

The bill was accordingly lost; and the toleration did not take place till after the Union, when the voice of the General Assembly was disregarded by the British Parliament. Long since that time, an avowed Socinian would have been prosecuted with the utmost rigour in almost every Protestant country. We mention these things merely to show, that if Protestants will

* See *A Reply to the Rev. Dr Campbell's Vindication*, &c., by Joseph Stock, D. D. (afterwards Bishop of Killalla) p. 62. The same author says (p. 53): 'Let any man show me where Presbyterians had the power to persecute, and I will undertake to show 'him that they wanted not the will.' It must be remembered, that the French Protestant Church, by far the most illustrious of all the Protestant Churches, except the Church of England, was Presbyterian. If the French Presbyterians were only restrained by the want of power from persecuting the Catholics, why is the persecution of those Presbyterians by the Catholics imputed as a particular fault to the Roman Catholic religion? And here we beg leave to observe, that one instance of moderation and gentleness in the conduct of those who have power in their hands, weighs much more with us than fifty violent and acrimonious declamations against intolerance, proceeding from persons who either are actually suffering persecution, or, at least, have no power to persecute others. In the writings of our friend Mr le Mesurier, for example, we observe an intolerant love of toleration, which reminds us of a letter in Swift's Examiner, in which the Examiner is told, that he deserves to have his throat cut, 'as all such enemies to moderation should be served.' No. 28.

will not tolerate each other, it is idle to assign the supremacy of the Pope as the reason of their not tolerating Catholics. In tolerant countries, Catholics have, upon the whole, fared nearly as well as dissenting Protestants. Where any considerable difference has been made, it may be attributed to many other causes with greater probability than to fear of the Pope. We may name, for instance, the great and fundamental diversity of religious opinion; the resentment excited by past injuries; the jealousy caused by the power of the Catholics, either in the country or in the general affairs of Europe; and, above all, the apprehensions arising from the consciousness of possessing something, to which the Catholics believe themselves to have a better title. The last consideration alone will account for the whole of the penal code of Ireland.

The event which Lord Clarendon so earnestly desired, actually took place in the United Netherlands some years after his death. The majority of the Catholics of that country, who were Jansenists, quarrelled with the Pope, and erected an independent hierarchy of their own, under a titular Archbishop of Utrecht. We are not aware that the Government took any pains to perpetuate the schism, by extending privileges to the Jansenist party, which were withheld from those Catholics who adhered to the authority of the Pope.

In England, it has been customary, ever since the beginning of the Reformation, to vindicate the severe laws which have been made against the Catholics, by attributing them to the apprehensions entertained of the machinations of the Pope. Here we beg leave to inquire, whether, if the Catholics had renounced their connexion with the See of Rome, they would have been permitted, in the reign of Elizabeth, to exercise their religion in peace? We believe that no person, who is acquainted with the principles of that age in general, and of that reign in particular, * will answer our question in the affirmative.

* *Life of Lord Burghley*, in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, p. 33, ed. 1779. 'He held, there cold be no government where there was 'division. And that state cold never be in safety, where there was 'tolleration of two religions. For there is no enmytie so great as 'that for religion. And they that differ in the service of God, can 'never agree in the service of their contrie.' In the same manner, Bacon, in *Certain Observations made upon a Libel published this present year*, 1592, written principally for the purpose of vindicating the sanguinary proceedings against the Catholics, treats the permission of the exercise of two religions as 'a dangerous indulgence 'and toleration.' In his opinion, the greatest indulgence which the government can safely show, is to be satisfied with enforcing exterior

firmative. The example of the Puritans proves how little the Catholics would have gained by any concession, short of complete conformity to the established religion. Whatever tranquillity they enjoyed under Elizabeth, is to be attributed, not to the tolerant spirit of the government, but to the flexibility of their own religious principles, which permitted them to join in that mode of worship which was established by law.

In the two following reigns, the severities which the Catholics endured, were occasioned partly by the misconduct of some of their own body, in which the Court of Rome had no share, and principally, by the relentless bigotry of the Puritans, who persecuted the Catholics, not as bad subjects, but as bad Christians. When it is considered that the Puritans entertained notions respecting the subjection of the civil to the ecclesiastical power, which had hardly been heard of in Europe since the twelfth century, it will not be supposed that they were very solicitous that the King should not be deprived of 'the better moiety of his sovereignty.' After the fall of the monarchy, the Catholics were protected from the fury of the Presbyterians by Cromwell, the father of toleration in England. The conduct of the Catholics on that occasion is attributed to them as a crime by Lord Clarendon, in the following parenthesis.

'During

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terior conformity to the established religion, 'without entering in-'to, and sifting into mens' consciences, when no overt scandal is 'given.' That is to say, if men will go regularly to church, and will abstain from writing or speaking against the religion of the State, the government need not be very strict in inquiring into their private thoughts. More than this, Bacon thought, could not be granted with safety to the State. Such were the opinions of latitudinarian statesmen and philosophers. It will not be supposed that theologians were more tolerant. See, for instance, in Leland's History of Ireland (II. p. 482), a paper drawn up by Archbishop Usher, in the year 1626, and entitled, *The Judgment of diverse of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland concerning Toleration of Religion.* In this paper, the toleration of Popery is called 'a grievous 'sin, by which we render ourselves accessory to all their superstitions, idolatries, and heresies.' It is amusing to compare this kind of language with that which may be found in the books of the present day. 'The Church of England,' according to Mr Le Mesurier (*Serious Examination*, &c. p. 12), 'being equally averse 'to persecuting, as to being persecuted, *has always been glad to* '*grant to all sects*, that toleration which she could never obtain 'from Romish priests, or Romish governors.' Our respect for Mr Le Mesurier's private character prevents us from suspecting that he was not in earnest in making the preceding assertion.

'During which time [the exile of Charles II.] his Roman Catholic subjects, two or three persons of honour only excepted, shewed very little affection to him, but applied themselves to Cromwell and those in power, that they might live quietly under that government, which they were willing to submit to, and to give any security for their obedience.' p. 704.

From the Restoration to the Revolution, the remains of Puritanism, and the manifest leaning of the Court towards Popery, are sufficient to account for the animosity of the people against the Catholics. After the Revolution, which was secretly promoted by the Pope himself, the Catholics were considered by the government in no other light than as an inconsiderable branch of the Jacobite party, the great strength of which lay within the pale of the Established Church. As the new government was convinced, that the dread of Popery was the great obstacle to the restoration of the exiled family, we must not wonder that the Whig statesmen did not neglect the proper means of keeping alive that dread in the minds of the people. It is with great truth of painting that Swift, in his *Essay on the Fates of Clergymen*, among the thriving arts of an unprincipled Low-church divine, enumerates his 'dreadful apprehensions of Po-'pery.' As far, however, as was consistent with the necessity of keeping up this spirit, the Whigs were sufficiently willing to comprehend the Catholics within the effects of their principle of general toleration. Upon the whole, since the Revolution, the Catholics have had more reason to complain of the Tories than of the Whigs. *

Since the extinction of the hopes and pretensions of the House of Stuart, a considerable progress has been made, with the full concurrence of government, towards the assimilation of the political condition of the Catholics with that of the Protestant Dissenters. The Catholics, indeed, are still excluded from Parliament, which is open to Protestant Dissenters. The English Catholics are also liable to be deprived, by any one of the candidates, of the privilege of voting at elections. These, however, and several other disabilities under which the Catholics still labour, and from which the Protestant Dissenters are released,

* See, for instance, in Burnet's *History of his Own Time*, (III. p. 316, ed. 1753, the manner in which King William was compelled to give way to the Act 11. and 12. Will. III. cap. 4., in order to satisfy the Tories that he was not 'a Papist, or, at least, a favourer 'of Popery.' Swift, in several parts of his writings, reproaches the Whigs for their lenity towards the Catholics, and exults in comparing the different conduct of his own party, while they were in power. Passages to that effect may be seen in *The Presbyterian's Plea of Merit*, and in the *Roman Catholic's Reasons for Repealing the Test*,

released, may be justly attributed, not to any fear of the Pope, but partly to the difficulty of changing long established laws, even when they are acknowledged to be useless or pernicious; partly to a resolution formed by a great number of our fellow subjects, to resist any measure whatsoever favourable to any class of Dissenters; and partly to the irritation which has been produced by the peculiar circumstances under which the measure of Catholic Emancipation, as it is called, has been brought forward.

The protracted discussion of that measure has had the effect of making all England 'ring from side to side' with the names and actions of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. We shall conclude this article by stating the reasons which induce us to believe, that if the authority of the See of Rome were totally annihilated, the opposition to Catholic Emancipation would not be sensibly diminished.

The opponents of Catholic Emancipation may be divided into four classes; though many belong to more than one class, and not a few may, with equal propriety, be assigned to every class. We will consider these four classes in their proper order.

The first class comprizes the members of the present administration, and their political adherents. We believe that our readers, of all sects and parties, will acknowledge, that whether Catholic Emancipation be a good or a bad measure, it is the interest of the present administration not only to prevent it from taking place, but also to render the supporters of it odious in the eyes of that people to whose voice the Sovereign of a free people is compelled to attend in the choice of his ministers. With such persons, it is evidently fruitless to enter into any discussion of the objections to that measure. Many of them, indeed, candidly acknowledge in private, that these objections have no real solidity, and that their own opposition to Catholic Emancipation is caused by circumstances merely of a temporary nature.

In the second class, we place all persons who resolutely and blindly oppose every innovation in the constitution of the country; and whose mouths are full of the old adages, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari—Stat super vias antiquas—Meddle not with them that are given to change*, &c. To this class belong many of the sages of the law; an order of men which, in every country, is apt to consider the existing order of things as the most perfect model of political wisdom; to adhere closely to every established error; and to tremble at every proposition of improvement. If the Catholics could be persuaded to renounce the spiritual authority

thority of the Pope, there remains the declaration against transubstantiation and the invocation of saints, besides all the laws which affect Dissenters in general. It is not to be supposed that persons of this description will ever willingly consent to the repeal of a considerable number of statutes, which our ancestors, who were so much better judges of these matters than we are, thought necessary to the preservation of the constitution.

The third class consists chiefly of most of the clergy of the Established Church, and of such of the laity as aspire to the character of Highchurch men. The members of this class are adverse to the admission of any persons who do not profess the religion of the State, to offices of trust and emolument. Many of them do not scruple to maintain, that Dissenters, of all sorts and conditions, must, from the nature of things, be enemies to the government of their country. A Presbyterian Chancellor would not be less offensive in their eyes, perhaps more offensive to several of them, than a Catholic Chancellor. Instead of raising the Catholics even to the political situation of the Protestant Dissenters, they desire to depress the Protestant Dissenters to the political situation of the Catholics. * Of the numerous pamphlets on this subject written by clergymen of the Church of England which we have seen, we recollect only one, in which the admission of Protestant Dissenters to offices is recommended; while the exclusion of Catholics from them is defended. Mr le Mesurier, in his *Sequel to the Serious Examination into the Roman Catholic Claims*, (p. 68), produces the following passage from Selden's *Table Talk*. 'The Protestants in France bear office in 'the state, because, though their religion is different, yet they 'acknowledge no other king but the king of France. The Papists in England,—they must have a king of their own, a Pope, 'that must do something in our kingdom; therefore, there is no 'reason they should enjoy the same privileges.' On these words Mr le Mesurier remarks—'This is a most just and true distinction. Protestants own no *foreign head* of their church, therefore they have no temptation to overset the government under 'which

* *Observations on the Roman Catholic Question*, by Lord Kenyon, p. 5 'The most effectual way, therefore, of affording security to 'an Established Church, is to restrict to its members the possession 'of that power, which, if placed in other hands, would endanger 'it. Therefore it is required, in this country, that not only the Sovereign, but all persons appointed to offices of power and trust, 'should be of the Established Religion.' If this doctrine can be clearly proved, it seems to be a needless waste of time and labour, to dwell upon the particular objections to the admission of Catholics to offices of power and trust.

'which they live, if not molested.' A person better acquainted with the theory than with the practice of dialectics, would naturally infer from Mr le Mesurier's words, that if Catholics did not own a foreign head of their church, he would be willing to admit them to offices in the state, as well as Protestant Dissenters. A passage which occurs at the very threshold of his writings on this subject, clearly demonstrates the erroneousness of such an inference. 'I will go farther, and venture to express my opinion, that 'such is the general spirit of the Romish Church, *such is the 'tendency of all the institutions and doctrines which are peculiar 'to it*, that it can never with safety be admitted to more than 'a toleration in a Protestant state.' *Serious Examination*, &c. p. 3.

To the fourth class belong all persons who view the Roman Catholic religion with the eyes of the old Puritans. Under this class are comprehended many of the Protestant Dissenters of the more ancient sects, * together with almost all the Methodists, taking the appellation in its most comprehensive sense. A Methodist troubles himself very little about 'foreign influence' and 'divided allegiance.' He considers a Catholic, not as a kind of rebel, but as a kind of idolater; a believer in free-will and justification by works, a suppresser of the scriptures, and a persecutor of the godly. When we observe the great and increasing influence of the Methodists, we do not hesitate to consider them as by far the most formidable enemies to the Catholics; and, indeed, as no despicable enemies of some other persons. It is principally by means of the Methodists that the popular cry of *No-Popery* has been excited.

Upon the whole, we firmly believe, that if the bulk of the Irish nation were members of the Greek or Armenian Church, instead of the Roman Church, the question of **Emancipation** would stand very nearly, if not exactly, where it stands at present. There is another opinion upon this subject, which we have sometimes been tempted to adopt, and which we will submit to the consideration of our readers, without any commentary or explanation. We suspect, that if the four, or three, or two millions of Irish Catholics were unanimously to offer to embrace any modification of Protestantism, except the Established Religion, many, if not most of those who feel, or affect to feel, such dreadful apprehensions of 'foreign influence,' would answer, in the words of Othello, ''Tis better as it is.'

ART.

* See especially the *Hints* of Philagatharches, reviewed in our Vol. XVII. p. 393.

ART. X. *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage. A Romaunt.* By Lord Byron. 4to. pp. 230. London, 1812.

LORD BYRON has improved marvellously since his last appearance at our tribunal;—and this, though it bear a very affected title, is really a volume of very considerable power, spirit and originality—which not only atones for the evil works of his nonage, but gives promise of a further excellence hereafter; to which it is quite comfortable to look forward.

The most surprising thing about the present work, indeed, is, that it should please and interest so much as it does, with so few of the ordinary ingredients of interest or poetical delight. There is no story or adventure—and, indeed, no incident of any kind; the whole poem—to give a very short account of it—consisting of a series of reflections made in travelling through a part of Spain and Portugal, and in sailing up the Mediterranean to the shores of Greece. These reflections, too, and the descriptions out of which they arise, are presented without any regular order or connexion—being sometimes strung upon the slender thread of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, and sometimes held together by the still slighter tie of the author's local situation at the time of writing. As there are no incidents, there cannot well be any characters;—and accordingly, with the exception of a few national sketches, which form part of the landscape of his pilgrimage, that of the hero himself is the only delineation of the kind that is offered to the reader of this volume;—and this hero, we must say, appears to us as oddly chosen as he is imperfectly employed. Childe Harold is a sated epicure—sickened with the very fulness of prosperity—oppressed with ennui, and stung with occasional remorse;—his heart hardened by a long course of sensual indulgence, and his opinion of mankind degraded by his acquaintance with the baser part of them. In this state he wanders over the fairest and most interesting parts of Europe, in the vain hope of stimulating his palsied sensibility by novelty, or at least of occasionally forgetting his mental anguish in the toils and perils of his journey. Like Milton's fiend, however, he 'sees undelighted all delight,' and passes on through the great wilderness of the world with a heart shut to all human sympathy,—sullenly despising the stir both of its business and its pleasures—but hating and despising himself most of all, for beholding it with so little emotion.

Lord Byron takes the trouble to caution his readers against supposing that he meant to shadow out his own character under the dark and repulsive traits of that which we have just exhibited; a caution which was surely unnecessary—though it is impossible

not to observe, that the mind of the noble author has been so far tinged by his strong conception of this Satanic personage, that the sentiments and reflections which he delivers in his own name, have all received a shade of the same gloomy and misanthropic colouring which invests those of his imaginary hero. The general strain of those sentiments, too, is such as we should have thought very little likely to attract popularity, in the present temper of this country. They are not only complexionally dark and disdainful, but run directly counter to very many of our national passions, and most favoured propensities. Lord Byron speaks with the most unbounded contempt of the Portuguese—with despondence of Spain—and in a very slighting and sarcastic manner of wars, and victories, and military heroes in general. Neither are his religious opinions more orthodox, we apprehend, than his politics; for he not only speaks without any respect of priests, and creeds, and dogmas of all descriptions, but doubts very freely of the immortality of the soul, and other points as fundamental.

Such are some of the disadvantages under which this poem lays claim to the public favour; and it will be readily understood that we think it has no ordinary merit, when we say, that we have little doubt that it will find favour, in spite of these disadvantages. Its chief excellence is a singular freedom and boldness, both of thought and expression, and a great occasional force and felicity of diction, which is the more pleasing that it does not appear to be the result either of long labour or humble imitation. There is, indeed, a tone of self-willed independence and originality about the whole composition—a certain plain manliness and strength of manner, which is infinitely refreshing after the sickly affectations of so many modern writers; and reconciles us not only to the asperity into which it sometimes degenerates, but even in some degree to the unamiableness upon which it constantly borders. We do not know, indeed, whether there is not something *piquant* in the very novelty and singularity of that cast of misanthropy and universal scorn, which we have already noticed as among the repulsive features of the composition. It excites a kind of curiosity, at least, to see how objects, which have been usually presented under so different an aspect, appear through so dark a medium; and undoubtedly gives great effect to the flashes of emotion and suppressed sensibility that occasionally burst through the gloom. The best parts of the poem, accordingly, are those which embody those stern and disdainful reflexions, to which the author seems to recur with unfeigned cordiality and eagerness—and through which we think we can sometimes discern the strugglings of a gentler feeling, to

which

which he is afraid to abandon himself. There is much strength, in short, and some impetuous feeling in this poem—but very little softness; some pity for mankind—but very little affection; and no enthusiasm in the cause of any living men, or admiration of their talents or virtues. The author's inspiration does not appear to have brought him any beatific visions, nor to have peopled his fancy with any forms of loveliness; and though his lays are often both loud and lofty, they neither 'lap us in Ely-'sium,' nor give us any idea that it was in Elysium that they were framed.

The descriptions are often exceedingly good; and the diction, though unequal and frequently faulty, has on the whole a freedom, copiousness and vigour, which we are not sure that we could match in any cotemporary poet. Scott alone, we think, possesses a style equally strong and natural; but Scott's is more made up of imitations, and indeed is frequently a mere cento of other writers—while Lord Byron's has often a nervous simplicity and manly freshness which reminds us of Dryden, and an occasional force and compression, in some of the smaller pieces especially, which afford no unfavourable resemblance of Crabbe.

The versification is in the stanza of Spencer; and none of all the imitators of that venerable bard have availed themselves more extensively of the great range of tones and manners in which his example entitles them to indulge. Lord Byron has accordingly given us descriptions in all their extremes;—sometimes compressing into one stanza the whole characteristic features of a country, and sometimes expanding into twenty the details of a familiar transaction;—condescending, for pages together, to expatiate in minute and ludicrous representations,—and mingling long apostrophes, execrations, and the expression of personal emotion, with the miscellaneous picture which it is his main business to trace on the imagination of his readers. Not satisfied even with this license of variety, he has passed at will, and entirely, from the style of Spencer, to that of his own age,—and intermingled various lyrical pieces with the solemn stanza of his general measure.

The poem begins with an account of Childe Harold's early profligacy, and the joyless riot in which he wasted his youthful days.—At last,

> 'Worse than adversity the Childe befell;
> He felt the fullness of satiety:
> Then loathed he in his native land to dwell.'

So he sets sail for Lisbon; and amuses himself on the way with inditing a sort of farewell ballad to his native country, in which there are some strong and characteristic stanzas. The

view

view of Lisbon, and the Portuguese landscape, is given with considerable spirit;—the marking features of the latter are well summed up in the following lines.

'The horrid crags, by toppling convent crown'd,
The cork trees hoar that clothe the shaggy steep,
The mountain moss by scorching skies imbrown'd,
The sunken glen, whose sunless shrubs must weep,
The tender azure of the unruffled deep,
The orange tints that gild the greenest bough,
The torrents that from cliff to valley leap,
The vine on high, the willow branch below,
Mix'd in one mighty scene, with varied beauty glow.' p. 17.

There is then a digression, half in the style of invective and half of derision, on the Convention of Cintra; after which the Childe proceeds for Spain. The description of the upland frontier by which he enters, is striking and vigorous.

'More bleak to view the hills at length recede,
And, less luxuriant, smoother vales extend:
Immense horizon-bounded plains succeed!
Far as the eye discerns, withouten end,
Spain's realms appear whereon her shepherds tend
Flocks, whose rich fleece right well the trader knows.
Now must the pastor's arm his lambs defend:
For Spain is compass'd by unyielding foes,
And all must shield their all, or share subjection's woes.' p. 23.

After this comes a spirited invocation to the genius of Spain, and her ancient idol of Chivalry; followed by a rapid view of her present state of devastation; which concludes with a bold personification of Battle.

'Lo! where the giant on the mountain stands,
His blood-red tresses deep'ning in the sun,
With death-shot glowing in his fiery hands,
And eye that scorcheth all it glares upon.' p. 27.

The following passage affords a good specimen of the force of Lord Byron's style; as well as of that singular turn of sentiment which we have doubted whether to rank among the defects or the attractions of this performance.

'Three hosts combine to offer sacrifice;
Three tongues prefer strange orisons on high;
Three gaudy standards flout the pale blue skies;
The shouts are, France, Spain, Albion, Victory!
The foe, the victim, and the fond ally
That fights for all, but ever fights in vain,
Are met—as if at home they could not die—
To feed the crow on Talavera's plain,
And fertilize the field that each pretends to gain.

There shall they rot—Ambition's honour'd fools!
Yes—*honour* decks the turf that wraps their clay!
Vain sophistry!—In these behold the tools,
The broken tools, that tyrants cast away
By myriads, when they dare to pave their way
With human hearts—to what?—a dream alone, &c.

Enough of Battle's minions! let them play
Their game of lives, and barter breath for fame;
Fame, that will scarce reanimate their clay,
Though thousands fall to deck some single name.
In sooth 'twere sad to thwart their noble aim
Who strike, blest hirelings! for their country's good,
And die, that living might have prov'd her shame;
Perished perchance in some domestic feud,
Or in a narrower sphere wild rapine's path pursu'd.' p. 28-30.

The following is in a more relenting mood.

'Not so the rustic—with his trembling mate
He lurks, nor casts his heavy eye afar,
Lest he should view his vineyard desolate,
Blasted below the dun hot breath of war.
No more beneath soft eve's consenting star
Fandango twirls his jocund castanet:
Ah, monarchs! could ye taste the mirth ye mar,
Not in the toils of glory would ye fret;
The hoarse dull drum would sleep, and man be happy yet!' p. 31.

After this, there is a transition to the maid of Saragoza, and a rapturous encomium on the beauty of the Spanish women; in the very middle of which, the author, who wrote this part of his work in Greece, happens to lift up his eyes to the celebrated peak of Parnassus—and immediately, and without the slightest warning, bursts out into the following rapturous invocation, which is unquestionably among the most spirited passages of the poem.

'Oh, thou Parnassus! whom I now survey,
Not in the phrenzy of a dreamer's eye,
Not in the fabled landscape of a lay,
But soaring snow-clad through thy native sky
In the wild pomp of mountain majesty!
What marvel if I thus essay to sing?
The humblest of thy pilgrims passing by
Would gladly woo thine echoes with his string,
Though from thy heights no more one Muse will wave her wing.

Oft have I dream'd of thee! whose glorious name
Who knows not, knows not man's divinest lore;
And now I view thee, 'tis, alas! with shame
That I in feeblest accents must adore.

When

When I recount thy worshippers of yore
I tremble, and can only bend the knee;
Nor raise my voice, nor vainly dare to soar,
But gaze beneath thy cloudy canopy
In silent joy to think at last I look on Thee!

Though here no more Apollo haunts his grot,
And thou, the Muses' seat, art now their grave!
Some gentle Spirit still pervades the spot,
Sighs in the gale, keeps silence in the cave,
And glides with glassy foot o'er yon melodious Wave.' p. 38-39.

The author then finds his way back to his subject; and gives us an animated picture of the loose and wanton gayeties of Cadiz, and the divertisements of her Sabbath, as contrasted with the sober enjoyments of a London Sunday. This introduces a very long and minute description of a bull-fight, which is executed, however, with great spirit and dignity; and then there is a short return upon Childe Harold's gloom and misery, which he explains in a few energetic stanzas addressed 'To Inez.' They exemplify that strength of writing and power of versification with which we were so much struck in some of Mr Crabbe's smaller pieces, and seem to us to give a very true and touching view of the misery that frequently arises in a soul surfeited with enjoyment.

'Nay, smile not at my sullen brow,
Alas! I cannot smile again;
Yet heaven avert that ever thou
Should'st weep, and haply weep in vain.

It is not love, it is not hate,
Nor low ambition's honours lost,
That bids me loathe my present state,
And fly from all I priz'd the most.

It is that weariness which springs
From all I meet, or hear, or see:
To me no pleasure beauty brings;
Thine eyes have scarce a charm for me.

It is that settled, ceaseless gloom
The fabled Hebrew wanderer bore;
That will not look beyond the tomb,
But cannot hope for rest before.' p. 50-52.

There are more of those verses; but we cannot now make room for them. The canto ends with a view of the atrocities of the French; the determined valour of the Spanish peasantry; and some reflections on the extraordinary condition of that people,

'Where all are noble, save Nobility;
None hug a conqueror's chain, save fallen Chivalry!'

'They fight for freedom who were never free;
A kingless people for a nerveless state,
The vassals combat when their chieftains flee,
True to the veriest slaves of Treachery.'

The second canto conducts us to Greece and Albania; and opens with a solemn address to Athens—which leads again to those gloomy and uncomfortable thoughts which seem but too familiar to the mind of the author.

'Ancient of days! august Athena! where,
Where are thy men of might? thy grand in soul?
Gone---glimmering through the dream of things that were.
First in the race that led to glory's goal,
They won, and pass'd away---is this the whole?
A school-boy's tale, the wonder of an hour!

Son of the morning, rise! approach you here!
Come---but molest not yon defenceless urn:
Look on this spot---a nation's sepulchre!
Abode of gods, whose shrines no longer burn.
Even gods must yield---religions take their turn:
'Twas Jove's---'tis Mahomet's---and other creeds
Will rise with other years, till man shall learn
Vainly his incense soars, his victim bleeds;
Poor child of doubt and death, whose hope is built on reeds.

Bound to the earth, he lifts his eye to heaven---
Is't not enough, unhappy thing! to know
Thou art? Is this a boon so kindly given,
That being, thou would'st be again, and go,
Thou know'st not, reck'st not to what region, so
On earth no more, but mingled with the skies?
Still wilt thou dream on future joy and woe?' &c. p. 62-63.

The same train of contemplation is pursued through several stanzas: one of which consists of the following moralization on a skull which he gathers from the ruins—and appears to us to be written with great force and originality.

'Look on its broken arch, its ruin'd wall,
Its chambers desolate, and portals foul:
Yes, this was once Ambition's airy hall,
The dome of Thought, the palace of the Soul:
Behold through each lack-lustre, eyeless hole,
The gay recess of Wisdom and of Wit,
And Passion's host, that never brook'd control:
Can all, saint, sage, or sophist ever writ,
People this lonely tower, this tenement refit?' p. 64.

There is then a most furious and unmeasured invective on Lord Elgin, for his spoliation of the fallen city; and when this is exhausted, we are called upon to accompany Harold in his

voyage

voyage along the shores of Greece. His getting under way is described with great truth and spirit.

'He that has sail'd upon the dark blue sea,
Has view'd at times, I ween, a full fair sight;
When the fresh breeze is fair as breeze may be,
The white sail set, the gallant frigate tight;
Masts, spires, and strand retiring to the right,
The glorious main expanding o'er the bow,
The convoy spread like wild swans in their flight,
The dullest sailer wearing bravely now,
So gaily curl the waves before each dashing prow.' p. 69.

The quiet of the still and lonely night, however, draws the author back again to his gloomy meditations. There is great power, we think, and great bitterness of soul, in the following stanzas.

'To sit on rocks, to muse o'er flood and fell,
To slowly trace the forest's shady scene,
Where things that own not man's dominion dwell,
And mortal foot hath ne'er, or rarely been;
To climb the trackless mountain all unseen,
With the wild flock that never needs a fold;
Alone o'er steeps and foaming falls to lean;
This is not solitude; 'tis but to hold
Converse with nature's charms, and see her stores unroll'd.

But midst the crowd, the hum, the shock of men,
To hear, to see, to feel, and to possess,
And roam along, the world's tir'd denizen,
With none who bless us, none whom we can bless;
Minions of splendour shrinking from distress!
None that, with kindred consciousness endued,
If we were not, would seem to smile the less
Of all that flatter'd, follow'd, sought, and sued:
This is to be alone; this, this is solitude!' p. 73-74.

Childe Harold cares little for scenes of battle; and passes Actium and Lepanto with indifference.

'But when he saw the evening star above
Leucadia's far-projecting rock of woe,
And hail'd the last resort of fruitless love,
He felt, or deem'd he felt, no common glow:
And as the stately vessel glided slow
Beneath the shadow of that ancient mount,
He watch'd the billows' melancholy flow,
And, sunk albeit in thought as he was wont,
More placid seem'd his eye, and smooth his pallid front.

Morn dawns; and with it stern Albania's hills
Dark Sulis' rocks, and Pindus' inland peak,

Rob'd

Rob'd half in mist, bedew'd with snowy rills,
Array'd in many a dun and purple streak,
Arise; and as the clouds along them break,
Disclose the dwelling of the mountaineer:
Here roams the wolf, the eagle whets his beak,
Birds, beasts of prey, and wilder men appear,
And gathering storms around convulse the closing year.' p. 81.

This is powerful description;—and so is a great deal of what follows, as to the aspect of the Turkish cities, the costume of their warriors, and the characters and occupations of their women. But we must draw to a close with our extracts; and we prefer the commemoration of classic glories. After a solemn and touching exposition of the degraded and hopeless state of modern Greece, Lord Byron proceeds—

'Yet are thy skies as blue, thy crags as wild,
Sweet are thy groves, and verdant are thy fields,
Thine olive ripe as when Minerva smil'd;
And still his honied wealth Hymettus yields;
There the blithe bee his fragrant fortress builds,
The freeborn wanderer of thy mountain air;
Apollo still thy long, long summer gilds,
Still in his beam Mendeli's marbles glare:
Art, Glory, Freedom fail, but Nature still is fair.

'Where'er we tread 'tis haunted, holy ground,
No earth of thine is lost in vulgar mould;
But one vast realm of wonder spreads around,
And all the Muse's tales seem truly told,
Till the sense aches with gazing to behold
The scenes our earliest dreams have dwelt upon:
Each hill and dale, each deepening glen and wold
Defies the power which crush'd thy temples gone:
Age shakes Athena's tower, but spares gray Marathon.'
p. 104, 105.

The poem closes with a few pathetic stanzas to the memory of a beloved object, who appears to have died during the author's wanderings among the Grecian cities.

The extracts we have now made, will enable our readers to judge of this poem for themselves; nor have we much to add to the general remarks which we took the liberty of offering at the beginning. Its chief fault is the want of story, or object; and the dark, and yet not tender spirit which breathes through almost every part of it. The general strain of the composition, we have already said, appears to us remarkably good; but it is often very diffuse, and not unfrequently tame and prosaic. We can scarcely conceive any thing more mean and flat, for instance, than this encomium on the landscapes of Illyria.

'Yet

'Yet in fam'd Attica such lovely dales
Are rarely seen; nor can fair Tempe boast
A charm they know not; lov'd Parnassus fails,
Though classic ground and consecrated most,
To match some spots that lurk within this lowering coast.' p. 82.

Though even this is more tolerable to our taste than such a line as the following—

'Death rides upon the sulphury Siroc;'

and several others that might be collected with no great trouble. The work, in short, bears considerable marks of haste and carelessness; and is rather a proof of the author's powers, than an example of their successful exertion. It shows the compass of his instrument, and the power of his hand; though we cannot say that we are very much delighted either with the air he has chosen, or the style in which it is executed. The Notes are written in a flippant, lively, *tranchant* and assuming style—neither very deep nor very witty; though rather entertaining, and containing some curious information as to the character and qualifications of the modern Greeks; of whom, as well as of the Portuguese, Lord Byron seems inclined to speak much more favourably in prose than in verse.

The smaller pieces that conclude the volume, are in general spirited and well versified. The three last, which are all a kind of elegies in honour of the same lady whose loss is deplored in the concluding stanzas of the Pilgrimage, are decidedly the best; and appear to us to be written with great beauty and feeling, though not in the most difficult style of composition. The reader may take the following specimens.

'One struggle more, and I am free
From pangs that rend my heart in twain;
One last long sigh to love and thee,
Then back to busy life again.
It suits me well to mingle now
With things that never pleas'd before:
Though every joy is fled below,
What future grief can touch me more?

'In vain my lyre would lightly breathe!
The smile that sorrow fain would wear
But mocks the woe that lurks beneath,
Like roses o'er a sepulchre.
Though gay companions o'er the bowl
Dispel awhile the sense of ill;
Though pleasure fires the madd'ning soul:
The heart----the heart is lonely still!

'My Thyrza's pledge in better days,
When love and life alike were new!
How different now thou meet'st my gaze!
How ting'd by time with sorow's hue!

The heart that gave itself with thee
Is silent----ah, were mine as still!
Though cold as e'en the dead can be,
It feels, it sickens with the chill.' p. 197---200.

'Ours too the glance none saw beside;
The smile none else might understand;
The whisper'd thought of hearts allied,
The pressure of the thrilling hand;
The kiss so guiltless and refin'd
That Love each warmer wish forbore----
Those eyes proclaim'd so pure a mind,
Ev'n passion blush'd to plead for more----
The tone, that taught me to rejoice,
When prone, unlike thee, to repine;
The song, celestial from thy voice,
But sweet to me from none but thine.' p. 193---194.

'The voice that made those sounds more sweet
Is hush'd, and all their charms are fled;
And now their softest notes repeat
A dirge, an anthem o'er the dead!
Yes, Thyrza! yes, they breathe of thee,
Beloved dust! since dust thou art;
And all that once was harmony
Is worse than discord to my heart!' p. 195---196.

The Appendix contains some account of Romaic, or modern Greek authors, with a very few specimens of their language and literary attainments. There is a long note upon the same subject, at p. 149, in which Lord Byron does us the honour to controvert some opinions which are expressed in our Thirty-First Number; and to correct some mistakes into which he thinks we have there fallen. To these strictures of the noble author we feel no inclination to trouble our readers with any reply.—But there is one paragraph, in which he not only disclaims any wish to conciliate our favour—but speaks of his 'private resentments' against us; and declares, that he has no wish to cancel the remembrance of any syllable he has formerly published—upon which we will confess that we have been sorely tempted to make some observations. Our sense of propriety, however, has determined us to resist this temptation; and we shall merely observe, therefore, that if we viewed with astonishment the immeasurable fury with which the minor poet received the innocent pleasantry and moderate castigation of our remarks on his first publication, we now feel nothing but pity for the strange irritability of temperament which can still cherish a private resentment for such a cause

cause—or wish to perpetuate the memory of personalities so outrageous as to have been injurious only to their author. For our own parts, when we speak in our collective and public capacity, we have neither resentments nor predilections; and take no merit to ourselves for having spoken of Lord Byron's present publication exactly as we should have done, had we never heard of him before as an author.

Art. XI. Æschyli Tragœdiæ, *ex Editione* Thomæ Stanleii. *Accedunt Notæ VV. DD. quibus suas intertexuit* Samuel Butler, *S. T. P.* Cantabrigiæ, Typis et Sumptibus Academicis. Tom. II. 4to. Tom. III. & IV. 8vo. 1811.

We reviewed the former volumes of this learned and laborious work with the freedom that is indispensable, both to the fairness and the effect of our criticisms; and, we hope, without any violation of the respect that is due to the skill and diligence of the Editor. Dr Butler, however, while he took benefit from several of our remarks, thought fit to take offence at them also; and put forth an epistolary diatribe on the subject, to which, we are persuaded, he is now aware it would not be very difficult to reply. As we discharge the functions of Judges, however, we hope we shall not be found wanting in their temper: and neither the example of Dr Butler, nor the obvious advantages we should have in such a contest, shall tempt us into a war of personalities. We shall proceed, therefore, to examine the volumes before us with the same calmness and the same freedom, as if we were ignorant of the effect of our former animadversions; and, entertaining the most sincere respect for the industry and attainments of that reverend person, shall continue to think we do a service to the cause of good learning, to which his labours and ours are equally devoted, if we are enabled to correct any errors, or to supply any omissions with which he may be chargeable.

The two massy volumes before us contain only two plays; "The Seven Chiefs against Thebes," and the "Agamemnon." For the satisfaction of Dr Butler, who complained of our want of specification on a former occasion, we shall go through these plays somewhat minutely; though the classical reader will easily see, that it is upon the tenor of these particular observations that we are to ground the character which we propose ultimately to give of this interesting publication. The words in inverted commas, immediately following what is cited from the text, are Dr Butler's.

Septem

SEPTEM CONTRA THEBAS.

Great doubts have been entertained, whether the title should be Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας or Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβαις. Dr B. remarks. "Nequeo tamen mihi temperare, quin meam quoque sententiam adjiciam, qui Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας legentibus aliquid auctoritatis accedere putem, quod dixerit Euripides in Phœniss. v. 77. Ἐπ' αὐτὰ δ' ἐλθὼν ἑπτάπυλα τείχη τάδε." A similar remark had been made by Markland with respect to v. 1221. of the Supplices of Euripides. Dr B. thinks the question trifling; but it is as well to settle even a trifling question, if it can be done without much waste of time or trouble. The matter stands thus. All the MSS. and editions prior to the Glasgow of 1784, have Θήβαις. About fifteen ancient authors quote it Θήβας; and about four have Θήβαις; but in two of these four Θήβας is given as a various reading. Authorities therefore are in favour of the accusative case. Syntax admits either.

V. 4. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ εὖ πράξαιμεν, αἰτία θεῶν. We read θεοῦ, with all the best MSS. v. 35. εὖ τελεῖ θεὸς. v. 631. Θεοῦ δὲ δῶρόν ἐστιν εὐτυχεῖν βροτούς.

v. 7. In Stanley's commentary, for Eustath. in Iliad. Z. p. 634. l. 101. read p. 634. l. 12.

v. 28. "Ἀχαιΐδα Pauw. sed ἀττικώτερον est Ἀχαΐδα." This remark was made by Porson on the Hecuba v. 291.

v. 29. Νυκτηγορεῖσθαι κἀπιβουλεύσειν πόλει. We prefer κἀπιβουλεύειν, the reading of some MSS. Dr B. gives no opinion.

v. 43. Ταυροσφαγοῦντες εἰς μελάνδετον σάκος. The MSS. of Longinus π. ὑ. § 15. have a remarkable variety, unnoticed by Dr B. The Vatican MS. 1. has εἰς μέλαν σε τοῦ κύκος. Vatic. 2. has εἰς μέλαν σε τὸ σακος (so), which leads us to suspect that the old reading was, εἰς μελάνδετον κύτος. In v. 496. the hollow of the shield is called περίδρομον κύτος. Euripid. Electr. 472. περιπλεύρῳ κύτει. Antiop. fr. 42. ἀσπίδος κύτει.

vv. 44. 45. 46. Divers varieties in Longinus and Stobæus VII. p. 86.=47. are unnoticed. *e. g.* Ἄρην τ' Ἐνυὼ Longin. MS. Par. Ἄρη κ' Ἐνυὼ Stob. & πρόσθε φυράσειν φόνῳ. Dr B. hesitates between Ἄρη & Ἄρην, not recollecting, we presume, Mr Porson's words on the Phœniss. 134. "In Æschyl. Theb. 45. metrum flagitat Ἄρην."

v. 54. "Τῷδε πίστις Rob. Stobæus l. c." Our copy of Robortellus has τῶνδε πύστις.

v. 61. Χραίνει σταλαγμοῖς ἱππικῶν ἐκ πνευμόνων. We prefer πνευμάτων, which is in two MSS. Confer Sophocl. Electr. 718. Virgil. Georg. III. 111.

v. 62. νηός. "ναὸς Med. Colb. 2. Porson." Which does Dr B.

B. prefer? Euripides has borrowed this verse, Med. 523. and there νοὺς is read; as it should always be in the Attic poets.

v. 75. Ζύγοισι δουλίοισι, Stanl. δουλείοισι Pors. Which the present editor prefers we know not; but δουλίοισι seems to be preferable, and δούλιον ζύγον, rather than δούλειον, in vv. 477. 799. In v. 50. of the Persæ the metre requires δούλιον–ζυγὸν. in v. 955. of the Agamemnon δουλίᾳ–ζυγῷ. in v. 595. of the Troades of Euripides ζυγὰ δούλια.

Ibid. μήποτε σχεθεῖν. "Nos quidem" says Dr B. "μὴ δότε σχέθειν cogitavimus." The context does not admit of this conjecture: Eteocles prays to the Gods—"do not extirpate this city, nor hold it in the yoke of slavery;" μὴ δότε would be nonsense. We are surprised that not one of the commentators should have been aware of the ellipsis of εὔχομαι, which indeed is not of very frequent occurrence; but of which there are instances in v. 259. of this play, v. 304. of the Choephori, Eurip. Suppl. Mul. v. 3. Anonym. in Etymol. M. p. 346, 42. Suid. v. Ἐξάντη, Ὦ Ζεῦ, γενέσθαι τῇδε μ' ἐξάντη νόσου. where Kuster remarks, "desideratur verbum δός, vel simile quid." Lest this authority should lead Dr B. to question our supposed ellipsis of εὔχομαι, we refer him to Aristophanes Ran. vv. 884. 5. 6. ed. Brunck.

v. 108. is thus arranged by Brunck. Ὦ χρυσοπήληξ δαῖμον ἔπιδ' ἔπιδε πόλιν. "Qui senarius est" says Dr Butler, "sed *paullo languidior* ob tribrachyn in quinto loco." How would the ears of an Athenian critic have revelled in a senarius, in which *seven* short syllables followed each other?

v. 118. Καχλάζει πνοαῖς. "Πνοαῖς καγχλάζει Ald." In our copy of the Aldine edition it stands Καγχλάζει πνοαῖς.

v. 123. ἀρήϊον ὅπλων. "Nos ἀρῄων scripsimus, more Attico." It is sufficiently clear, however, that the Attics wrote ἄρειος, from the name of the celebrated council who sat in the Ἄρειος πάγος. Eumen. 682. Πάγον δ' Ἄρειον τόνδ', Ἀμαζόνων ἕδραν.

v. 128. δορυσσοοις σαγαῖς. "Nos δορυσόοις cum Hermanno ob metrum." In the Supplices v. 979. the metre requires the double σ. Ἐμοῦ δ' ἐπαδοὺς τοῦσδε καὶ δορυσσόους Hesiod. Scut. 54. δορυσσόον Ἀμφιτρύωνι. We should therefore prefer δορύσσοις σαγαῖς. Sophocl. Oed. Col. 1313. Οἵους δορύσσους Ἀμφιαρέως.

v. 178. Κλύετε παυδίκους χειροτόνους λιτάς. Three MSS. give παυδίκως, which we prefer.

v. 201. Τοιαῦτα δ' ἄν γυναιξὶ συναίων ἔχοις, "τοιαῦτα δ' ἰν Brunck." In *our* copy of Brunck it stands δ' ἂν. Aldus and Robortellus have τοιαῦτ' ἄν. MS. Guelph. τοιαῦτά τ' ἂν. The true reading is τοιαῦτα τἂν i. e. τοι ἂν. as in v. 395. of the Prometheus ἀσμένως δὲ τἂν Σταθμοῖς ἐν οἰκείοισι κάμψειν γόνυ. Choeph. 1001. τῷδε τἂν δολώμα-

τι=

τι— θερμαίνοι. Sophocl. Antig. 687. Euripid. Suppl. Οὐ τᾶν ἔτ' ὀρθῶς Καπανέως κεραύνιον Δίμας καπνοῦται. where the common reading is Οὔτ' ἄν γ' ἔτ' ὀρθῶς. We should prefer Οὐ τᾶς ἔτ' ὀρθῶς. See Mr Porson's note on v. 863. of the Medea. Agam. 336. Τοιαῦτά τοι γυναικὸς ἐξ ἐμοῦ κλύοις. Read τοιαῦτα τᾶν. The construction requires ἄν. Τοι, forming a crasis with ἂν or ἄρα, loses its enclitic property.

v. 214. Τί οὖν; ὁ ναύτης ἆρά γ' εἰς πρᾴαν φυγὰν. The hiatus between the two first words is passed over in silence by Dr Butler, notwithstanding the following remark of Porson on v. 892. of the Phoenissæ. "Sed neque hiatum Tragici admittunt post τι, (nam pauca, quæ adversantur, exempla mendosa sunt) neque &c." Notwithstanding also that Bentley and Dawes had declared (rather too generally) that the Attic poets altogether rejected the hiatus of vowels in Iambic and Trochaic verses, Dr Butler remarks on v. 710. (Τί οὖν ἔτ' ἂν σαίνοιμεν ὀλέθριον μόρον;) "Τί γ' οὖν Cant. 1. *sed vulgata satis se tuentur.* Cf. v. 214. Τί οὖν ὁ ναύτης." He might have adduced the corroborating testimonies of Markland on v. 109. of the Supplices of Euripides, and of Brunck v. 733. of the Philoctetes of Sophocles. But, as he remarks, the common reading *sufficiently defends itself.* We are, however, inclined to break a lance with it. In the Supplices of Æschylus v. 303. for Τί οὖν ἔτευξεν ἄλλο δυσπότμῳ βοΐ; Mr Porson printed Τί δ' οὖν. from the correction of Heath. In v. 710. of the same play, for Τί οὖν ὁ δῖος πόρτις ἐΰχεται βοὸς, we agree with Professor Monk on v. 975. of the Hippolytus, in receiving Stanley's correction, Τίς οὖν ὁ δῖος π. Pers. 788. Τί οὖν, ἄναξ Δαρεῖε; Read Τί δ' οὖν. * In v. 710. of this play we had formerly conjectured, Τί γοῦν ἔτ' ἂν σαίνοιμεν ὀλέθριον μόρον, as in v. 20. of the Supplices, Τίνα γοῦν χώραν εὐφρονα μᾶλλον τῆσδ' ἀφικοίμεθα; but we are now inclined to believe that the Tragedians never used γοῦν, but γ' οὖν, which is not the same thing. In the above verse we read Τίν' ἂν οὖν χώραν. κ. τ. λ. (See our remarks on v. 1073. of this play.) Agam. 1427. Γνώσει διδαχθεὶς ὀψὲ γοῦν τὸ σωφρονεῖν, read Γνώσει διδαχθεὶς, ὀψέ γ' οὖν, τὸ σωφρονεῖν, or δ' οὖν. Euripid. Electr. 350. Τί φασίν; ἀνὴρ ἔστι καὶ λεύσσει φάος;—Ἔστιν λόγῳ γοῦν· φασὶ δ' οὐκ ἄπιστ' ἐμοί. Read, Ἔστιν λόγῳ μὲν, or Ἔστιν· λόγῳ γ' οὖν. v. 508. of the same play, Ἀνόνητ'. ὅμως γοῦν τοῦτό γ' οὐκ ἠνεσχόμην. Read ὅμως δ' οὖν. v. 770. Τέθνηκε· δίς σοι ταῦθ', ἃ γοῦν βούλει, λέγω. Read, ἅγ' οὖν βούλει. See, however, Eumen. 258. Eurip. Orest. 771. θανὰν γοῦν ὧδε κάλλιον θανεῖ. 778. δάκρυα γοῦν γένοιτ' ἄν. In both these passages it appears to us that the sense requires

γὰρ

* In a verse of Strattis *ap. Schol. Eurip. Orest.* 279. Read Τί οὖν γενόμενος εἰς ἀπὴν ἐνδύσομαι; Vulg. Τί ἂν γεν.

γὰρ for γοῦν. In the verse of this play we conjecture Τί' οὖν ἔτ' ἂν καίνοιμεν ὀλέθριον μόρον; as in v. 403. Κάσμον μὲν ἀνδρὸς οὔτιν' ἂν τρέσαιμι' ἐγώ. In Sophocl. Philoct. 733. 753. for Τί ἔστιν; we should evidently read Τί δ' ἔστιν; as in the Antigone 997. Electr. 920. Euripid. Hecub. 1374. Hippol. 1175. Troad. 1050. Heraclid. 795. Aristophan. Acharn. 177. In the verse under consideration we should prefer, Τί δ' οὖν; or Τί μήν; as in Eumen. v. 203. The observation of Bentley and Dawes is only true when applied to the Tragedians. An instance of hiatus occurs in v. 1265. of the Agamemnon. Παπαῖ. οἷον τὸ πῦρ. but under particular circumstances. V. 992. of the Choephori at present stands thus, Τί σοι δοκεῖ; μύραινά γ' ἢ ἔχιδν' ἔφυ; but read, μύραινά γ' ἠδ', ἢ 'χιδν' ἔφυ; At this same verse Dr B. says "Ἆρα μ' ὡς Ald. Rob." In *our* copies of those editions it is ἆρα μ' ἐς. Read ἆρα μὴ 'ς πρ. φ.

v. 223. Muretus Var. L. v. 19. adopts a different punctuation of this and the following verse, unremarked by Dr B.

v. 232. Ἔστι θεοῖς δέ τ' ἰσχὺς καθυπερτέρα. Dr B. agrees with us in preferring δ' ἔτ' ἰσχὺς, the reading of Aldus and Robortellus, though he does not seem to be aware of the objection to δέ τι, which we stated in our notice of Dr Burney's Tentamen, No. XXXV. p. 175. We are, however, in some degree of doubt, whether the genuine reading be not, Ἔστι θεοῖς δέ γ' ἰσχυς κ. A similar combination of the particles δὲ and γε occurs in Euripid. Suppl. 936. 940. Iph. A. 21. Ion. 368. (where however we would read Ἀλγύνεται δὲ χὴ τεκοῦσα) Electr. 1146. 1224. (ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἐπεκέλευσά σοι. as it should be read) Danae 18. See below, v. 288.

v. 234. Ἐκ χαλιπᾶς δύας. "Καὶ χαλιπᾶς Pors." and so it stands in the Aldine, Florentine and Basle editions of Marcellinus.

Ibid. ὕπερθ' ὀμμάτων. "ὑπέρ τ' Marcellinus in Vita Thucyd." Dr B. took Schutz's word for this: the words in Marcellinus are ὑπέρ τε ὀμμάτων.

Ibid. "Primus vidit Hermannus κρημναμενᾶν νεφελᾶν genitivos esse plurales." This statement is slightly inaccurate: in the first place not κρημναμενᾶν, but κρημναμένων, the penacute, is the genitive plural; and secondly, the three first editions of Marcellinus have κρημναμένων νεφελῶν. Dr B. says "κρημναμένην νεφέλην Ald. Rob." *Our* copies have νεφέλαν.

v. 236. Ἀνδρῶν τάδ' ἐστί, σφάγια καὶ χρηστήρια Θεοῖσιν ἕρδειν. We should prefer Ἀνδρῶν τόδ' ἐστί τόδ' *sc. et* τάδ' *in Codd. sæpe confunduntur.* as Dr B. would observe.

v. 238. καὶ μένειν εἴσω δόμων. "ἔσω δόμου Mosq. 1. Brunck. Schutz. recte, quoniam Ἀττικωτέρως." The tragedians, in the first, third, and fifth feet, as we are inclined to think, preferred,

red, *cæteris paribus*, a spondee to an iambus, for the reason judiciously assigned by Horace; *Tardior ut paullo graviorque veniret ad aures.* Professor Porson, in his first edition of the Hecuba, preferred ἐς to εἰς, but he afterwards changed his opinion.

v. 239. Δυσμενέων δ' ὄχλον πύργος ἀποστέγει. Aldus ἀποστέγη. We imagine the true reading to be ἀποστέγοι. Eteocles had just said Πύργον στέγην εὔξασθε πολέμιον δόρυ.

v. 242. Οὔτι φθονῶ σοι δαιμόνων τιμᾶν γένος. "Οὔτοι Colb. 2. Ask. D." Add to these MSS. the Medicean and Triclinius. οὔτοι is right. οὔτι is never placed at the beginning of a sentence, unless it is followed by μὴ, or when some word is interposed between οὐ and τι. See Prometh. 268. Theb. 38. 201. Euripid. Phœniss. 110. Alcest. 419. Suppl. 535. οὔτι γὰρ κεκτήμεθα Ἡμίτειρον αὐτὸ, where οὔτι is connected with the preceding member of the sentence by the particle γάρ. Alcest. 718. Οὔτι πρὸς ἡμῶν ὤλετ'. Barnes, Reiske and Musgrave concur in οὔτοι. The most common position of οὔτι is after ἀλλὰ. In Aristoph. Plut. 64. for Οὔτοι μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα χαιρήσεις ἔτι, we read Ἀλλ' οὔτι μὰ τ. Δ. Compare v. 563. of the Acharneans as corrected by Dr Bentley, with Sophocl. Œd. T. 371. Philoct. 1299. Euripid. Orest. 1609. Med. 365. Hippol. 41.

v. 246. τήνδ' ἐς ἀκρόπολιν.—"Mox τήνδ' Rob." Read "Supra τήνδ' Ald. Rob."

v. 252. Μὴ νῦν ἀκούουσ' ἐμφανῶς ἄκου' ἄγαν. Read Μή νυν. It is a mistake to suppose that νυν is necessarily short when it is an enclitic. Dr B. has not referred us to Ruhnken's Epist. Crit. I. p. 32. who illustrates this verse with his usual learning.

v. 253. Στένει πόλισμα δῆθεν ὡς κυκλούμενον. Dr B. prefers with justice the reading of Aldus and Robortellus, γῆθεν, which he might have supported from Eumen. 902. Sophocl. Electr. 453. Euripid. Ion. 269.

v. 260. Αὐτὴ σὺ δουλοῖς καὶ μὲ καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν. "κἀμὲ καὶ σὲ καὶ πόλιν Pors. Schutz. 2—Conjicio totum versum legendum esse, Αὐτὴν σὺ δουλοῖς κἀμὲ καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν." Mr Gaisford informs us, in his notes on Hephæstion p. 242. that the reading of Porson is also that of the Selden, or Arundel, MS. It is confirmed by Sophocl. Œd. T. 64. ἡ δ' ἐμὴ ψυχὴ πόλιν τε κἀμὲ καὶ σ' ὁμοῦ στένει. For our own parts, we should prefer Αὐτὴ σὲ δουλοῖς, κἀμὲ, καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν. Euripid. Phœniss. 447. Παῦσαι πόνων μὲ, καὶ σὲ, καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν. Id. in Stob. Eclog. p. 22.=149. Αὔτη τρέφει σὲ, κἀμὲ, καὶ πάντας βροτούς. Cf. Hippol. 264.

v. 262. Ὦ Ζεῦ, γυναικῶν οἷον ὤπασας γένος;—Μοχθηρὸν ὥσπερ ἄνδρας, ὧν ἀλλὰ πόλις. Mr Bothe of Magdeburg, who published an edition of Æschylus on very excellent paper, proposes Μοχθηρὸν, ὥσπερ

πῖς ἄνδρας, ἣν ἁλῷ πόλις. We have been told that Mr Porson read, M. ὦ. ἄνδρες, ἢν ἁλῷ πόλις. The emendation of ἢν for ὃν is not absolutely necessary: that of ἄνδρες is.

v. 276. λύουσα πολέμιον φόβον. "Πολεμίων Marg. Ask. sed minus recte." We think, however, that πολεμίων, which is also the reading of the two Scholiasts, is preferable.

v. 281. Μήλοισιν αἱμάσσοντας ἑστίας θεῶν, Ταυροκτονοῦντας θεοῖσιν, ὧδ' ἐπεύχομαι. κ. τ. λ. For θεοῖσιν we would read πᾶσιν. Schol. A. θύω οὖν αὐτοῖς πᾶσι. See Mr Porson's note on v. 5. of the Phœnissæ.

v. 284. Λάφυρα δαΐων δουρυπλήχθ' ἁγνοῖς δόμοις. Dr B. enumerates the varieties of the MSS. and editions (none of which are right) with commendable accuracy; but delivers no opinion of his own on the subject. We beg leave to call his attention to the following words of the late Mr Porson on v. 482. of his *second* edition of the Hecuba, published in 1802, which Dr B. does not appear to have seen. "In Æschylo Theb. 280. ubi δουρύπληθ' Ald. δορίπληθ' MS. Baroc. 231. *manifesto legendum* δουρίπληφθ'." Read also λάφυρα δήων.

v. 288. Ἐγὼ δ' ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἓξ ἐμοὶ σὺν ἑβδόμῳ—τάξω μολών. "Δέ γ' ἄνδρας ex nota ad oram edit. Ald. voluit Burton. quod ferri potest." We think this conjecture not only *bearable*, but certainly true. Euripid. Orest. 1234. Ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἐπεκέλευσα κἀπέλυσ' ἄκνον. See Porson's note; and our remarks above on v. 232.

v. 314. εὐτρεφίστατον. The learned Editor with justice prefers εὐτραφίστατον, but assigns no reason for the preference. The analogy of εὐσταλής, εὐμαθής, εὐγενής, εὐλαβής, which are all formed from the second indefinite tense, requires εὐτραφής. For the same reason we should write εὐπιθής, and not εὐπειθής.

v. 338. Βαρείας τοι τύχας προταρβῶ. *I look forward with dread to heavy calamities.* Dr Butler remarks, "Pulcherrime ad sensum interpres Dutheilius, *Quelle image! j'en fremis.*" So far is this from being a version, that it does not deserve even the name of a paraphrase; and we have selected it only as one instance, out of many, of the judgment with which the bulk of the notes is increased, by copious extracts from M. de la Porte du Theil's translation. We venture to recommend, that, in a second edition, these scantlings should be collected, with Mr Schütz's German choruses, in an Appendix. We are at a loss to determine, which of the following passages would have most delighted the ears of an Athenian audience by its harmony. "*L'enfant massacré pousse des cris inarticulés sur la mammelle ensanglantée qui l'allaitoit.*" (v. 356.) or "*So brause die Klage des Todtengesangs! So tön' an der Stirn der trauernde Schlag!*" (Mr Schütz's Ode on v. 856.) The translation of the verse before us, is about as accurate as that of a celebrated Judge, who englished

lished " aut Cæsar aut nullus," by the apposite adage of " now or never. "

v. 339. ἀρτιτρόποις. The Scholiast explains it, ταῖς νίαις. Perhaps ἀρτιτρόφοις.

v. 349. Μαινόμενος δ' ἐπιπνεῖ λαοδάμας—Ἄρης. We do not exactly perceive the reason of the obelus, which Mr Porson has prefixed to δ' ἐπιπνεῖ. Sophocl. Antig. 135. Ὅς τότε μαινομένᾳ σὺν ὁρμᾷ Βακχεύων ἐπέπνει. Cf. Euripid. Hippol. 563. But perhaps we should read Μαινόμενος δ' ἔτι πνεῖ.

v. 369. " Mira comminiscitur Heathius, potestatem scil. transitivam verbi activi τλῆμι cum adjectivo τλήμονες, quasi ejusdem verbi participium esset communicatam videri. " Examples, however, of verbal adjectives with accusative cases may be seen Agam. 1099. Prometh. 903. Sophocl. Antig. 787.

v. 377. Σπουδῇ διώκων πομπίμους χνόας ποδῶν. We doubt whether it should not be written κνόας. Hesychius. Κνόη· ὁ τῶν ποδῶν ψόφος. Αἰσχύλος Σφιγγί. As πνόη is formed from πνέω, ῥόη from ῥέω, so κνόη from the old word κνέω, whence κνῆμι and κνήθω.

v. 388. Θένει δ' ὀνειδει μάντιν. Robortellus and 4 MSS. preserve the true reading, θείνει. There is no such verb as θένω, any more than κτένω or τένω. In v. 966. of this Play and v. 970. of the Persians, the metre requires the diphthong, as in v. 676. of the Rhesus and v. 220. of the Iphigenia at Aulis. Wherever θένειν, or θένων occur, they should be written θενεῖν and θενῶν. *e. g.* Euripid. Heraclid. 272. 738. Cycl. 7. or θενῶν, as in the Herc. F. 949. Aristoph. Frogs, v. 855. write θενὼν. in the Knights 640. θενὼν—ἀναχανών. Wasps 1384. θενὼν—κατέβαλε. Birds v. 54. Οἶσθ' οὖν ἃ δρᾶσον; τῷ σκέλει θένε τὴν πέτραν. Read, τῷ σκέλει θεῖνον πέτραν. (v. 56. κόψον. v. 80. Οἶσθ' οὖν ὃ δρᾶσον, ὦ τροχίλε; τὸν δεσπότην Κάλεσον. v. 83. ἐπέγειρον. v. 107. εἰπάτην.) In Theocritus xxii. 65. θενὼν—καταστάς. Cf. Pierson. Verisimil. II. 5. p. 193.

v. 391. ὑπ' ἀσπίδος δὲ τῷ Χαλκήλατοι κλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβον. We are surprised that Dr B. should reject the lection of the Medicean MS. ὑπ' ἀσπίδος δ' ἔσω.

v. 397. Τοιαῦτ' ἀλύων ταῖς ὑπερκόμποις σαγαῖς. The age of the Tragedians was, as we believe, unacquainted with the word ὑπέρκομπος. In v. 461. ἑδωλίων ὑπερκόπῳ is antistrophic to –φόρους μόρους ὑπὲρ φίλων. yet the old editions have ὑπερκόμπῳ. Sophocl. Aj. 127. Τοιαῦτα τοίνυν εἰσορῶν ὑπέρκοπον. The Venetian Scholiast on v. 449. of Iliad E. quoting this verse, has ὑπέρκομπον, " quod metro plane repugnat " as Dr B. would say. V. 134. of the Choephori, Φεύγων Ὀρέστης ἐστὶν, οἱ δ' ὑπερκόπως. In v. 410. of this play, for σὴμ' ὑπέρκομπον τόδε, MS. Mosq. 2. furnishes ὑπέρκοπον. In v. 342. of the Persians some ships are called ὑπέρκομποι τάχει. The sense requires ὑπέρκοποι. At v. 796. The earth is said to assist the Greeks

Greeks against the Medes, Κτείνουσα λιμῷ τοὺς ὑπερκόμπους ἄγαν. The Medicean and Baroccian MSS. have preserved the ancient reading, ὑπερπώλους ἄγαν, which was also in the Scholiast's copy. Therefore, in v. 825. read τῶν ὑπερκόπων (or ὑπερκότων) ἄγαν. and in v. 838. ὑπερκόπῳ θράσει. Menander, however, uses ὑπέρκομπος. Cleric. p. 110. Phileleuth. p. 38. But that does not affect our position, any more than μυκτηρόκομπος, ὑψίκομπος and the like, which are not compounded with a preposition.

v. 408. Τάχ' ἂν γένοιτο μάντις ἡ 'νοία τινί. Ald. Rob. Turn. ἡ ἀνοία. Dr B. says, "ἡ 'νοια τινί. reciperem, nisi inde infirmaretur δεινότης sententiæ." A better reason for the rejection of this, and both the other variations, is, that they introduce a trochee or an iambus; for the last syllable of ἄνοια, ἔννοια &c. is short; we are surprised that Dr B. should have overlooked this, seeing that he has righly accented ἔνοια. We propose ἐννοίᾳ τινί.

v. 421. Δίκη δ' ὁμαίμων. So Stanley and Pauw. Observe the accuracy and good faith of the *elegant* Mr Schutz, who remarks, "editiones autem δίκη δ' ὁ δαίμων *consensu.*"

v. 432. ἃ μὴ κράνοι τύχη. v. 455. ἃ μὴ κράνοι θεός.—Κραίνοι, which is in some MSS. was a παραδιόρθωμα of Brunck, and a mere solecism. The instance which Dr B. cites from the Prometheus, τὸ μέλλον ἢ κραίνοι το, is as apt, as if he had adduced examples of the occurrence of τυγχάνοι, to prove that there is no such word as τύχοι. In v. 636. Ζεύς σφε κάνοι κεραυνῷ, the metre will not admit of the present tense καίνοι.*

v. 441.

* We embrace this opportunity of making a grammatical observation with respect to the older poets, which, to the best of our knowledge, has not hitherto been noticed by any grammarian or critic. *Whenever a wish, or a prayer is expressed, either by the simple optative mood of the verb, or with* μή, εἰ, εἴθε, εἰ γάρ, εἴθε γάρ, *the verb is in the 2d aorist, if it have a distinct 2d aorist; otherwise it may be in the present tense, but is more frequently in the first aorist.* The few passages, in which this rule is violated, are corrupt and easy of correction. Those which occur in Homer, are, as far as we recollect, only two; viz. Od. N. 44. Ὑμεῖς δ' αὖθι μένοντες εὐφραίνοιτε γυναικας Κουρίδίας, καὶ τέκνα· θεοὶ δ' ἀρετὴν ὀπάσειαν, where an aorist is manifestly requisite. Od. Υ. 82. Μηδέ τι χείρονος ἀνδρὸς εὐφραίνοιμι νόημα, where three aorists have gone before. We should evidently read εὐφρανέοιτε and εὐφρανέοιμι. There are at least sixty instances of an aorist in similar circumstances, in the Iliad and Odyssey; but we do not pledge ourselves for the accuracy of our enumeration with respect to Homer. καλύπτοι, indeed, occurs Il. Ζ. 464. but Homer knew no other form of the 2d aorist of καλύπτω. The following, we believe, will be found to be a tolerably correct list of all the passages in the Tragedians, in which our rule is observed....I. a wish is expressed by the

v. 441. Τοιῷδε φωτὶ πέμπε, τίς ξυστήσεται. Dr B. remarks, " ξυμβήσεται apud Plut. in Theseo, non longe a principio, monente Burton. " but not having, we suppose, verified the quotation, he has omitted to notice some other varieties in Plutarch of greater importance. We conjecture, Σκόπει τοιῷδε φωτὶ τίς ξυστήσεται, as in v. 656. Σὺ δ' αὐτὸς ἤδη γνῶθι τίνα πέμπειν δοκεῖς. and so Plutarch seems to have read, Σκοποῦντι δέ μοι, τοιῷδε φωτὶ, κατ' Αἰσχύλον, τίς ξυμβήσεται.

v. 463. Καὶ μὴν τὸν ἐντεῦθεν λαχόντα πρὸς πύλαις. " Claudicat hic metrum ob cæsuræ defectum: malim itaque, Καὶ μὴν τὸν ἐντεῦθ' οὖν vel τὸν ἐντεῦθ' αὖ. Cf. v. 532. " The verse, to be sure, is not harmonious; but it is as much so as vv. 251. 352. 465. 509. 519. of the Persæ, vv. 148. 491. 881. of the Choephori, v. 945. of the Agam. v. 1091. of the Ajax of Sophocles, v. 1151. of the Hercul. F. of Euripides, or vv. 538. 546. of his Electra. Secondly, we never saw a collocation of οὖν or αὖ, similar to that proposed by Dr B. Thirdly, we do not remember to have seen ἐντεῦθε used for ἐντεῦθεν. Otherwise we should highly approve of the alteration.

v. 466.

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second aorist of the optative in Æschylus ed. Glasg. Prom. 971. Theb. 316. 418. 422. 452. 453. 485. 536. 552. Agam. 20. 35. 266. 476. 608. 676. Choeph. 243. 265. 339. 383. 395. 436. 550. 780. 810. 847. 1004. 1061. Eumen. 31. 297. Suppl. 1. 37. 205. 209. 215. 355. 450. 687. 776. 780. 1028. 1030. Sophocl. Œd. T. 150. 663. 930. 1349. 1479. Œd. Col. 308. 423. 870. 1042. 1482. 1484. 1554. 1690. Antig. 928. Trachin. 657. 658. 820. 1049. Ajax 550. 842. 1177. 1217. Philoct. 315. 324. 828. 830. 962. 1019. 1035. 1112. Electr. 128. 291. 387. Euripid. ed. Porson Hecub. 446. 896. Phœniss. 243. 361. 478. 595. 766. 1075. 1076. Med. 113. 145. 164. 642. 648. 657. 713. 916. 971. 1207. 1326.—ed. Musgr. Hippol. 105. 407. 669. 701. 740. 1042. 1133. 1207. 1341. 1390. Alcest. 463. 627. 1004. 1096. Androm. 453. 748. 901.—ed. Markl. Suppl. 87. 829. 832. 1181. Iphig. A. 557. 658. 716. 1007. 1626. Iphig. T. 452. 535. 1055. 1137. 1143.—ed. Barnes. (Rhes. 235. 238. 257. 259. 506. 720.) Troad. 767. Bacch. 400. 1381. Cyclops 260. 268. 271. Helen. 161. 162. 364. 1080. 1231. 1249. 1421. Ion 704. 763. 796. (where read ἀμπταίην.) 1411. Herc. F. 821. 1397. Electr. 269. 280. 619....II. The same with the first aorist. Æschyl. Prom. 1047. 1049. Agam. 145. Choeph. 342. Suppl. 28. 139. Sophocl. Œd. Col. 44. Antig. 327. Trachin. 811. Ajax 840. 1391. Electr. 292. Euripid. Phœniss. 153. Med. 94. 146. 758. 760. 1386. Hippol. 87. 744. 752. Suppl. 830. Iphig. T. 1142. 1481. (Rhes. 216. 235.) Troad. 719. Helen. 74. 158. Electr. 619....III. A deprecation expressed by μὴ with the 2d aorist, Æschyl. Prometh. 526. 536. 894. 901. (προσδράκοι) Theb. 5. 219. 426. 549. Agam. 949. 1251. Choeph.

v. 466. Νηΐτῃσι. Read Νηΐταισι. and in Dr B.'s note for Phœ- ss. v. 111. read v. 1111. Mr Schütz prefers Νηΐτῃσι. "utpote rmam Atticam!" *v. cl. solita elegantia.* In v. 469. Dr B. ju- iously defends the common reading against the said Mr S. v. 472. κλίμακος πρὸς ἀμβάσεις. Canter προσαμβάσεις. Dr B. re- ins Stanley's reading, "ne textus sine causa mutetur." To there seems to be abundant cause; the word προσαμβάσεις be- g used five times by Euripides, in three of which instances, me editions have πρὸς ἀμβάσεις, in defiance of grammar. v. 478. Πέμποιμ' ἂν ἤδη τόνδε, σὺν τύχῃ δὲ, τῷ. "Σὺν τύχῃ δὲ τῷ runck. Pors. Quid si legamus σὺν τύχῃ δ' ἴτω?" As it is very rely that Dr B. proposes a conjecture, we lament the more at they should generally be unfortunate. In v. 80. of the Ed. T. for εἰ γὰρ ἐν τύχῃ γέ τῳ Σωτῆρι βωμῷ, Markland, in his note v. 1145. of the Suppl. of Euripides, would read ἐν τύχῃ γε τῶς. Ir Porson, in a note on Markland, p. 215. of Mr Gaisford's va- able republication, defends the common reading, whose words, Dr B. is not so well versed in the writings of that illustri- us scholar as we could wish, we will have the honour of intro- ducing

hoeph. 802. 1003. Suppl. 388. 984. Sophocl. Œd. T. 831. 832. rachin. 142. 303. 383. 582. 1228. Euripid. Hecub. 945. 946. 1268. rest. 789. Phœniss. 199. 249. 5851. Med. 82. 333. 598. 640. 644. 903. ippol. 533. 534. 903. 1044. Alcest. 976. 1023. Androm. 767. Iph. 785. 1007. Iph. T. 752. (Rhes. 859.) Troad. 385. 1110. eracl. 511. 714. Ion. 706. 719. 731. Herc. F. 58....IV. The same ith a first aorist, Æ. Prom. 528. Suppl. 660. S. Œd. Col. 421. Orest. 1084. Hippol. 435....V. εἰ or εἴθε with an optative aorist. E. Suppl. 1. Theb. 550. 552. 260. 566. (aor. 1.) S. Œd. T. 80. 068. Œd. Col. 1082. (aor. 1.) Trachin. 955. Ajax 1265. E. ecub. 830. 1057. (aor. 1.) Orest. 1098. 1207. Phœniss. 165. aor. 1.) 168. Hippol. 232. 1088. 1089. (aor. 1.) 1127. 1404. aor. 1.) 1429. Alcest. 92. 719. 1102. 1135. Androm. 522. (aor. 1.) uppl. 371. 373. 1144. Iph. T. 440. 1221. (Rhes. 369. 464.) road. 1113. Cycl. 436. Heracl. 52. 740. Helen. 174. (aor. 1.) 495. Ion 151 (aor. 1.) 410. Electr. 663. Having now enume- ated 282 passages where this rule is observed, we have no hesita- ion in pronouncing about *eleven*, in which it is violated, to be faulty. hese we will endeavour to correct, having premised, that such orms as εἶην, πέλοι, ἴζοι, τελέθοι, φυλάσσοι, ἀνύσσοι, &c. do not militate gainst our *rule*; and in most instances these are found coupled with orists, *e. g.* Trachin. 582. ἐπισταίμεν—ἐκμάθοιμι. E. Med. 635. στέρ- οι—προσβάλοι. 685. εὐτυχοίης καὶ τύχοις. Heracl. 582. εὐδαιμονοῖτε— ένοισθε. We do not therefore admit of such instances in opposition s Choeph. 786. 1062. Eum. 477. Androm. 37. Phœniss. 191. 103. &c. But to the point in question. In v. 944. of the Eumen.

ducing to his notice. They are these: " Vulgatum sine necessitate solicitat Vir doctus. Æschyl. Theb. 478. σὺν τύχῃ δὲ τᾷ, u recte edidit Brunckius. Choeph. 136. σὺν τύχῃ τινί." We add that Triclinius, on the passage of the Œdipus, quotes this verse and explains it, σὺν τύχῃ τινί.

v. 480. Μεγαρεὺς Κρέοντος σπέρμα τῶν σπαρτῶν γένους. In " Colb. 1 γένος legitur, nec male." γένους is certainly the right reading Dr Butler gives τοῦ σπαρῶν γένος in the text, although Stanley has τῶν σπ. γ. and τῶν σπ. γ. in the notes, although Stanley has there τοῦ σπ. γ. and he then remarks " abest τῶν a Colb. 1 τοῦ σπαρτῶν γένους Cant. 1. Ald. Rob. Turn. H. Steph. Canter Τῶν σπαρτοῦ γένους Med." Now the fact is, that τοῦ is the reading of *every* MS. and edition; for τῶν is a mere typographical error in Stanley's folio; Salvini's collation of the Medicean MS is distinctly τοῦ σπαρῶν γένους.

v. 494. * Ἱππομέδοντος σχῆμα καὶ μέγας τύπος.

v. 553. Παρθενοπαῖος Ἀρκὰς, ὁ δὲ τοιόσδ' ἀνήρ.

On the former verse Dr Butler retails, with seeming approbation, a whole page of Brunck's mistakes about Ἱππομμέδοντο and

for τρέφοι read τράφοι. V. 982. for χάρματα δ' ἀντιδίδοιεν we read ἀντιδίδωμι. Suppl. 698. Δίκας ἄτερ πημάτων δίδοιεν, read πημάτων τε δοῖεν. Sophocl. Œd. Col. 642. Ὦ Ζεῦ, διδοίης. perhaps σὺ δοίης. (Cf. Eurip. Alcest. 1004. Hel. 1421. Electr. 269.) Eurip. Hippol. 1460. Μακρὰν δὲ λείποις ῥᾳδίως ὁμιλίαν. Restore the old reading λείπεις. Alcest 323. εὐφραίνοισθε. Read εὐφρᾶνοισθε. and in Electr. 899. for φαίνοισθ read φάνοισθε. In the Supplices of Æschylus v. 851. for μήποτε πάλι εἶδοι, which is a double solecism, read μήποτ' ἴδοιμι πάλιν. In v. 1008 of the Suppl. of Euripides, εἰ κραίνοι occurs; but the passage is confessedly corrupt. The well known *coronis* of the Orestes, Phœnissæ and Iphigenia in Tauris, Ὦ μέγα σεμνὰ Νίκα, τὸν ἐμὸν Βίοτον κατέχοις Καὶ μὴ λήγοις στεφανοῦσα, does not affect our rule; but we have no hesitation in rejecting this, as the addition of some Grammarian, made long after the time of Euripides. In v. 37. of the Andromache, Ζεὺ τάδ' εἰδείη μέγας is no exception, because εἰδείη is the optative from εἴδημι *scio*, and not from εἶδω *video*. Every schoolboy knows that μὴ γίγνοιτο or μὴ τυγχάνοι would not be Greek. The above enumeration gives us an opportunity of remarking that a *wish* expressed in the optative is stronger than a *request* made in the subjunctive, to which distinction Mr Elmsley has not, we think, sufficiently attended in his note on the Œdipus Tyr. of Sophocles v. 903. but which he will perceive upon referring to all the instances under the heads I. & II. In the Med. 332. Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθοι σε τῶνδ' ὃς αἴτιος κακῶν, the sense will be very materially weakened by reading λάθῃ.

* Turneb. Ἱππωμεδόντος. which perhaps might be defended by φαιωχίτωνες in v. 1047. of the Choephori. V. 655 of the same play begins Εἶεν· ἀκούω. read Εἶ' οὖν. *i. e.* εἶα οὖν.

nd Παρθενοπαῖος, and Τελλεύταντος, and remarks on v. 553. "me-ro satisfecit forte Brunckius ad v. 494." The instances adduced by Brunck in support of his notion, are, v. 713. of this play, where θαλερωτέρῳ should correspond to οὔτ' ἂν ἐκ χερῶν, which herefore he pronounces θαλλερωτέρῳ. Dr Burney has restored in he Strophe ὅταν ἐκ χερῶν. Sophocl. Ajax 210. Παῖ τοῦ Φρυγίου Τεύταντος, a dimeter anapæst. Mr Porson, in a note on v. 123. f the Hecuba, quotes, Παῖ τοῦ Φρυγίου σὺ Τελεύταντος. In the verse efore us, we had long ago restored from the Scholiast Μέγ' προμέδοντος σχῆμα καὶ μέγας τύπος. and we have since been told hat this was also the correction of Porson. In v. 553. several ritics propose Ὁ Παρθενοπαῖος Ἀρκάς. But the Tragedians seldom refix the article to proper names, unless for the sake of emphais, or at the beginning of a sentence. There are in this play ifty-nine instances of a proper name *without* the article, but not ne *with* it. This is decisive. We read, Παῖς Παρθενοπαῖος Ἀρκάς. Eurip. Suppl. 899. Παῖς Παρθενοπαῖος, εἶδος ἐξοχώτατος. There is a ote of Porson's on the Supplices of Euripid. v. 160. ed. Gaisf. n the frequent omission of this word παῖς. Brunck would have riumphed in a passage of Priscian p. 1328. who, besides the present line, quotes, on the authority of one Seleucus, this erse of Sophocles, Ἀλφεσίβοιαν ἦν ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ. The poet probably wrote, Ὃς Ἀλφεσίβοιαν ἦν ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ.

v. 575. Ἀλκὴν τ' ἄριστον μάντιν, Ἀμφιαρέω βίαν. "Duplex synizesis, ac pronuntiandum Ἀμφάρω." This supposed synizesis of ω, is akin to that, which we noticed on a former occasion, of ο, in Αἰγυπτιογενής, and equally inadmissible. If any thing of he kind is allowable, it is a *synecphonesis.* * Bentley or Markland

* Lest Dr B. should again complain that we do not fortify our assertions, we will furnish him with a list of those instances of synizesis, or synecphonesis, and crasis, which have occurred to us in Attic poets, in which he will not find either ω or ου. ΘΕΟΣ is a monosyllable in the passages enumerated by Mr Porson in a note on v. 393. of the Orestes. Its cases are contracted *passim.* ΘΕΑΣ Eurip. Iph. T. 87. 299. 980. 1038. 1157. 1307. 1320. 1419. 1461. Troad. 593. 937. ΘΕΑΙΣ Troad. 969. ΕΑ Sophocl. Antig. 95. Eurip. Ion. 540. ΕΩΝΤΩΝ Eurip. Suppl. 232. ΠΝΕΩΝ Æschyl. Agam. 1495. ΠΟΛΕΩΣ Æschyl. Theb. 2. Eumen. 614. 795. 699. Sophocl. Œd. Col. 47. Antig. 289. and several other places. ΛΕΩΦΟΡΟΥΣ Rhes. 881. ΝΕΩΣΤΙ Iph. A. 602. ΤΕΩΣ Plato Com. in Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 109. ΜΗ ΑΛΛΑ and ΜΗ ΑΥ– See Markland on v. 1010. of the Iphig. in T. and add Choeph. 916. Eum. 85. 86. 747. Aristoph. Ach. 457. Eurip. Cycl. 270. Η or ΜΗ ΕΙΔ– Sophocl. Antig. 263. Eurip. Orest. 472. Iph. T. 1048. Helen. 929. Ion 313. Antiope in Valckenaer's

land would have said, " pronuntiandum Ἀμφιάρεω," Porson says, " Ἀμφιαρέω quadrisyllabum est." Dr B. acknowledges, indeed, that the anapæst is admissible in the fifth place.

v. 582. Καὶ τὸν σὸν αὖθις πρόσμορον ἀδελφεόν. Heath reads πρόσμολὼν, Mr Schutz πρόσμορον ἐς ἀδελφεὸν, which Dr Butler commends; but seems on the whole to prefer προσμολόντ' ἀδελφεόν. MS. Medic. προσμόραν. We propose, Καὶ τὸν σὸν αὖθις πρὸς φθορὰν ἀδελφεόν. Schol. B. τὸν οὐκ ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ συναδελφὸν (σὸν ἀδελφὸν) γενόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μάχῃ καὶ φόρᾳ. (φθορᾷ.) Or perhaps, τὸν σὸν αὖθεὶς πρὸς φθ. ἀδ.

v. 586. Ἦ τοῖον ἔργον καὶ θεοῖσι προσφιλὲς, Καλόν τ' ἀκοῦσαι—Πόλιν πατρῴαν—πορθεῖν. Ἦ †τοῖον Pors. We read Ἤτοι σὸν ἔργον κ. τ. λ.

v. 598. Οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος, ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει. " Monet Abresch. legi δίκαιος apud Suid. in v. δίκαιος. Platon. de Rep. 11. p. 423. & Plutarch in Pericle p. 320. & sic edidit Pors. notam, ni fallor, de Aristide *fabulam* secutus. Sed cum de bellico apparatu sermo sit, potius ἄριστος quam δίκαιος contextui se accommodat, et in δοκεῖν δίκαιος ingrata est auribus cacophonia." Abresch gives a much better reason for retaining ἄριστος than Dr B. does. The passage of Plutarch is not in his life of Pericles, but in that of Aristides. We will briefly observe, that, besides the authors here referred to, this line is quoted, or alluded to, by *ten* others, some of whom read ἄριστος, and some δίκαιος, but of whom not one is quoted by Dr B. We prefer δίκαιος. Amphiaraus upbraids Polynices, the device on whose shield is a figure of Δίκη; as for the prophet himself, σῆμα οὐκ ἐπῆν κύκλῳ,

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Valckenaer's Diatr. p. 65. B. Aristarchus in Stob. Ecl. p. 171. Grot. Η or ΜΗ ΟΥ. Æschyl. Theb. 100. 204. Choeph. 1006. Sophocl. Œd. T. 555. Acrisius fragm. 1. Some verses in Athenæus VI. p. 253. E. VIII. p. 360. C. Eurip. Hecub. 1077. Orest. 766. Helen. 922. ΕΠΕΙ ΟΥ. Sophocl. Œd. Col. 1435. Philoct. 947. Polyxena fragm. 3. Eurip. Helen. 136. Æschyl. Suppl. 907. ΕΓΩ ΕΙ– Sophocl. Philoct. 585. Aristoph. Vesp. 1224. ΕΓΩ ΟΥ Vesp. 416. (See Porson on v. 483. of the Orestes.) Sophocl. Antig. 458. Ω ΟΙ– Aristoph. Vesp. 1504. To these instances add Mr Elmsley's note on v. 612. of the Acharneans p. 126. We have purposely omitted the common crasis of the article with the first syllables of nouns, and all proper names, as Νεοπτόλεμος, Μενοικία and the like; and the synizesis of ἀνέωγμαι, τεθνεῶτα, ἑώρακα &c. ἐρινῦων seems to be a trisyllable in Phœniss. 1327. Iph. T. 931. 970. 1456. In v. 1252 of the Helen, for Μεθίημι νεῖκος τὸ σὸν, ἴτω δ' ὑπόπτερον, read Μεθῆκα νείκος. Lest Dr Butler should quote against us Ἀσκληπιαδῶν from v. 1333. of the Philoctetes of Sophocles, we refer him to Mr Gaisford on Hephæstion p. 222. Dr B., however, does not seem to have very accurate notions of the distinction between *crasis* and *hiatus*, (animals of a sufficient antipathy to each other), for in speaking of v. 910. of the Supplices, Ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀκούετ' ὀξὺ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων, he professes himself not to be " prodigiously enchanted with the *hiatus*," (meaning, we suppose, the *crasis*), not recollecting the four instances above quoted.

κύκλῳ, Οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν δίκαιος ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει. v. 603. Eteocles, speaking of Amphiaraus, says, Φεῦ τοῦ ξυναλλάσσοντος ὄρνιθος βροτοῖς (βροτοὺς,) Δίκαιον ἄνδρα τοισι δυσσεβεστέροις.

v. 600. Ἐξ ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλεύματα. "Ἀφ' ἧς Pors."—ἀφ' ἧς Plutarch. Schol. Venet. on Iliad Λ. 404.

v. 613. Ταὐτοῦ κυρήσας ἐκδίκως ἀγρεύματος—κυρήσας†ἐκδίκως Pors. Dr B. says, "nihil omnino mutandum." The true reading is ἐκ Δίκης. Eurip. Iph. A. 759. ὁποίας ἐκ θεῶν μοίρας κυρεῖ.

v. 651. Ἄγει γυνή τις, σωφρόνως ἠγουμένη. Dr Butler's conjecture σωφρόνως ἠσκημένη, which he supports from v. 182. of the Persians, is ingenious. v. 44. of the Eumenides Λήνει μεγίστῳ σωφρόνως ἐστεμμένη. *

v. 719. Λέγοιτ' ἂν ὧν ἀπὴ τις. Dr B. conjectures, ὧν ὄνησις. We propose ὧν ἀνὴ τις. ἀνιημι is similarly constructed Eurip. Med. 458. Hippol. 285.

v. 782. Dr B. approves of ἀναρπαξάνδραν, which, although it be received also by Dr Burney, is not correct Greek. Read ἀναρπαξάνδρου.

v. 800. Ὀμβρίμων. "Ὀβρίμων. Colb. 1. 2. &c. recte." True; but why is it right? We have often occasion to regret, that Dr Butler, when pronouncing judgment on a reading with a 'recte,' 'optime,' 'perpetam,' 'inconcinne,' 'minus bene,' gives no reason or authority for his decisions.

v. 810. Πόλις σέσωται, βασιλέες δ' ὁμοσπόροι Ἄνδρες τεθνᾶσιν ἐκ χερῶν αὐτοκτόνων. "Hunc versum (810.) ceu spurium, uncinulis incluserunt Pors. Schutz. 2. A quibus si fas sit discedere, hunc versum retinendum, sed proxime sequentem, Ἄνδρες κ. τ. λ. excludendum dicerem." We do not approve of this conjecture, because it deprives the whole passage, to v. 815. of the verb, which is indispensable, and leaves an Ionic form βασιλέες in a senarius. v. 810. was manifestly inserted from v. 826. Πόλις σέσωται. βασιλεοῖν δ' ὁμοσποροῖν Πέπωκεν αἷμα γαῖ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων φόνῳ. which two verses Dr B. with singular infelicity, rejects as spurious. Most readers of Æschylus will agree with us, in thinking that they are ὑγιέστεροι κολοκύντας.

v. 829. Δαίμονες οἳ δὴ Κάδμου πύργους Τούσδε ῥύεσθε, Πότερον χαίρω κἀπολολύξω Πόλεως ἀσινεῖ σωτῆρι; Dr Butler remarks, "Breves syllabæ in ῥύεσθε et σωτῆρι, producuntur, non jure τοῦ ἀδιαφόρου, sed *necessario*, ob sedatum harmoniæ genus, vel tantum non cessantis, vel saltem lenius procedentis." The two instances are of a different nature; σωτῆρι is at the end of a system, ῥύεσθε is not. We should have expected such a sentence as we have just quoted, from Mr Bothe of Magdeburg. No satisfactory correction of the verse in question, occurs to us at present, but we propose τούσδ' ἠρύξατε. So v. 1083. Ὄδε Καδμείων ἤρυξε πόλιν.

v. 863. Τὰν ἄστονον, μελάγκροκον Ναύστολον θεωρίδα, Τὰν ἀστιβῆ Ἀπόλλωνι, τὰν ἀνάλιον, Πάνδοκον εἰς ἀφανῆ τε χερσόν. "†Ναύστολον Pors. 2. Schol. ά. habet, τὴν διάγουσαν τοὺς νεκρούς. unde clarissime patet legendum νεκυόστολον, quam vocem habes in Antholog. III. 7. de Charonte Nioben cymba prætervehente." (*transvehente*). This emendation

* We forgot to remark, that v. 231. should be read Μητὴρ, γύναι, σωτῆρος. vulg. γυνή.

ation is exceedingly happy, and meets with our full approbation. But we are surprised that no one has hitherto perceived that ἀνάλιον is a mere gloss of ἀστιβῆ Ἀπόλλωνι. We read the passage thus, Τὰν ἀστιβῆ Ἀπόλλωνι, τὰν Παύδοκον, εἰς ἀφανῆ τε χέρσον. It matters not whether it be written ἀστιβῆ Ἀπόλλωνι, or Ἀπόλλωνι. In the former case there will be no *hiatus*, as Pauw and Dr B. think, but a *crasis*.

v. 958. Ἰὼ πολλοῖς ἐπανθήσαντες πόνοισι γε δόμοι. "Corrige ἐπανθίσαντες meo periculo– Cf. Choeph. v. 148. Agam. v. 1468." ἐπανθίζειν is a verb transitive, and signifies "to make flowery," as in the two passages here referred to; Agam. 1667. Sophocl. Electr. 45. Euripid. Ion 890. The conjecture therefore is certainly *perilous*.

v. 1016. Θάπτειν ἔδοξε γῆς φιλαις κατασκαφαῖς. Read φιλης. See Sophocl. Œd. T. 694. Philoct. 242.

v. 1055. Ἤδη τὰ τοῦδ' οὐ διατετίμηται θεοῖς.—Οὐδ' ἠτέτιμηται θεὸς Grotius. οὐκ ἠτέτιμηται Heath and Dr Butler. We do not exactly perceive from what verb ἠτετιμηται can be formed. There is no such word as ἀτιμάω for ἀτιμάζω, and if there were, the preterite passive would be ἠτίμηται,

v. 1073. Εἰσί τις οὖν ταῦτα πιθοῖτο; "Εἰσιν τίς ἂν οὖν ταῦτα πιθοῖτο; Brunck, Schutz. Εἰσί τίς ἂν ταῦτα πιθοίτο Pors. quod unice verum." We do not by any means approve of this correction of Mr Porson, which leaves a very inharmonious parœmiac. We prefer the reading of Brunck. So Eurip. Iph. T. 894. τις αν οὖν—φανοί κακῶν ἔκλυσιν;

v. 1074. Δράτω πολις και μὴ δράτω Τοὺς κλάοντας Πολυνείκην. δράτω δὲ πόλις Turn. which is approved of by Scaliger, Pauw and Dr B. Mr Porson did not approve of it, nor do we. We do not remember any similar usage of δρᾶν without either adverb or first accusative. We read Δράτω τι πόλις καὶ μὴ δράτω Τ. κλ. Π. Cf. Eurip. Orest. 1189. Med. 95.

v. 1080. Ἡμεῖς δ' ἅμα τῷδ' ὥσπερ τε πόλις Καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ξυνεπαινεῖ, †ὥσπερ τε πόλις Pors. Perhaps ὡς ἥ τε πόλις. κ. τ. λ.

We have protracted our remarks on the critical department of this volume to so great a length, that we can bestow only a few words on the Philological Commentary, in which there is less than we could wish of Dr Butler's own. We will content ourselves with a specimen or two of the accuracy which distinguishes his observations, when they do occur. v. 101. "ἔχειν ἀμφὶ λιτὰν vix bene dicitur." Why not? we would ask. Euripid. Phœniss. 1763. Σὺ δ' ἀμφὶ βωμιους λιτάς. Xenoph. Cyrop. V. near the end. ὁ μὲν Κυαξάρης ἀμφὶ δεῖπνον εἶχεν. Cf. Bergler's note on Alciphron. I. 21. Dr B. continues, "Junge ἕξομεν λιτὰν ἀμφὶ πέπλων καὶ στεφέων. sic enim constructionem bene græcam et sententiam apertam habes." This we will allow, when any instance shall be produced of the phrase ἔχειν λιτὰν or εὐχήν. Dr Butler quotes Sophocles on v. 127. and twice or thrice besides; and we lament that he should retain the corrupt text of the edition of Mr Thomas Johnson, in passages which Brunck has printed more correctly. It is but justice, however, to Dr B. to point out the great variety of references to contemporary poets, with which he settles points of criticism relative to the text of his author. By far the surest

surest method of determining the merits of a reading, is analogy, analogy deduced from a comparison of the author with himself, and with those, whose works were composed under similar circumstances. This is the weapon which Mr Porson wielded with such vast effect; and our readers will be enabled to judge of what service it has been to Dr Butler, when we tell him, that in his critical notes on this play he has cited Æschylus no fewer than *eleven* times, Sophocles *four* times, and Euripides *twice*. Dr Butler's Philological Commentary, or "Notæ Varr. et Butleri Philologg." has one merit which is not inconsiderable. Every commentator, who has made any observation remarkable for erudition and useful information, has all the credit of it secured to him, by the device of imprinting his name in capital letters at the end. For instance; Μνήστορες ἔστε μοι. "*Moi* elegantier abundat." BURTON. Κομπάζεται. "*Sese jactat* in sensu vere medio." S. BUTLER. οὐκ ἄλλως ἐρῶ. "*Non aliter quam res est.*" BURTON. v. 529. "At vide notas Varr. Critt. S. BUTLER. v. 761. "Ῥίζα αἱματόεσσα est *radix ipsa*, uterus sc. Jocastæ, unde progenies seu stirps pullulavit." S. BUTLER. If Muretus had adopted this excellent precaution, Turnebus could never have pilfered his emendations on Terence and Cicero. The capital letters secure the literary property of these recondite observations to the authors, their heirs and assigns, for ever. We conclude our account of this play with the following remark of the late Mr Muller, (which Dr Butler gives at v. 437.) as being equally remarkable for the light which it throws upon Æschylus, and upon the construction of the Latin tongue. Θάλπεσι προσεικασε. "Ita Æschyleo ævo nascens audacia explicandi prodigios*as* effectus, Deos throno movisse credebat; sed causas causarum centenas nectendo non ita facere poterant, quia in prima subsistendum sit. Jo. MÜLLER." We now proceed to the

AGAMEMNON.

Which play affords great scope for a display of critical sagacity, and labours under great disadvantages; there being a *lacuna* from v. 319. to v. 1076. and another from v. 1168. to Choeph. v. 8. in the editions of Aldus, Robortellus and Turnebus, and the only two MSS. which are at present known to contain part of this tragedy, the Medicean, and that at Wolfenbuttel. In 1557, Henry Stephens first published it entire, from a copy which Pietro Vettori had collated with a certain MS. of we know not whom, and with another in the library of the Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. Where these MSS. are now, we have not the means of determining.

That excellent scholar, Stanley, is more than commonly successful in his labours on the Agamemnon; and his conjectures are unusually ingenious. There is a little story relating to this, which Dr Butler is evidently not aware of; but which we will detail, in order that he may avail himself of it in his "General Preface." In a note on v. 13. Dr B. remarks, "Ἐπισκοτουμένην inter VV. LL. recenset Is. Casaub. *forte ex Stanleii notis.*"

The

The chance of this is infinitesimally small; for it so happens, that Isaac Casaubon died, and was buried in Westminster Abbey in the year 1614. whereas Thomas Stanley did not publish his edition of Æschylus till 1663. But perhaps Casaubon, amongst his other eminent qualities, was endowed with that species of prescience, which Dr Butler attributes to the Edinburgh Reviewers, when he says, that they ought to have known, while noticing, two years ago, a mistake of his on the Prometheus, that he had rectified it in his notes on the Agamemnon, which are but just published. It is somewhat singular that Dr B. should have made this mistake, when Stanley himself not only quotes the works of Is. Casaubon in his notes on the Agamemnon, but also those of Meric Casaubon, the son. But in fact, there is too much reason to suspect, that Stanley made use of the conjectures of Casaubon without acknowledging his obligation. Dr Needham, the editor of Theophrastus, in a copy of Stanley's Æschylus, now preserved in the University Library at Cambridge, had noted down the collations of several MSS. which he had procured from various learned friends. In the same class is another copy of the same edition, into which Dr Askew had transcribed verbatim every thing in MS. contained in Dr Needham's, except that he had altered the dates of the collations, accommodating them to his own time, and making thereby some absurd anachronisms. He has, however, misled Dr Butler, who never saw Dr Needham's book, and who has therefore mentioned the MSS. (from which these collations were made before Dr Askew was born), under the title of "Codices ab Askevio collati." In Dr Needham's book are these words, "*Casaub & Cas.* Conjecturæ quædam, desumptæ ex margine Libri, quo continetur Agamemnon, cum versione & notis marginalibus sane multis, ad Grammaticam præcipue spectantibus, Isaaco Casaubono adscriptis, sed tanto viro nequaquam dignis; quem Lutetia ad me transmisit Johannes de Burigny." *This book Dr N. returned; for M. Vauvilliers in the "Notice des MSS. de la Bibliothéque du Roi," Tom. I. p. 337. describes one in every respect corresponding to it, and insinuates that Stanley has borrowed largely from it, without acknowledgement.

* We imagine however that the book was not sent to Dr Needham from the King's Library; for although it was deposited there after Casaubon's death, it was some time afterwards *stolen*, and not recovered till the year 1729, when it was purchased for the French King of one Rousselet, into whose hands it had come. Now, Dr Needham had the book before the year 1715, at which time M. de Burigny seems to have possessed it. The Compilers of the Catalogue of the King's Library at Paris, published in 1740, speak highly of the notes of Casaubon.

ment. It must always be unpleasant to the candid critic, to detect instances of literary dishonesty, and to detract from long established and, in many respects, well-earned fame: But justice, whose laws should be as strictly observed in cases of literary, as of personal, property, requires that it should be done. A charge of plagiarism however is not to be considered as established, unless a very strong case is made out; and in questions like the present, we may be permitted to say, that not many persons are qualified to judge. We shall not pretend to decide upon the justice of the charge which M. Vauvilliers has brought; but we have examined the evidence with more care than he seems to have done; and the impression upon our minds certainly is, that Stanley did see this book of Isaac Casaubon, and that he availed himself of its contents. We will point out some striking instances of coincidence in the conjectures of these eminent scholars, and will leave our readers to determine for themselves.

v. 106. Ἐκτελέων.— ἐντελέων Casaub. " poterit ἐντελέων legi—sed retinendum ἐκτελέων. " Stanl.

v. 109. Ἑλλάδος ἥβαν.— ἥβας Casaub. " ego mallem ἥβας. " Stanl.

v. 224. ἐπιθυμεῖν θέμις— ἐπιθυμεῖ Ἄρτεμις pro Ἄρτεμις Casaub. " Legendum videtur —ἐπιθυμεῖ Ἄρτεμις. " Stanl.

v. 260. Ἐπεὶ γένοιτ' ἂν ἡ λύσις.— ἐπεὶ οὐ γένοιτ' ἂν ἥλυσις Casaub. " vel legendum ἥλυσις, vel ἐπεὶ οὐ γένοιτ' ἂν ἥλυσις. " Stanl.

v. 290. ἀπ' ἀγγέλου πυρός.— ἀγγάρου ex Eustath. & Suid. Casaub. Stanley makes the same correction from Suidas and the Etymologicum.

v. 469. πολυκτόνων.— πολυστόνων Casaub. " f. legendum πολυστόνων " Stanl.

v. 569. Ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γὰρ κἀπὸ γῆς λειμωνίας. —Ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δ' αὖ, Casaub. " f. δ' ἄρ' " Stanl. Stanley must surely have written, or intended to write δ' αὖ.

v. 630. Ἐς τὸν πολὺν—χρόνον.— Ἐς οὐ π. χ. Casaub. " A. ἐς οὐ πολύν. " Stanl.

v. 655. εὐάγγελον Ἥκοντα.— εὐάγγελος, Ἥκων τε— Casaub. " Legendum εὐάγγελος, Ἥκων τε. " Stanl.

v. 678. ναῦν θέλουσ' ἐφέζετο. —ναυστολοῦσ' Casaub. " Lege ναυστολοῦσ'. " Stanl.

v. 678. νέον πάθος.— νεῶν, *navium*, Casaub. " Poterit legi νεῶν " Stanl.

v. 723. παμπρόσθη.— παμπενθῆ Casaub. " Legimus παμπενθῆ. " Stanl.

v. 748. λέγοιμ' ἂν.— λέγοιτ' ἂν Casaub. " f. λέγοιτ' ἂν. sed nihil muto. " Stanl.

v. 770. οἴκων γὰρ εὐθυδίκων— δ' ἄρ' Casaub. " Lege δ' ἄρ' " Stanl.

v. 826.

v. 826. χειρὸς οὐ πληρουμένῳ– χεῖλος Casaub. "Lege χεῖλος" Stanl. So in v. 843. καρδίᾳ Casaub. Stanl. v. 912. τοίοις σε. Casaub. Stanl. v. 976. ὑπερτείνουσα. Casaub. Stanl. Their conjectures coincide also in v. 985. 987. 991. ἵζει for ἵξει. 1110. ἔχθος for ἄχθος. 1131. δορὶ πτωσίμοις for δορίᾳ πτώσιμος. 1220. ἄνατος for ἄναικτος. v. 1249. καὶ σύ μ' ἐν τάχει for μὴν. 1270. πότῳ for κότῳ. 1308. ὦ ξένοι for οὐ ξ. 1341. δακτυλοδεικτὸν for –κτῶν. 1437. λίβος for λίπος. 1489. ἄγας for ἄγος. 1521. πάχναν κουροβόρον for –νᾳ –ρᾳ. 1596. ἑστίαν for –ας. 1684. ἔκρυπτ' ἄνω θεὶς for ἔθρυπτ' ἄνωθεν, and καθημένοις for –νος.

We have here enumerated thirty-five conjectures on the Agamemnon, many of them very remarkable, which had been noted down by Casaubon at least fifty years before Stanley published the same in his own name; and besides these, there are very few of the corrections proposed by the latter on this play, which are worth mentioning. Now, it is recorded by Stanley's biographers, that he made several tours in Italy, Spain and *France*, before he settled in London; and having, no doubt, long entertained an idea of publishing Æschylus, he was careful in his researches after every thing which might illustrate his author; and to that end he probably spent some of his time in the different Libraries at Paris, which then contained a considerable part of those great MS. treasures, which are now concentered in the National Library. Dr Butler will of course take notice of these important facts in his "General Preface;" but we beg leave once more to remind him, that we believe Casaubon died before Stanley was born. We now hasten to the consideration of the fourth volume.

V. 3. νεκτέρων Rob. We observe several instances in which Dr B. has collated the old editions inaccurately. *e. g.* Theb. 34. εὖ θαρσεῖτε is the reading of both Aldus and Robortellus. 40. τ' ἐκεῖθεν Ald. 50. Περὸς δ' ἄρμ' Rob. But we can forgive these and several other oversights of the same nature, as Dr Butler assures us that "to the collation of 2 MSS. Cant. 1. & 2. he owes a weakness in his eyes from which he has never recovered."

v. 6. Λαμπροὺς δυναστὰς ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι. Heath, and after him Mr Schutz, imagined that Valckenaer rejected this verse, whereas he expunges v. 7. Dr B. observes, "At mirare criticam ἀκρίβειαν. Heathius Valckenarii adnotationem ad Phœniss. l. c. festinanter perlegerat, Schutzius vero, auctorem *tacite* secutus Heathium, ne inspexit quidem." We add, "Hæc notavit Butlerus, auctorem *tacite* secutus Porsonum, Append. ad Toup, p. 479." Valckenaer, without assigning his reasons for considering verse 7. as spurious, merely refers the reader to Achilles Tatius, Isagog. in Arati Phœn. p. 122. D. Dr Butler seems never

never to have made this reference, for neither does he assign any reason for rejecting v. 7. The fact is, Achilles Tatius quotes vv. 4. 5. 6. but omits v. 7.

v. 10. Much of the difficulty of this verse will be removed, if we render ἐλπίζω *I expect.*

v. 54. Πόνον ὀρταλίχων ὀλέσαντες. We think we remember to have heard from a learned friend, that Porson read γόνον ὀρταλίχων, which is unquestionably the true reading. The same friend pointed out a fragment of Sophocles in Eustathius on Il. 1. p. 777, 61. Od. 1. p. 1625, 49. ψακαλοῦχοι Μητέρες αἴγες τ' ἐπιμαστίδιον Γόνον ὀρταλίχων ἀναφαίνοιεν.

v. 75. Ἰσόπαιδα. "Ἰσόπεδα Rob. solenni errore, de quo Bentleius in immortali Epistola." Dr Bentley wrote *several* epistles deserving immortality: for instance, his Epistle to Dr Mills, (this gentleman's name is usually docked of an *s*); that to Jo. Christ. Biel. "de Glossis sacris in Hesychio insititiis;" his admirable answer to a letter of Le Clerc; two well known Epistles to Hemsterhuis, on the Comic fragments in Julius Pollux; some delightful letters to Grævius, &c. &c. To which of these does Dr Butler allude?

v. 110. Ἑλλάδος ἦβαν. There is much older authority for ἥβας, than any which Dr B. refers to; viz. *some* ancient MSS. of Aristophanes, according to Brunck, *i. e.* probably *one* ancient MS. We do not recollect an instance of ταγὴ with the first syllable long. Read ταγόν.

v. 108. ἀλκὰν σύμφυτος αἰὼν. We read σύμφυτον αἰνᾶν, and include the preceding member of the sentence in a parenthesis.

v. 116. ὁ κελαινὸς, ὅ τ' ἐξόπιν ἀργίας. Dr B. supposes a *synalœpha* in ἀργίας, which question we have already discussed. We had occasion to remark in a former Number, that the true reading is ἀργᾶς, Eumen. 44. Ἀργῆτι μάλλῳ.

v. 121. Βοσκόμενοι λαγίναν ἐρικύμονα φέρβοντο γένναν. —φέρματι γένναν Schutz. Porson. Dr B. conjectures Βοσκόμενοι λαγίδαν ἐρικύμονα φέρματι γέννας. There is no such word as λαγίδης, the nearest approach to which is λαγιδεὺς; but this means *a leveret.* γένναν is spoken of *one* hare, as, in Horace, *Lascivi* soboles *gregis* of one goat.

v. 127. πομπούς τ' ἀρχούς. Dr B.'s conjecture, πομπῆς, is less Æschylean. See v. 307. Pers. 628. Choeph. 145.

v. 159. Παλινόρσους. Read παλίνορτος, as θέορτος, νέορτος.

v. 223. Παρθενίου θ' αἵματος ὀρ|γᾷ περιόργως ἐπιθυ|μεῖν θέμις, εὖ γὰρ εἴη. For ὀργᾷ Dr Butler proposes αὐτοὺς. We read ὁρμᾷ. Sophocl. Trachin. 722. Ταὐτῇ ξὺν ὁρμῇ. where Aldus has ὀργῇ.

v. 282. Φάσματ' εὐπειθῆ, Read εὐπιθῆ.

v. 292. Φανὸν. "Πανὸν Is. Casaub. reponi jubet ex Hesych. sic

sic Pors. Schutz. 2." πατὸν Athenæus xv. p. 700. E. pointed out by Robortellus. Eustath. Il. T. p. 1189, 23.

v. 294. Dr B. judiciously reproves Heath, for supposing that the first syllable in Ἕλλης is made short, *Attice;* and in v. 154. of the Cyclops he would read, Εἶδες γὰρ αὐτήν; οὐ μὰ Δί' ἀλλ' ὀσφραίνομαι, by a species of double synaloephe perfectly unheard of, * by which one word loses its tail to the following word, but in return chops off the other's head. But he adds, "etiam anapæstus hic in *nomine proprio* forte ferri potest, præterea in Satyrico dramate, quod ad comicam accedat licentiam, Anapæstus in quarto loco minus peccat, vel ne peccat quidem, ut nihil forte mutandum fuerit." Nothing can be more unfortunate than the first of these reasons; with regard to the second, it is strange that he should be in such doubt, when the following line occurs in the Cyclops v. 343. Πῦρ καὶ πατρῷον τόνδε λέβητά γ' ὃς ζέσας. See Mr Gaisford's notes on Hephæstion p. 242. For Ὑπερτελής τε, πόντον ὥστε νωτίσαι, Dr B. proposes ὥστ' ἐνώτιστιν, *maris tanquam dorso incubuit.* Mr Porson approved of ὥστε νωτίσαι.

v. 370. Δίκα τοι ξένιον μέγαν αἰδοῦμαι, Τὸν τάδε πράξαντ' ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρᾳ, Τείνοντα πάλαι τόξον. We should prefer Τείναντα πάλιν τόξον. In v. 159. of the Choephori † we have παλίντονα βέλη.

v. 385. Ὑπέρφιν. We would write ὑπερφῦ, wherever this word occurs.

v. 421. Πάρεστι σιγᾶς' ἄτιμος. "Σιγᾶς Schottus." This *Schottus* was a mistake of Dr Needham's, who copied it from a book, formerly belonging to Stanley, where was written, unless we greatly mistake, "σιγᾶς Scholiast. recte." see Stanley's note. If our limits would allow us, we would relieve the tediousness of critical remarks, by comparing this passage with Shakespeare's King John III. 3.

v. 437. ἐφ' ἑστίας ἄχη. We read ἀφ' ἑστίας. Dr Butler gives a very good disposition of this strophe and antistrophe, availing himself of the conjectures of various critics. In the first ten lines of Strophe and Antistr. γ'. we think he has been more successful than Dr Burney, but less so in the nine last.

v. 454. Omit τοὺς, and in the antistrophe οὖν.

v. 484. παραγγέλμασιν Νεοῖς πυρωθέντα καρδίαν. Perhaps πτερωθέντα.

v. 512. ΚΗΡΥΞ. It should be ΤΑΛΘΥΒΙΟΣ. Argument, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ Ταλθύβιος παραγίνεται, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν διηγεῖται.

v. 520. Ἥλθες ἀνάρσιος. "Ἥσθ' Marg. Ask." It was a conjecture of Dr Needham's.

v. 528.

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* Perhaps Dr B. will quote Will. Baxter, who proposes the following as the third verse of an Alcaic Stanza, Κάββαλλε τὸν χειμᾶν' ἐπιθεὶς πῦρ, for χειμῶνα ἐπιθεὶς.

† We write it so, rather than Choephoræ. Terence called his play of *the Brothers, Adelphoe,* but later times wrote *Adelphi.* See Donatus.

v. 528. δαίμονές τ' ἀντήλιοι. Why not ἀνθήλιοι? See Eurip. Ion. 1560.

v. 545. Αὐτόχθονον πάτραν ἔθρισεν δόμον. We read Αὐτόχθον' ἓν π. Theb. 646. ἐποπτῆρας λιτῶν Τῶν ὧν γενέσθαι.

v. 587. Θεοῖς λάφυρα ταῦτα τοῖς καθ' Ἑλλάδα Δόμοις ἐπασσάλευσαν ἀρχαῖον γάνος. We had long ago thought that ἀρχαίοις was an evident correction, and we have since learned that Mr Porson read ἀρχαίοις. Euripid. in Athen. VI. p. 264. C. Λάτρις πιστὴς ἁμὸς ἀρχαίων δόμων. Ion v. 2. Θεῶν παλαιὸν οἶκον.

v. 596. Ἀνωλόλυξα μὲν πάλαι χαρᾶς ὕπο. Perhaps ἀνηλάλαξα is a better reading, though unnoticed by Dr B. It is preserved by the judicious author of that truly poetical drama, Χριστὸς Πάσχων. v. 70. Cf. Sophocl. Antig. 131. Eurip. Phœniss. 1410. Suppl. 719. Herc. F. 10. Electr. 855.

v. 606. Θυηφάγον κοιμῶντες εὐωδῆ φλόγα. Some read καίοντες, some κομοῦντες, and some κοσμοῦντες. but Dr Butler satisfactorily defends and explains the common lection.

v. 615. Γυναῖκα πιστὴν δ' ἐν δόμοις εὕροι μολών. "Valde mihi arridet emendatio Schutz. 2. ἔνδον εὑρήσει. nam in vulgata solœcum quiddam inesse suspicor." Dr B. however does not point out in what the solecism consists, nor can we perceive it.—"*May he find, when he comes back, a faithful wife at home.*" *reperiat*, not *reperiet*, as Stanley's version has it.

v. 621. μᾶλλον ἢ χαλκοῦ βαφάς. "χαλκὸς Pauw." χαλκὸς Abresch. together with one MS. and the Pseudo-Gregorius v. 64.

v. 625. Αὕτη μὲν οὕτως εἶπε μανθάνοντί σοι Τοροῖσιν ἑρμηνεῦσιν εὐπρεπῶς λόγον. The true reading, λόγοις, is preserved by the Scholiast, which Dr B. has not remarked.

v. 718. Πριάμου πόλις γεραιά. Read γεραιοῦ.

v. 723. Πάριν—παμπρόσθη πολύθρηνον. Dr B. conjectures "παμπλήθει (παμπληθεῖ) *omnino, funditus.*" but this could never be the meaning of παμπληθεί, which is, besides, a word of much later date than the age of Æschylus. Our correction is παμπορθῆ. v. 480. μήτ' εἶην πτολιπορθής. One MS. has here παιωλῆ, which is an evident gloss of παμπορθῆ.

v. 777. Νεαροῦ φάους κότον. to which is opposed in the antistrophe χειρῶν παλιντρόποις. We think therefore that the metre does not admit of φύει, the correction of Heath and Dr Butler. For δαίμονά τε τὸν ἄμαχον the sense and metre require τὸν ἄμαχον.

v. 803. Ἀγέλαστα πρόσωπα βιαζομένοι. Ὅστις δ' ἀγαθὸς προβατογνάμων. κ. τ. λ. None of the commentators have remarked the hiatus at the end of v. 803. We are inclined to believe that a verse is lost between this and the following line.

v. 809. Ἑλένης ἕνεκ', οὐ γὰρ ἐπικεύσω. Dr B. proposes οὐ γάρ σ' ἐπικεύσω, which is probably the true reading. In the next verse we would read Καὐτ' ἀπόμουσός γ' ἦσθα γεγραμμένος, for Καὐτ' ἀπομούσως ἦσθα γ.

v. 823. ἀνδροθνῆτας Ἰλίου φθορᾶς. †ἀνδροθνῆτας Pors. Read ἀνδροκμῆτας. See Choeph. 847. Eumen. 248. 954. Suppl. 686. Eurip. Suppl.

Suppl. 525. We are surprised that Dr B. did not perceive this.

v. 825. τῷ δ' ἐναντίῳ κύτει Ἐλπὶς προσῄει χειρὸς οὐ πληρουμένῳ. We suspect, Ἐλπὶς προσῆγε χείρας.

v. 833. Πόλιν διημάθυνεν Ἀργεῖον δάκος, Ἵππου νεοσσός. †Ἀργεῖον Pors. Read ἄγριον δάκος. See Pierson on Moeris p. 395.

v. 843. Δύσφρων γὰρ ἦς καρδίαν προσημένος. Καρδίᾳ Casaubon: which is the true reading. Cf. v. 1200. Pers. 881. Sophocl. Œd. T. 15. Rhes. 390.

v. 844. τῷ πεπαμένῳ νόσον. Dr B. does not remark that Mr Porson's orthography is πεπαμένῳ, as it should always be written. See Vol. XVI. of this Journal, p. 381.

v. 851. 1643. στειρασφόρος. Read στειραφόρος.

v. 879. Τρισώματός τ' ἂν Γηρύων ὁ δεύτερος. Dr B. proposes Τρισώματός γ' ἂν—with Abresch and Schutz: but read Τρισώματος τἂν.

v. 908. Καὶ γῆν φανεῖσαν ναυτίλοις παρ' ἐλπίδα. Dr B. does not remark that Mr Porson prefixed an obelus to φανεῖσαν, the reason of which we are unable to assign. We are of opinion that the verse is insititious, as the force of the passage will be increased by its omission. At all events the conjunction καὶ is out of place.

v. 994. Ψαμμίας ἀκάτας παρήβησεν. There is no such word as ἀκάτα for ἄκατος. We suggest the following correction of the concluding lines of this strophe and antistrophe.

STR.	ANTISTR.
Ψαμμίαισι παρῆψεν ἀκταῖς	εὔχομαι δ' ἀπ' ἐμᾶς τάδ' ἐλπί-
εὖθ' ὑπ' Ἰλιον	δος ψυθῇ πεσεῖν
ὦρτο ναυβάτας στρατός.	εἰς τὸ μὴ τελεσφόρον.

v. 1031. Οὐδὲ τὸν ὀρθοδαῆ Τῶν φθιμένων ἀνάγειν Ζεὺς αὖτ' ἔπαυσεν. Dr B. adopts τοὺς φθιμένους, the conjecture of Mr Schutz, and ἔπεισεν from that of Stanley, and translates, "Nec vero perito illi Æsculapio, ut mortuos revocet vel ipse Jupiter persuaserit." Certainly Jupiter was the last person in the world to persuade his grandson to do that, for having done which he had chastised him so severely; as the Scholiast judiciously remarks. We think all difficulty will be removed, if for ἔπαυσεν we read ἔπαυσ' ἄν. We approve, however, τοὺς φθιμένους.

v. 1064. Οὗτοι θυραίαν τήνδ' ἐμοὶ σχολὴ πάρα Τρίβειν. Read τῇδ' ἐμοί.

v. 1216. Ἦ καὶ τέκνων πρὸς ἔργον ἦλθετον νόμῳ; Dr B. proposes ἦλθετόν γ' ὁμοῦ. But the particle γε is never used thus in interrogations.—Read ἦλθέτην ὁμοῦ. ἦλθέτην is Mr Elmsley's correction.

v. 1224. Ὑπ' αὖ με δεινὸς ὀρθομαντείας πόνος Στροβεῖ, ταράσσων φρενομίοις ἐφημίοις. Mr Porson prefixes an obelus to ἐφημίοις, to which reading, as well as to Dr Butler's conjecture, ἀφημίοις, there is this objection, that the compounds of φημὴ do not terminate in μιος but in μος. Æschylus, we believe, wrote Ὑπ' αὖ με δεινὸς ὀρθομαντείας πόνος Στροβεῖ ταράσσων· φρενομίοις δὲ φημίσω. Choeph. 556. ἦ καὶ Λοξίας ἐφήμισεν. In v. 1171. of this play the Chorus says to Casandra, Τί τόδε τορὸν ἄγαν ἔπος ἐφημίσω; Cf. vv. 638. 1182. Eurip. Iph. Aul. 1385.

v. 1244. ἄσπονδόν τ' ἀρὰν Φίλοις πνέουσαν. "Miror neminem reposuisse ἄσπονδόν τ' Ἄρην cujusmodi phrasin habuimus supra, v. 383." This correction, which is undoubted, had been made before by Stanley, and

and is noted in the margin of Dr Needham's book.

1249. καὶ σὺ μὴν τάχει παρὼν Ἄγαν γ' ἀληθόμαντιν οἰκτίρας ἐμῆς. For μὴν Stanley, or rather Casaubon, restored μ' ἐν. But the particle γε is misplaced, and seems to have been inserted by some copyist, who thought that the last syllable of ἄγαν was short. The same particle has been intruded, κατὰ βύσιν χασμωδίας, in Eurip. Androm. 955. Heraclid. 205. (Rhes. 668.) We would here omit it altogether, or read καὶ σύ γ' ἐν τάχει παρὼν Ἄγαν μ' ἀλ.

v. 1253. ἐξηκασμένον. "Minus Atticum est ἐξεικασμένον, quod voluit Stanl." In v. 164. of the Phœnissæ Mr Porson has printed ἐξηκασμένα, but in v. 431. εἴκασε. and we are inclined to think, in spite of Mœris, Photius, and Eustathius, that the latter orthography is that of the tragedians, though not of Aristophanes.

v. 1265. Παπαῖ. οἷον τὸ πῦρ ἐπέρχεται δέ μοι. "Nisi crediderim hic poetam studio hiatum quæsivisse, legerem παπαῖ. ποῖον τὸ πῦρ." We believe Dr B. will not produce any instance from the three Tragedians, in which the first syllable of ποῖος is made short.* This verse should be pointed thus Παπαῖ. οἷον τὸ πῦρ· ἐπέρχεται δ' ἐμοί.

v. 1334. Ἐχθροῖς φονεῦσι τοῖς ἐμοῖς τίνειν ὁμοῦ. Dr B. would read ὁμᾶ for ὁμοῖα with Stanley. Æschylus admired Homer, it is true, but not, we think, so far, as to intrude ὁμᾶ upon an Athenian audience.

v. 1346. Νῦν δ' εἰ προτέρων αἷμ' ἀποτίσει, Καὶ τοισὶ θανοῦσι θανὼν, ἄλλων Ποινὰς θανάτων ἄγαν ἐπικρανεῖ, Τίς ἂν εὔξαιτο βροτῶν ἀσινεῖ Δαίμονι φῦναι, τάδ' ἀκούων; Dr B. terms this passage *locus plane desperatus*, and for ἄγαν ἐπικρανεῖ, proposes ὑπὲρ ἀντλήσει. *ad interim*, as it were, which in sooth is a desperate remedy. *Medici graviores morbos asperis remediis curant.* We would omit these two words altogether. Dr B. adopts the reading of Mr Bothe of Magdeburg, Τίς ἂν εὔξαιτο, βροτὸς ὤν, ἀσινεῖ. Mr Dawes has observed in his Misc. Crit. p. 197. *Vocalis brevis ante β, sequente ε, syllabam brevem perpetuo claudit.* Mr Porson remarks on v. 64. of the Orestes, *Ubi verbum in brevem vocalem desinit, eamque duæ consonantes excipiunt, quæ brevem manere patiantur, vix credo exempla indubiæ fidei inveniri posse, in quibus syllaba ista producatur.* When Dr Butler has cast his eye over these passages, he may perhaps be inclined to think with us, that there is a strong objection to the emendation of Mr Bothe of Magdeburg, viz. that it introduces a false quantity. We will, however, candidly admit, that the authority of Mr Hermann led us into an error of precisely the same nature, in our notice of Dr B.'s former volumes. But, as the Doctor facetiously observes, we have now "tarried at Jericho till our beards are grown."

v. 1365. Χρονίζομεν γάρ· οἱ δὲ μελλούσης κλέος Πίδου πατοῦντες, οὐ καθεύδουσιν χερί. The commentators, one and all, are sadly to seek in this passage. A certain antient author quotes from Æschylus, Χρονίζομεν

* Suppl. 908. Οὗτος, τί ποιεῖς; ἐκ ποίου φρονήματος Ἀνδρῶν Πελασγῶν τήνδ' ἀτιμάζεις χθόνα. It is manifest that we should read ἐκ τινὸς φρονήματος. The confusion was occasioned by the preceding ποιεῖς.

νίζομεν ὧδε τῆς μελλοῦς χάριν. We would therefore read the whole passage thus, Χρονίζομεν γὰρ ὧδε, τῆς μελλοῦς χάριν Πέδον πατοῦντες. οὐ καθεύδουσιν χέρες. We propose the source of our correction, as a problem for the ingenuity of Dr Butler and the younger part of our readers.

v. 1379. πληθύνομαι. " πληθύομαι Pors." We apprehend that πληθύομαι must have been merely a typographical error of the Glasgow printer. Pers. 429. Ἀκταὶ δὲ νεκρῶν χοιράδες τ' ἐπλήθυον. where Aldus has ἐπλήθυνε, *contra metrum*, as Dr B. would remark. πληθύνομαι is the older form.

v. 1387. Νίκης παλαίας. Dr B. adopts Heath's conjecture, Νείκης, which we may be inclined to admit, when we have better vouchers for the existence of such a word, than Suidas and the great Etymologist, whose glosses refer to Iliad Υ. 483.

v. 1392. Περιστιγίζω " Περιστολίζω Marg. Ask." This again was a conjecture of Needham's, which Dr Askew had converted to his own use.

v. 1400. Χαίρουσαν οὐδὲν ἧσσον, ἢ Διὸς νότῳ Γᾶν, εἰ σπορητὸς κάλυκος ἐν λοχεύμασι; Dr B. approves of Mr Schutz's conjecture Γᾶν εὐσπόρητον. But why the Doric form γᾶν, rather than γῆν? We should prefer Γαῖα σπορητοῖς κάλυκος ἐν λοχεύμασι. But will Dr Butler forgive us one bold conjecture (which we believe was suggested by Mr Porson), in consideration of our general acquiescence in his opinions? What if we were to read, Χαίρουσαν οὐδὲν ἧσσον, ἢ διοσδότῳ Γάνει σπορητοὶ κάλυκες ἐν λοχεύμασι; διοσδότῳ γάνει *imbre ætherio*. Respecting this usage of γάνος see Musgrave on v. 1165. of the Supplices of Euripides. Secondly, whichsoever reading is adopted, the substantive must be in the nominative case, because the full construction is χαίρουσαν οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἢ γῆ χαίρει, or ἢ κάλυκες χαίρουσι.

vv. 1410. 298. ἀφρασμόνως. Read ἀφραδμόνως. as in v. 417. of the Persians. So the Attics used ὀδμή, rather than ὀσμή.

v. 1417. ῥυτὸς ἐξ ἁλός. The metre requires ῥυτᾶς, the correction of Stanley, which Dr B. *prefers*, but without assigning any reason.

v. 1421. Νῦν μὲν δικάζεις— Οὐδὲν τόδ' ἀνδρὶ τῷδ' ἐναντίον φέρων. " Si quid mutandum, malim cum Stanleio et Vossio τότ'. Sed forte vulgata recte se habet, ut οὐδὲν τόδ' sit pro οὐδὲν τῶνδ', *nil horum*, ut Juvenalis loquitur." We shall be happy to be made acquainted with any similar construction of οὐδὲν τόδε, and in the mean time request Dr B.'s attention to the following remark. " *Viri optimi Francisci Oudini, qui* a *in his verbis corripi contendit ex* Attico *isto* Judaïcum *apud* Juvenalem, *nulla ratio habenda est.*" τότ' is an unquestionable correction. Νῦν and τότε are thus opposed to each other vv. 808. 814. Choeph. 973. Sophocl. Electr. 676. 907. Eurip. Med. 1398. El. 1203. Thucyd. I. 86. VI. 89.

v. 1446. ἀσπὶς οὐ μικρὰ θράσους. Read οὐ σμικρά.

v. 1512.

v. 1512. We agree with Dr Butler in suspecting that a *dipodia* is lost, which answered to ξιφοδηλήτῳ in v. 1537. for these systems were evidently intended to correspond.

v. 1633. Πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λάκτιζε, μὴ πήσας μογῆς. Dr Butler proposes μὴ πτοίσας μογῆς, which we apprehend to be the true reading.

v. 1646. Ἐγὼ δ' ὑποπτὸς ἐχθρὸς ἡ παλαιγενής. ἦν Canter. Pauw ἢ *quatenus*, Schütz. ἦ Porson. "Sed fateor mihi perplacere emendationem Bothei reponentis ἦν, quod bene Græcum est." Dr Butler did not perceive that ἦ, Mr Porson's reading, is the Attic form for ἦν. See Brunck's *Lexicon Sophocleum.* v. H. (the extract which Brunck has given from Porphyry is also in the Venetian Scholia.) Markland on v. 484. of the Suppl. of Euripides. παρῇ occurs in v. 521. of the Choephori.

v. 1665. Ἡμονῆς δ' ἅλις γ' ὕπαρχε. μηδὲν αἱματώμεθα. Pors. ὑπάρχει. Read, Ἡμονῆς ἅλις γ' ὑπάρχει. μηδ' ἔθ' αἱματώμεθα.

v. 1666. Στείχετε δ' οἱ γέροντες πρὸς δόμους πεπρωμένους τούσδε. Πρὶν παθεῖν. ἔξαντά καιρὸν χρῆν τάδ' ὡς ἐπράξαμεν. Mr Porson, Στείχειθ' οἱ γέροντες ἤδη. omitting τούσδε. Heath, στείξαντας αἰνεῖν χρῆν τάδ' ὡς ἐπράξαμεν. Dr Butler adopts both these corrections, except that for χρῆν he writes χρὴ. We never understood what could be meant by δόμοι πεπρωμένοι. We did read the passage thus, Στείχειθ' οἱ γέροντες ἤδη πρὸς δόμους, πεπρωμένα Πρὶν παθεῖν. ἔξαι δὲ καιρὸς ἦν τάδ'. ὡς ἐπράξαμεν. We do not, however, propose this conjecture with any degree of confidence.

We now proceed to the *Notæ Varr. et Butleri Philologg.* in which Dr Butler has succeeded in explaining some passages misunderstood by foregoing commentators. Indeed, we think that his interpretations are generally judicious; and we give him considerable credit for endeavouring, in most instances, to explain the received text, rather than do as Schütz does, who alters it according to his own very limited notions, and then translates his own reading. What we chiefly complain of in Dr Butler's notes, is the extreme deficiency of illustration from Æschylus himself and his brother tragedians; and the great want of accuracy and precision in the few references which are made. The learned editor seems also to think, with Heath and Musgrave, that if a word is to be found in Hesychius or Suidas, that is sufficient authority for the introduction of it into Æschylus, not being aware of the extremely corrupt state of those Lexicons, even after all the labours of the scholars of the two last centuries. * Another defect in the notes of Dr B. is his

* What edition of Hesychius Dr B. uses, we know not. At v. 367. he says, "Hesych. Ὑστερτιλῆ ὑπές τι τέλος ἀφικόμενον" which is scarcely Greek. In all the editions we have seen, it stands, Ὑστερτελῆς.

propensity to broad and general assertions, without a specification of instances, which is not at all suitable to the practice of scholars of the present age. For instance, at v. 294. of this play (ἰσχὺς ποδεντοῦ λαμπάδος), Abresch has a note on the active usage of ποδεντοῦ; on which Dr B. remarks, "Sic μιμπτὸς apud Soph. Trach. v. 446. *et multa ejusmodi.*" Now, independently of the consideration that Abresch's note is nothing to the purpose, (ποδευτὰς being used in a *passive* sense, *made to go*), there are only *four*, or at most *five*, similar instances in the Tragedians, besides that quoted by Dr B. viz. Prometh. v. 916. Pers. 55. Soph. Œd. Col. 1031. and perhaps Antig. 1011. Eurip. Hecub. 1125. We noticed, on a former occasion, that Dr B. has confined his critical reading to those earlier writers, whose labours, however extensive and useful, have yet in some measure been surpassed, if not superseded, by the more accurate inquiries of later scholars. Nor have we found, in these additional volumes, any reason to retract this censure. Even of David Ruhnken, with whose vast labours in every department of Greek literature (metre excepted) all other modern scholars are familiar, he seems to have no knowledge whatever. *

Dr Butler intends, we presume, to publish the Fragments of Æschylus. The following example may be added to those which we gave in our notice of his first volume, to show how well he is qualified for the task. At v. 70. Schutz has quoted from Stobæus a fragment, of which these are the two first verses, Μόνος θεῶν γὰρ θάνατος οὐ δώρων ἐρᾷ. Οὐδ' ἂν τι θύων, οὐδ' ἐπισπένδων νεοῖς. "Lege θύων οὐδ' ἐπισπονδῶν νεοῖς." S. Butler. making, we suppose, θύων and ἐπισπανδῶν substantives. But is it possible that Dr B. should not have been aware of the four following facts; 1st, that θύος, (the genitive plural of which is not θύων, but θύων, θυῶν.)

τελής. ὑπὲρ τὸ τέλος ἀφικομένη. which gloss evidently refers to v. 294. of this play. ὑπερτελὴς—ἰσχὺς λαμπάδος. Again, at v. 685. he quotes from Hesychius Ἱστορεῖ·—ἐρωτᾷ, ἐρᾷ. where, if Abresch and Bos had not long ago restored ἐρεῖ, any fourth-form boy would. We will throw into this note a list of passages variously cited by ancient authors, of which varieties no notice is taken by Dr B., or any preceding critic. Theb. Tit. v. 4. 7. 8. 11. 43. 44. 45. 46. 234. 269. 276. 293. 300. 422. 441. 455. 478. 498. 560. 596. 598. 599. 600. 603. 864. Agam. 33. 40. 41. 58. 147. 164. 292. 596. 621. 932. 1365. 1453. 1454. 1633. We may add also, that the value of Dr B.'s book as a *variorum* edition, is much diminished by the circumstance, that his collation of the editions of Aldus and Robortellus is very inaccurate. No fewer than five mistakes occur in the first 54 lines of the S. ag. Theb.

* Dr B. indeed remarks on v. 1608. of the Agamemnon, "Heathius sic vertit.... quocum facit Ruhnken. quem vide in Notis Varr. Philologg." We have searched the "Nott. Varr. Philologg." for any mention of Ruhnken, but in vain. The fact is, Ruhnken no where so much as mentions this passage.

ἐυᾶν.) has its first syllable *short* in v. 1418. of this play, Odyss. o. 261. Theocr. II. 10. and wherever else it occurs. 2d, that ναὸς has its first syllable *long*. 3d, that a solecism is left in the 2d verse. 4th, that this is a fragment of the Niobe of Æschylus; and that Stanley has printed λάβεις for ναῦς, as it is also quoted by Eustath. ad Il. 1. p. 744, 3. Schol. Venet. Il. 1. 158. Stobæus Grot. cxix. p. 485.? Dr B.'s emendation, then, has these peculiar merits; that it leaves untouched a solecism and a false quantity, and introduces moreover a second false quantity; and we have no doubt but that Mr Bothe of Magdeburg will on these grounds concur with us in embracing it. But Dr B.'s metrical skill is exerted with equal success on the Latin Tragedians. At v. 834. the following verses of Ennius are quoted by Schutz (who, we suspect, was indebted for his knowledge of them to F. Ursinus's notes on Virgil, Æn. II. 328.) *Nam maximo saltu superavit = Gravidus armatis equus = Qui suo partu ardua perdat Pergama...* "Obiter moneo versus Ennianos male dispositos esse. Eos vel tirones in *Senarios* redigant." S. Butler. We should certainly scold any *tiro* of ours, did he fail to perceive, that these verses are one very good and regular tetrameter trochaic, and a part of another. *Maximo saltu superavit gravidus armatis equus = Qui suo partu ardua perdat Pergama* – ∪ – ∪ –. Again, v. 150. φάσματα στρουθῶν. Dr B. calls a *dimeter dactylic*, "modo liceat ultimam in φάσματα corripere." But this is a license which no scholar, except Mr Bothe of Magdeburg, will concede to him.

The Doctor's philological remarks on the Agamemnon rarely contain any really *philological* illustrations; but consist, in a great measure, of expressions of surprise and admiration at the great poetical powers of his author. "*Summum artificium*" "*mira sublimitas*," "*nec ipse quidem Shakespearius major esse potuit*" "*quam splendide!—quam ornate!—quam vere!—quam suaviter depingunt!*" are sprinkled with a profuse hand over 120 pages. In this he seems to have taken Mr Schütz for his model; but, with all due respect to these learned, but talkative gentlemen, we would suggest, that Æschylus is only to be read by those, who are tolerable proficients in Greek; and that such persons do not stand in need of these finger-posts, to enable them to reach an author's beauties. What description of readers would be benefited by an edition of Shakespeare, filled with such notes as the following? "This is prodigious fine!" "N. B. This is to be admired!" "How astonishingly sublime!" "How amazingly pathetic!"

But what we principally object to (and it is what all purchasers of the book must also object to) is, that Dr Butler's edition is, like many other *variorum* editions, not a judicious selection, but an indiscriminate coacervation of all that has been *expressly* written

written upon Æschylus. Good or bad, right or wrong, here it is all, one note upon another, neat as imported. First we have Stanley's remark upon Æschylus, then Pauw's note upon Stanley's remark, then Heath's criticism of Pauw's note, and lastly Dr B.'s character of all three. At v. 734. of the Seven ag. Th. we have nearly two pages of matter manifestly useless and irrelevant, at the end of which the editor assures us, *Invitus hæc adscripsi;* which is but a poor apology to his readers for their loss of time. Again, at v. 925. "Mire hic hallucinatur Heathius, cujus annotatio inter virorum doctorum somnia numeranda est, *ut nullo modo sit prætermittenda.*" If Dr Butler thinks, that even *the dreams* of learned men are by no means to be omitted, he thinks differently from us, and from all who wish for a *useful* edition of Æschylus. Again, at v. 768. "Totum locum, ut feliciter se emendasse gloriatur Wakefield. adscribam, non ut viri cl. conjecturis acquiescam, sed *ut officio seduli editoris defungar.*" Now, putting out of the question the excessive *verbiage* of this sort of remark, we must be allowed to observe, that it is no part whatever of the duty of a *judicious* editor, to commemorate the palpable absurdities of his brother critics. The object of publishing a book of this description should be, not to preserve and embalm the follies and oversights of other editors, but to enlarge the boundaries of real knowledge; to instruct and amuse its readers, by compressing as much useful information as can be procured, into as convenient a shape as can be given to it. And whatever scruples Dr B. may entertain, about omitting any of the *critical* vagaries of preceding commentators, he might at least spare his readers in the *philological* part, where we naturally seek, not for the absurdities of men who did not understand Æschylus, but for the elucidations of those who did. So far, however, is this from being the case, that, after detailing page upon page of the crudities of one man, the scurrilities of another, and the puerilities of a third, he makes such remarks as the following. "Non semel puduit nos Pauwii, hominis frontis perfrictæ et audacis inscientiæ, contumelias exscribere, in quos jactas viros!" S. Butler. "Nec hunc nec illum operæ pretium est refellere." S. Butler.

But, above all, we object (considering the great scarcity of fine rags occasioned by the present war), to the enormous waste of paper upon what Dr B. terms *enarrations*, or *declarations of the metres*. As a specimen of what occurs repeatedly, we need only mention, that at v. 880. of the S. ag. Th. we have, first, two pages of the metrical crotchets of Pauw and Heath, "quorum hic," says Dr B., "non semper bene rem gessit, ille in his metris declarandis ubique fere turpiter erravit:" These are followed by four pages of Mr Hermann's *declaration* of the same chorus,

and

and these by no less than six of the Doctor's own. And, after all, no mention whatever is made of Dr Burney's arrangement, which is incomparably the best,—and which reaches almost to certainty in every instance where any thing like certainty is attainable; for which reason, were there no other, we judge that the metrical discussions, which occupy nearly 80 pages out of 270 in the critical commentaries, are next to useless. On the whole, we affirm with confidence, that if all the matter which is manifestly superfluous, and, even according to Dr Butler, confessedly wrong, were expunged from the "Notæ Varr. et Butleri Critt. et Philologg." they would be reduced in bulk at least one half. The learned Editor is, we presume, himself aware, that the inconvenience which attends the great size of his book, is such as to render it nearly useless to every one but an editor; for we are informed, that when he has published seven thick octavo volumes of a corrupt text, he intends to publish an eighth, containing the text according to his own notions; for which a subscription is, we hear, on foot. We embrace with pleasure this opportunity of announcing a circumstance of such importance to the literary world, who, having been taught by the specimen which we have just given them, what is to be expected from Dr Butler, will no doubt await the appearance of this supplemental volume with an impatience proportioned to their opinion of his merits.

We had nearly forgotten to remark, that Dr Butler writes Latin fluently and with ease, but not without considerable affectation. His desire of exhibiting his style, leads him into long and vapid declamations upon the beauties of his author. We must content ourselves with transcribing one of these effusions on v. 900., where Clytemnestra is describing the exceeding annoyance and want of sleep, occasioned at night by the vexatious morsitation and stridulous buzzing of that nimble little insect, which the Greeks called κώνωψ, or ἴμπις, and Englishmen, *a gnat.* "Imago quam suavissima! quam ad affectus pingendos miro artificio, quam breviter expressa! Qualis profecto nemini alii præter Shakespearium in mentem venire potuisset. * Nec prætereundum illud, quod se adeo vigilantem dormire

* This is not quite correct. Meleager complains in the Anthology, that the gnats torment his mistress; and intercedes with them to allow her half an hour's sleep: and Pliny seems to have suffered in the same way, for he calls the buzzing of this insect positively 'truculentam.' The Shepherd, in Virgil's Culex, moreover, was bitten till he awoke. Horace complains that *mali culices ranæque palustres Avertunt somnos;* and mentions, that Cleopatra slept under a musquito-net, (*conopium*), with which piece of luxury Clytemnestra seems to have been unacquainted. One of the little birds, called κωνωπόθηραι, would have been singularly useful in her apartment. Brodæus (M. Jean Brodeau) facetiously tells us, that gnats were called σιρῶνες, from their noise, *si, si, si.* An equally ingenious derivation is that of κώνωψ. ἀπὸ

mire dicat, ut vel tenuissima culicis murmurantis strepitu excitaretur. Hæc ægrum et solicitum animum quam ornate, quam vere, quam suaviter depingunt!" S. BUTLER.

We now take leave of Dr Butler, having again apologized to our readers for the extreme prolixity of this article, which we have protracted to so great a length, solely for the satisfaction of the gentleman who is the object of it. Having given a sort of general notice of his former volumes, and pointed out a few of the principal defects in them, we were concerned to find, that Dr Butler accused us of dealing too much in generalities. We thought it therefore but justice to ourselves and the Doctor to make amends, in the present article, by being scrupulously precise and specific. It remains for himself and our readers to judge, whether he has gained any thing by the change.

ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔχειν τοὺς ὄπας ὡς κώνους εἰς ὀξὺ λήγοντας, from having *conical snouts*. Dr B. would have conferred a favour upon Entomologists, by settling a question which perplexed some naturalists of antiquity, viz. whether it be reasonable to suppose a gnat Κατὰ τὸ στόμ' ἄδειν, ἢ κατὰ τουβρόπύγιον; For our own part, we have not made up our minds on the subject.

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In our account of Sir Samuel Romilly's Bills, we omitted to mention the 49. *Geo. III. c.* 6, which he succeeded in carrying without opposition. The object of this act, is to extend the provisions of the Lords' act to the case of persons in custody under attachment for not paying money or costs pursuant to orders or decrees made by Courts of Equity. Nothing could be more proper than this extension; for the distinction is merely technical, between confinement for debt in execution, and confinement under attachment.—We ought also to have noticed a bill brought in by Sir Samuel Romilly in 1808, but which he found so much opposed that he speedily dropt it; the object of which was, to give a compensation to persons unjustly detained in custody for crimes of which they were afterwards acquitted.—The alteration of the Bankrupt law, respecting the proportion of creditors required to sign the certificate, was made in the Lords. Sir Samuel Romilly's bill went out of the House of Commons with the old proportion of four-fifths, and a power to the Chancellor to grant the certificate, if he should, on examination, find it unjustly withheld. To this change, made by the Lords, Sir Samuel, it is understood, reluctantly agreed.

We may take this opportunity also to express our regret, that we have been again prevented from giving our readers some account of M. Dumont's very profound and interesting publication, "*Sur les Peines et les Recompenses.*" We confidently hope to atone for this omission in our ensuing Number; and in the mean time, we cannot refrain from suggesting to M. Dumont, that he might confer a great obligation on the public in general, and the profession of the law in particular, if he could be prevailed on to present them with a short abstract of his principles, in their application to the practice of our jurisprudence, and to the improvements suggested by Sir Samuel Romilly and other eminent individuals.

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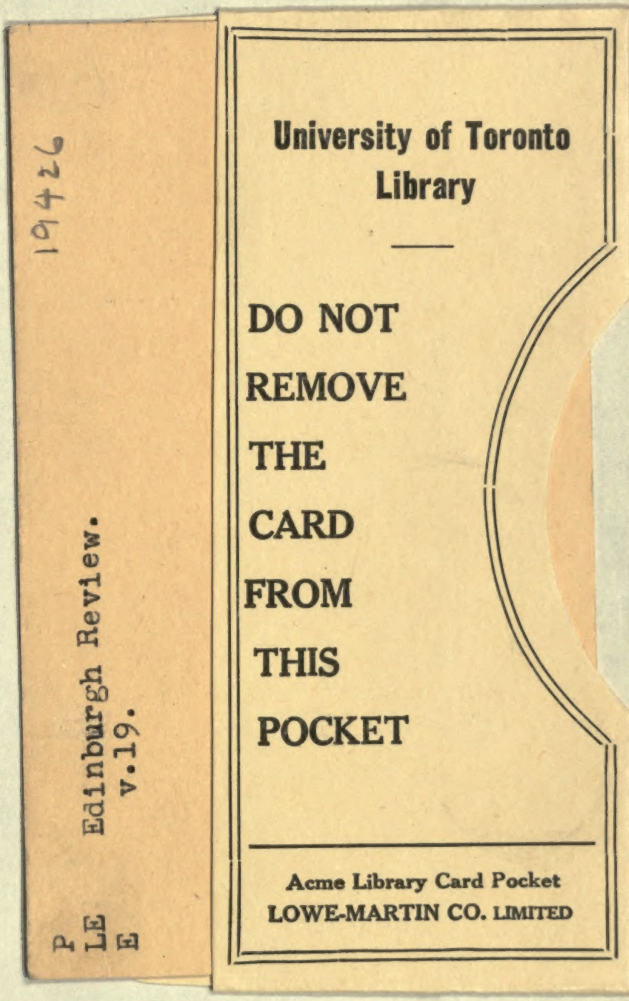
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